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TRANSACTIONS

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NOTES TO DR. J. WICKHAM LEGG'S PAPER ON THE BREVIARY OF THE HUMILIATI.

P. 274, note 1. The Bishop of Edinburgh has pointed out that *Deus laudum* is found in the Scotch book of 1639. It also may be found, I now see, in various Editions of the English Prayer Book from 1637 to 1660, but not to the exclusion of *Deus laudem*. The theory suggested in the note therefore falls to the ground.

P. 282. Since the publication of the paper, it has been said that a convent of the *Humiliatae* still exists at Rome at *S. Cecilia trans Tyberim*. At my suggestion, Mr. Hartwell D. Grissell has been good enough to make enquiries on the spot, and he finds the following curious circumstances :—The *Humiliatae* nuns certainly were at S. Cecilia, for an inscription on the building testifies that "Maura Maccilotta Abbatissa a Clemente VII. et Franciotto Cardinali Ursino Proposito huc accita aedem hanc divae Caeciliae sacram quam Monachi Humiliatorum S. Benedicti antea obtinebant in presentis Monasterii ejusdem ordinis Monialium formam redegit eamque pene collabentem restituit, etc." The confusion may have arisen from the fact that the Benedictine Nuns (of the Cassinese Observance) who are now at S. Cecilia have the special privilege of wearing the white habit of the *Humiliatae* and also the black veil, in memory, it may be supposed, of the *Humiliatae* having once been placed in that house; the wearing of this dress might easily lead to the belief that nuns who wore it were *Humiliatae*.

[J. W. L.]

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1884.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

A paper was read by Mr. H. W. Brewer on "Galleries in Churches." The necessity of galleries in the churches of the thickly populated parts of London and other large towns was insisted upon, and the best mode of treating them discussed. Examples of galleries dating from the middle ages found in Germany and elsewhere were described, and the question of converting the triforium into a gallery was favourably entertained, and drawings in illustration were exhibited. Mr. Brewer concluded by strongly condemning the mutilation of Wren's churches by the removal of their galleries. An interesting discussion followed, in which many members took part.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1884.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., on "Tenby and St. David's," which is printed at p. 18.

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1884.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. Spenser Nottingham read a paper on "The Common-sense Use of the Church's Plain-Song."

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1884.

Chairman: Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D.

Mr. W. De Gray Birch, Vice-President, read a paper on "Seals, chiefly with reference to those of some Bishops of London." Mr. Birch commenced by referring to the Biblical records of seals, and then proceeded to notice the early use of seals by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans. The various metals of which seals were made were then described, and attention was called to the shapes of mediæval seals—the pointed oval or *vesica* shape being used by ecclesiastics, and the round by the laity. Mr. Birch then exhibited and minutely described a series of casts of seals of the Bishops of London, from Richard de Beaumes (1108) to Edmund Bonnor (1539), the later examples showing the decadence of the art of seal engraving.

The Chairman exhibited the seal of the College of Minor Canons of St. Paul's, and a short discussion followed.

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TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1884.

Chairman: Major Heales, F.S.A.

Sir Walter Phillimore, Bart., Q.C., D.C.L., read a paper on "The History of Ecclesiastical Courts," which has already appeared in Vol. I. p. 247.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1884.

A visit was paid to the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, which is attached to the Dominican Priory at Haverstock Hill. The members were received by the Rev. S. Alban Buckler, the Prior, who explained the sculptures in the numerous chapels and directed attention to points of interest.

The party afterwards proceeded to St. Augustine, Kilburn, where the Rev. R. C. Kirkpatrick, the Vicar, and Octavius Leefe, Esq., the Churchwarden, were in readiness to receive them. In the absence of Mr. Pearson, R.A., the architect of the church, the Vicar made a few remarks upon the architecture of the church. An imposing display of church embroidery was exhibited in the vestry.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1884.

Chairman: Somers Clarke, Esq., F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., on "St. Vedast." Dr. Simpson commenced by giving some mediæval derivations of the name Vedast, and proceeded to describe his life, as recorded in various Lives of the Saints. St. Vedast was Bishop of Arras, in Artois. He is commemorated on February 6th, and is usually represented in the act of curing a blind man, or accompanied by a wolf with a goose in his mouth, or a wolf in a thicket. The church of St. Vedast in the City has the affix "alias Foster," which was explained to be the English form of Vedast. The service in commemoration of St. Vedast is still kept up in Arras. The Flemish form of his name is Vaast.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1884.

A visit was paid to the Church of St. Catherine Cree, where Mr. S. T. Robinson made some remarks on the history of the church and parish, and Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., read the following paper:—

"It has hitherto been my privilege to be your guide to those old churches of the City of London which, by a merciful Providence, were saved from the flames of 1666, and remain to our days as types of the ecclesiastical buildings raised by the piety of our forefathers, although, in some cases, marred by modern refittings and other disfigurements, but whose character and style are distinctly Gothic. We are now, by the kindness and courtesy of the Vicar, allowed to meet in this church—a church which, like those to which I have alluded, was also saved from the fire, but whose antiquity does not carry us back to pre-reformation times, with the exception of one portion, to which I shall further refer.

"You perhaps may feel a little startled in looking around you to hear that this church was built before the Great Fire, but such was the case, and the interest thereby excited ought to be further increased when I tell you that to the minds of the ecclesiologist and architect it possesses a peculiar value, far beyond even the subsequent beautiful conceptions of Sir Christopher Wren, because it is intimately connected with the history of architecture in our own country, and marks an epoch in the history of our national Church full of interest, full of instruction, and full of warning.

"One has to consider first the link that this church forms in the chain of ecclesiology between those buildings which preceded it and those which have been subsequently erected, and how this chain, whose origin dates from those remote ages when churches were first erected to contain the faithful, has been lengthened out to our own days with but little variance or

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change. And secondly, its special connection with our own Church, both architecturally and historically, is to be considered. As to the first, you see, in its general form and arrangement, but little change from those ancient churches which we have hitherto visited—a nave and aisles and a tower, even that peculiarity so marked in all our large town churches of the 15th and 16th centuries, the absence of a chancel arch, is also here apparent. Why this old type has been reproduced it is easy to understand, because our Church has never departed from old traditions; it has been content to carry on and to transmit all that was really good and really ancient; and this type is a natural one where public worship is concerned. If we wanted an auditorium merely, we could build one four-square, circular, octagonal, semi-circular, or any other shape under the sun; but when we want a church we must necessarily build it as they did in times past, and leave to factious, peevish and perverse spirits those buildings whose sides and angles are as multitudinous as their several opinions, or as circumscribed as their own notions. Carry your minds back to the year 1629, in which this church was built. They were stirring times. Charles had not been on the throne four years, and already a cloud not bigger than a man's hand, but soon to assume blacker and larger proportions, loomed on the horizon. Abbot was still Archbishop of Canterbury, but under a cloud, for he had unwittingly shot a man to death while hunting; and William Laud was Bishop of London, endeavouring to stem that torrent which, in the next twenty years, was to sweep all before it—Church and King, throne and prayer-book. This building then was small and insignificant, and it stood in the cemetery of the once magnificent priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, whose walls had been levelled in the dust, and in whose cloistered precincts houses had sprung up, and the small church, ruinous from age, was no longer large enough to contain the increasing population of the parish; and in addition to this, the highway outside had been so raised that one had to descend by seven steps into the old church, and so it was determined to rebuild it; but one portion of the church, which had only been rebuilt in the year 1504, the tower to wit, was suffered to remain, and only the body of the church was rebuilt in the form we now see it, and the old dedication was, of course, retained—Saint Catherine Cree. Saint Catherine was a favourite saint with our forefathers; she was of royal descent, the daughter of a king of Cyprus, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 300, and her emblem was a wheel, on which she suffered; and in our pyrotechnic displays in honour of Guy Faux's day, with a singular inconsistency, St. Catherine's wheels still form a leading feature. The affix of Cree is a corruption from Christchurch, or Cree church, and of course alludes to the connection between the old church and the priory, and also serves to distinguish it from two other churches in London—St. Catherine Coleman and St. Catherine Tower. It will be, of course, apparent to you that although the tower was retained, it was necessary, on account of its half-buried condition, to heighten and recase it. It is said that in building this church a cloister at the back of the old church was taken in; and at the end of the south aisle may be noticed a pier of 15th century work, which I am told is 18 feet from cap to base. Only a small portion of it being now visible, some idea may be formed of the immense rise of the levels, even from the seven steps in John Stow's time.

"The most striking objects, architecturally, are the east and aisle windows, in which the old Gothic form of tracery is still retained. The east window is very curious, and the wheel form of the upper part of the tracery is evidently an allusion to the emblem of the saint; but this wheel is enclosed in a square, and the spandrels are pierced, which is most unusual. The heraldic glass in the window is of the same date (1639).

"I have mentioned the historical interest attaching to this church and its connection with Archbishop Laud and the ceremonies which he practised, or was supposed to have practised, at its consecration, for the account that has been handed down to us was written by one of Laud's bitterest enemies, and is worded so as to throw ridicule over the simplest reverential act of devotion, and such was the fiendish malice with which he was persecuted, that, in defiance of all law, these acts formed some of the articles of his impeachment."

Subsequently the Church of All Hallows, Barking, was visited. The members were received by the Rev. W. J. Rendell, and a paper was read by Mr. G. H. Birch, who reminded the members that the body of Archbishop Laud had been buried in this church, but was removed in 1663 to the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxford, where it lies buried beneath the altar,

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SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1884.

Visit to Seal, Kemsing, and Otford.

At Seal and Kemsing papers were read by the Rev. Canon Scott Robertson, and at Otford an address was given by the Rev. Dr. Hunt, who also hospitably entertained the members on the Vicarage lawn.

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Dr. Hunt commenced by reminding the members of the historical interest attached to that part of Kent, and of the many eminent churchmen connected with the neighbouring parishes; but he insisted that none of these places could rival Otford in historical or ecclesiastical interest. The venerable antiquity of Otford is shown by the Roman tiles, fragments of which are numerous in some of the fields around, by the Roman bath, and by the Roman snails (*Helix pomatia*), supposed to be the descendants of those imported by Roman soldiers stationed at Otford. In the Middle Ages Otford had a hospital for lepers, a court leet, and other institutions, which indicate that it must have been a place of importance. Here Offa, King of Mercia, conquered the King of Kent, and atoned for the blood he had shed by giving the lands to the Church of Canterbury. When the Normans came, and the Archbishops ceased to live with the monks, the property was divided and Otford fell to the Archbishops. The living of Otford was one of the first preferments bestowed upon Thomas Becket by his great patron, Archbishop Theobald. Becket afterwards lived here as Archbishop, and it is believed that the first Manor House of the Archbishops was built by him. Tradition says that the place was without water, but that Thomas, like another Moses, struck his staff into the ground, and thereby called forth the spring which still feeds St. Thomas's Well, though there are some who pronounce this to be simply a Roman bath. Other miracles of St. Thomas were not so beneficent. He cursed the blacksmith for mis-shoeing his mare, and it is said that no blacksmith has ever since prospered in Otford. Again, it is said that one evening when performing his devotions under the shade of a tree, he was disturbed by the nightingales and gave them such an anathema that they have been silent ever since. Dr. Hunt, however, added that the effect of these curses was beginning to be weakened, for the present blacksmith was doing a comfortable trade, and since he (Dr. Hunt) had come to Otford the nightingales had again begun to sing. In 1188 Henry II. was at Otford, and a letter of his to Pope Clement III. is dated from this place. Archbishop Winchelsey entertained Edward I. with great state at Otford, and died here in 1313. Archbishop Wittlesey lived here much in his old age for the sake of the benefits derived from the miraculous water of St. Thomas's well. Arundel also spent much time here, and Simon Islip met the accident which ended in his death on the way from Otford to Mayfield. The Manor House, or Palace, as it came to be called, was rebuilt by Archbishop Warham at the enormous expense, for those days, of £33,000. Here he was visited by Erasmus and other men of mark. Cranmer gave up the Manor with that of Knole to Henry VIII. in what was called an exchange, but what he got for it nobody knows, so this is generally called "the foolish exchange." The palace was in ruins by the time of Queen Elizabeth. It was probably neglected, and the materials were used to build the cottages of the village. A roofless tower and the cloistered side of the outer court, built of brick with stone dressings, are the principal portions which now remain. A panelled oak door, found in a cucumber-frame in a cottager's garden, is now in the Vicarage hall. In the farmer's house adjoining the ruins is the arch of a doorway elaborately carved and bearing Warham's coat of arms. There are also some oak panels from the palace in the "Bull" Inn, and carvings supposed to represent Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon. When George III. came to a review at Sevenoaks the tower was dismantled of its ivy and white-washed, in order that the king might see it from the distance.

The church is, for the most part, Decorated in style, but has been so often restored that few remains of antiquity are left. There is, however, an altar-tomb of richly carved stone, two stones with early Norman crosses dug out in the churchyard, and the holy-water basin at the entrance, the position of which indicates that the floor of the church has been much raised. The church is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, whose image before the Reformation was supposed to have the power of working miracles, but was removed by order of Henry VIII. when on a visit to Otford. Some handsome monuments of the Polhill family are contained in the church. The advowson of the living, together with that of Shoreham, was given by Edward VI. to one of his courtiers, who exchanged with the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for the advowson of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. The present Vicar was appointed by Dean Stanley in 1878.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1884.

The churches of Monken Hadley, and East Barnet were visited, and papers were read by the Revs. F. C. Cass and C. E. Hadow, respectively the Rectors of these churches.

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SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1884.

Winchester and St. Cross.

Winchester Cathedral and St. Cross were visited under the guidance of Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., and the members were conducted over Winchester College by Mr. Kirby, the Bursar of the College, who pointed out and described the principal objects of interest.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1884.

Chairman: J. P. Seddon, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

An Address was given by Mr. H. Stannus on "The Decoration of St. Paul's." The greater part of the lecture was devoted to an enquiry into the best mode of decorating the cupola. After discussing the abstract principles which ought to regulate the decoration of a dome, Mr. Stannus referred in detail to some of the most remarkable domes in Italy, and explained their schemes of decoration. He then dealt with the question—"What would Sir Christopher Wren have done with the dome of St. Paul's?"; and after explaining his own designs*, which were founded upon those of Stephens, he concluded with a criticism of Sir J. Thornhill's existing work in the dome.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Micklethwaite, Mr. Birch, and Mr. Statham (the editor of *The Builder*) took part.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1884.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. T. Francis Bumpus read a paper entitled "Stray Notes on some London Churches erected since the Reformation, with special reference to those of the Revival." This paper is printed at p. 24.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1884.

Chairman: H. Roumieu Gough, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

Mr. John D. Sedding read a paper on "Modern Ecclesiastical Art," which is printed at p. 1.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1885.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt gave a lecture upon "Church Bells," which was copiously illustrated by a large collection of rubbings of inscriptions, and of casts in plaster of Paris of letters, founder's stamps, initial crosses, &c.

The Lecturer, after a few introductory remarks, passed to the historical part of the question, which he briefly narrated, dwelling for an instant on the old but now exploded theory that Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, was the first to introduce large bells into church use, and stating that an opinion seemed to be growing among those who had given attention to the subject, that the origin of bells was probably derived from some oriental source. Coming down to the Norman Conquest, he pointed out that the grand old Saxon and Norman towers still existing, and the enforcement of the "Curfew," proved the general distribution of church bells all throughout the kingdom. On the point as to whether any bells of this early period still remained, he expressed great doubt; but he instanced a bell at Chaldon, in Surrey, inscribed +CAPANA BEATI PAVLI, and of such archaic shape, that he felt no difficulty whatever in ascribing the date of its founding to the 12th century; and he pointed out that some further light might be thrown upon this if it could be ascertained at or about what period the expression "Beatus"

* These designs were exhibited in the dome of St. Paul's. An illustration of them was given in *The Builder*, Oct. 31, 1884.

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gave way to "Sanctus." Leaving this bell, however, as, after all, only conjecturally early, he stated that a bell at Goring, Oxon, was at present the earliest to which a date could be given, namely, not later than 1290, the earliest *dated* bell being one at Claughton, Lancashire, which bears the date 1296.

He then alluded to the bell-ringers, or campanarii of early days, who formed a distinct order of minor clergy, and pointed out that the records of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's still preserved the names of two—Alwoldus, circa 1150, and Master John of Amiens, about a hundred years later.

The more interesting part of the lecture then commenced with an account of the practical part of the work of the campanist, directed principally to determining the age of any church bell, and this he showed was mainly to be settled by the inscription. Describing how this was to be copied by "rubbing" and by "squeezes" of the more important letters and devices, he pointed out that, while post-reformation bells were almost invariably dated, pre-reformation bells scarcely ever were, and that the dates of these latter were generally only to be ascertained by the character of the lettering used, by the nature of the inscription, and by the foundry stamp or initial crosses to be found upon them. The rules as to these may be best briefly described as follows:—Inscriptions in Lombardic lettering, sometimes called "Gothic capitals" or "Uncials," and having a "stop" between each word, formed by two or three vertical dots, are certainly earlier in date than A.D. 1400. Towards the latter part of the 14th century these "stops" altered somewhat in character; but the fact of some stop being used between the words clearly distinguished them from some few 16th century bells, which were also inscribed in Lombardic lettering, but without stops. Of these earlier bells, those with very simple inscriptions and widely spread lettering were certainly the earliest in date.

Black letter inscriptions came in approximately with the 15th century and continued down to the Reformation (and, indeed, somewhat later). With this century, however, also came in the foundry stamps, and it was principally by a study of these, combined with the various scraps of information which occasionally cropped up in old records, that the campanist was able, with more or less cerainty, to determine the dates and founders' names of the bells of this period, the letterings and initial crosses of course forming a considerable factor in the question. As to these, however, the Lecturer pointed out that much difficulty arose from the fact that the stamps used to produce them passed from hand to hand for long periods, and he instanced a case in which a cross, first used by one Robert Rider, about 1380, had been found by him on a bell bearing the date 1604.

Finally, the Lecturer appealed for help in those counties which had not yet been systematically examined, naming especially Hants, Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, as affording a good field for work in this branch of Church Archæology.

The Rev. J. J. Raven, a veteran campanologist, and Mr. E. Walford were amongst those who took part in the discussion which followed the delivery of Mr. Stahlschmidt's lecture.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1885.

Sixth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed, after which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented:—

Sixth Annual Report, 1884–85.

"The Council in presenting their Sixth Annual Report are glad to state that the position and prospects of the Society are highly satisfactory.

"During the past year ten meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and the following papers have been read, viz.:—By Mr. H. W. Brewer, on "Galleries in Churches"; by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, on "St. David's Cathedral"; by Mr. Spenser Nottingham, on "The Common-sense Use of the Church's Plain-Song"; by Mr. W. De Gray Birch, on "Seals, chiefly with reference to those of some Bishops of London"; by Dr. Walter Phillimore, on "The History of the Ecclesiastical Courts"; by the Rev. Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, on "St. Vedast"; an address by Mr. H. H. Stannus, on "The Decoration of St. Paul's"; a paper by Mr. T. Francis Bumpus, entitled, "Stray Notes on some London Churches erected since the Reformation, with especial reference to those of the Revival"; by Mr. J. D. Sedding, entitled, "Some

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Remarks upon Modern Ecclesiastical Art"; and by Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, on "Church Bells."

"Visits were made during the season to the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary (Dominican Priory) at Haverstock Hill, under the direction of the Rev. Alban Buckler, the Prior; to the Church of St. Augustine, Kilburn, where the members were received by the Rev. R. C. Kirkpatrick and Mr. Octavius Leefe; to the Church of St. Catherine Cree, where Mr. S. T. Robinson made a few remarks, and a paper was read by Mr. G. H. Birch, who also acted as guide, and read a paper at All Hallows, Barking; to the Churches of Seal and Kemsing, which were described by the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson; and Otford, where the Rev. Dr. Hunt read a paper; to Monken Hadley and East Barnet, where papers were read by the Rev. F. C. Cass and the Rev. C. E. Hadow.

"A day was spent in Winchester, Mr. Somers Clarke conducting the members over the Cathedral, where they were received by the Right Rev. Bishop Macdougall, and over the Hospital of St. Cross. Winchester College was visited under the guidance of Mr. T. F. Kirby.

"As in previous years, the Society is much indebted to the gentlemen who have read papers and have assisted in carrying out these proceedings, and owes special thanks to the Clergy and others for the kindness with which they have facilitated the visits of the Society.

"The financial propositions made at the last Annual Meeting were well responded to, as the accompanying balance sheet will show.

"Part IV. of the Transactions have been issued since the last report. Part V. has been delayed by circumstances beyond control of the Council, but it is now in the press, and should shortly be in the hands of members. Thanks are due to the Rev. E. S. Dewick, who, at short notice, has undertaken the duties of editing this part.

"It has been decided to reprint Part II., uniform in style with the other parts, and half the Life Subscriptions of the year have been devoted to a Special Fund for that purpose. Copies will be sold to members, and the proceeds added to the Reserve Fund. Only a limited number will be printed, and early application should be made for them.

"The Council have pleasure in calling attention to the increase of the number of members. There are now 322 names on the register, 29 members have been elected, and 8 having resigned during the year.

"H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH,
Chairman.

"EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Sec."

BALANCE SHEET, 1884, S. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1884.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account	7	14	10
„ Entrance Fees	3	10	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	80	16	0
„ Life Subscriptions	33	12	0
„ Sale of Transactions	4	7	6
„ Special Donations	1	1	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	0	14	8
	£131	16	0
Jan. 1st, 1885.			
Balance carried forward	£37	18	3
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	£29	8	0
Special Fund	£16	16	0

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1884.	£	s.	d.
By Amount Paid on Account of Transactions	43	7	3
„ Printing and Stationery	10	2	4
„ Postage	19	16	2
„ Fees to Attendants	2	16	0
„ Half of Life's Subscriptions carried to Special Fund	16	16	0
„ Miscellaneous	1	0	0
„ Balance	37	18	3
	£131	16	0
Jan. 1st, 1885.			
Estimated Liability for Balance of Transactions	£30	0	0

We have examined the above and find it correct,

E. H. FEDARB, R. RAWSON, } *Auditors.*

HENRY GEO. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*
ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

January 22, 1885.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

Rule III. was altered so as to bring it in accordance with a resolution passed at the previous Annual Meeting.

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The following were elected as the Council for the ensuing year:—

Revs. H. C. Shuttleworth, E. S. Dewick, L. Gilbertson, Messrs. F. J. Beckley, G. H. Birch, C. Browne, Somers Clarke, F. Gill, H. R. Gough, S. W. Kershaw, A. Paxon, and H. T. Roxby.

Major Heales was re-elected Treasurer, and Mr. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield, Hon. Secretaries.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg, and the Rev. H. Scott Holland, Canon of St. Paul's, were elected Vice-Presidents.

The meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Dean and Chapter for use of the Chapter Room, and to the Chairman.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1885.

Chairman: C. H. Gough, Esq.

Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, F.R.I.B.A., read a paper on "Some Ecclesiastical Antiquities, English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh,"* which was illustrated by photographs shown, by means of the lime-light lantern, by Mr. E. C. Gough. The greater number of the views were of Irish antiquities.

Mr. E. C. Gough afterwards exhibited photographic views taken by himself of the churches visited by the Society during the summer of 1884.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1885.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. Arthur Taylor read a paper on "The History of Stained Glass," which is printed at p. 43.

A large number of examples in illustration of the paper were exhibited, and a discussion followed.

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1885.

Chairman: Major Heales, F.S.A.

Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., read a paper on "The Ecclesiology of the Roman Catacombs." The origin, situation, and extent of the Catacombs were described, and a large number of drawings were exhibited in illustration of the nature of the inscriptions and works of art therein.

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1885.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., gave a lecture upon "Some Churches of North Germany." The churches of Lubeck and Luneburg were described in detail, and attention was specially called to the material of which they are constructed—brick. Even the mullions of the very tall windows are of brick. The interiors of these churches are mostly plain, and would appear bare, if it were not for the fine furniture and fittings which still remain. Candelabra, rood-screens, organ-cases, pews, and fonts are plentiful and fine.

The lecture was illustrated by numerous drawings of the churches and of their fittings.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1885.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., read a paper, entitled, "Some Notes on London Churches," which is printed at p. 9.

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* This paper was printed in the *Building News*, February 13, 1885.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1885.

St. Giles, Cripplegate, was visited by a large number of members, who were received by Mr. J. Mann, churchwarden. The sacramental plate of the church was exhibited, and the registers containing entries of the burial of John Milton, and the marriage of Oliver Cromwell. Mr. G. H. Birch described the architecture of the church and its monuments, and called attention to the fragment of wall and the bastion in the churchyard, which is the most important relic of the city walls now extant.

At St. Sepulchre, Snow Hill, which was next visited, the members were welcomed by the Rev. James Jackson, and Mr. Birch described the church, calling special attention to the fine tower, and the south porch with parvise. The church was damaged by the Great Fire of 1666, that stopped at Pie-corner, a few yards north of the church. The arcades of the nave were rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in 1670, but the tower and outer walls were left with their Gothic windows until 1790, when they were replaced by others with plain semicircular heads, and the walls were then cased with Portland stone. At the recent "restoration" the windows were again altered back to the form which they had in the last century, as shown in one of West and Toms' views (see illustration opposite p. 16).

SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1885.

Visit to Merton and Morden.

The remains of Merton Priory were visited, and some notes by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., were read as follows:—

"The annals of this once famous priory are not so easily traced as those of other foundations in England. Every religious house had generally its own chronicler, and many compilations differing from each other were thus called into existence. The monastic chronicle is seldom the production of a single hand, so that it was augmented by several writers, and often the faults of one compiler were copied by those of the succeeding age.

"In the County of Surrey were the following establishments:—Bermondsey, *Clugniac;* Chertsey, *Benedictine;* Merton, *Austin Canons;* Shene, near Richmond, *Carthusian;* Reigate, Newark, and Southwark, *Black Canons;* Waverley, *Cistercian.*

"Merton Priory holds an important place in the County on account of its large possessions therein, and also in the pages of English history. In the College of Arms, MS. xxviii. (on vellum), is the account of the foundation of the Priory, and among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Cleopatra cvii. ff. 58-201) is a chartulary of the same, written at different times and of very miscellaneous contents. Matthew Paris, of the great school of St. Alban's, tells us much about Merton; Prior Robert appears to have been its first prior, and Archbishop Becket wore its habit.

"We read of the earliest priory of timber erected by Gilbert Norman, A.D. 1115. Two years afterwards it was removed to another site, and it was not till 1130 that the present building of stone was erected, and finished in 1136. To effect this object, many efforts were set on foot. The King granted the entire Manor of Merton to enable a church to be built to the Virgin Mary in this priory. Queen Matilda came to see the priory, taking great interest in it, and the proceeds of an expedition to the Holy Land increased the offerings for its erection.

"We could wish that any adequate print or drawing remained to tell of the architectural character of Merton; hardly one is extant, and imagination must come to our aid in picturing what would have been the extent and beauty of this building. That so little is left, save in the outer boundary walls, is much to be regretted. In this respect, however, Merton is no less exempt than other Surrey houses, the remains perhaps of Waverley, near Farnham, being the best preserved.

"If architectural detail is wanting to supply the void of time, history steps in, and we follow a successive line of events intimately connected with this abbey. Hubert de Burgh fled hither for sanctuary in 1236; here, the famous 'Statutes of Merton' were passed—at this Council, the Prelacy having proposed to make the canon law of the realm supersede the common law, the barons assembled made the memorable reply, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.' In this conflict of the Church against the Constitution, the old battle was fought, of which, in succeeding ages, history repeated itself in the struggles of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the Revolution of 1688.

"At the surrender of the priory, the estates were very numerous, and the value was computed at £1,039 5s. 3d. The after history is short. Queen Elizabeth, in 1587, granted the building and site to Gregory Lovell, whose elaborate monument is in Merton Church. From that time till 1723 the property passed through several hands, and became much divided. During the Civil

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War the priory was used as a garrison, the forces of the contending armies being in the neighbourhood at Putney, Kingston, and Surbiton Hill. In 1680 the abbey was described as containing several large rooms and a fine chapel, and its area was about 60 acres.

"The monastic seal is to be noticed:—*Obverse*, 'The B. V. M. sitting on a throne, crowned as Regina Cœli with the infant Jesus.' *Reverse*, 'St. Augustine, mitred, standing under a pointed arch, his right hand in benediction, and holding in his left a pastoral staff.'

"From the extensive possessions of the priory, we may learn its importance in past times in this Country.*

"The following lands among others were held by Merton Priory:—East Molsey, Kingston, Ewell, Malden, Hersham, Talworth; also in Beds, Bucks, Huntingdon, and Norfolk. The advowsons of many rectories in Surrey were naturally in the patronage of this abbey, and connected with it were some noted men. Thomas à Becket was educated in the Priory School; Walter de Merton was Keeper of the Great Seal (1258), and Lord Chancellor of England during three years; in 1274 he founded the College which bears his name at Oxford, and in the same year was consecrated Bishop of Rochester; he died in 1277, and a memorial exists to him in his Cathedral. The Prior of this house was elected by the monks by virtue of the King's license for that purpose, and afterwards confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester, in whose jurisdiction the priory stood.

"In the chronicles of Merton, preserved in the Bodleian Library, we read of the ordinations of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, for the government of the Convent of Merton. It is needless to mention the many buildings on which William of Wykeham bestowed his loving care, from Winchester Cathedral and the Hospital of St. Cross to the smaller houses in the diocese.

"Thus has Merton Priory enrolled many famous names in historical annals, and though shorn of its former glory, it still holds a foremost place in ecclesiastical lore. These short notes indicate but a tithe of what may be sought for in the pages of Dugdale, Tanner, Manning and Bray, besides the original information always to be found in MSS., to some of which allusion has been made."

The churches of Merton and Morden were afterwards visited, and papers by Mr. A. J. Style were read. At Morden the members were entertained at tea by the Rector, the Rev. W. Winlaw.

The following account of these churches has been communicated by Mr. W. Bolton:—

"The Church of Merton, dedicated to St. Mary, was, until the alterations in 1857, mostly the original church built by Gilbert the Norman in A.D. 1121. It then consisted of a Norman nave and an Early English chancel, under one single long, low, and narrow roof. In 1857, however, the south wall was removed to make room for a new south aisle, and in 1865 the old north wall, which contained a good Norman doorway, shared a similar fate. The doorway was preserved, however, and re-erected in the new wall of the north aisle. This new aisle was carried eastward, necessitating the removal of a good Decorated window, which was re-inserted at the east end of the new aisle. The low shingled spire, rising from the west end of the roof, was suffered to remain, with its three bells, one of which is ancient, bearing the inscription 'S. Margarita ora pro nobis.' The old north porch of timber, of late Decorated date, was restored and placed in proper position. It is rather rich in carving, and has no parallel near London. The Norman doorway within was not very carefully reset, as is evident from its side shafts supporting nothing. The arch is of two orders, each with chevrons, with a plain tympanum. The door itself is probably of Early English date, and retains its original iron-work. A west doorway is of Perpendicular date, and there is a small belfry window of two lights in the gable above.

"The chief interest of the church lies in the Chancel, which possesses a carved timber roof of a kind rare in a village church. As a glance will show, its timbers rest awkwardly on their supports, and make one come to the conclusion that it may have originally belonged to the neighbouring Priory, and been brought here at the dissolution. It is of Decorated date, and still very handsome and deserving of close attention. The chancel arch is plain. A priest's door—its woodwork original—opens into a modern vestry. Above it is a blocked lancet, and near it a small Decorated window of two lights, the exterior of which is a picturesque bit of rich decay. On the north side of the chancel are two more lancets widely splayed within, and another Decorated window of two lights. Enclosing the lancets is an Early English wall arcade of four bays, both on north and south, the arches of which, from their size, suggest that it was the first intention to add chancel aisles. Some fragments of ancient glass remain, showing two shields in bold colour. The present east window of three lights is modern, and filled with memorial glass. In the nave the roof is ceiled, but the old tie-beams remain.

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* As an illustration I may refer the reader to Major Heales' "Early History of Kingston-on-Thames," 1888. Surrey Archæological Journal, Vol. VIII.

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"There is a monument to Gregory Lovell, Cofferer to Queen Elizabeth, 1597, with kneeling effigies of himself, his two wives, and nine children. Above it hangs a helmet. Flat slabs on the floor commemorate Grace Robinson, 1676, and Sir P. Stapylton, 1679. The font is modern; the old one, a basin, being now in the vestry, where also hangs a large painting of the Descent from the Cross, said to be by Luca Giordano. In the church is shown Lord Nelson's seat and his hatchment, put up in 1806, with that of his friend Sir Wm. Hamilton, both Merton parishioners."

"The Church of Morden, dedicated to St. Lawrence, is merely a parallelogram of red brick with a western tower, but possesses considerable interest to us as showing that in A.D. 1636, the date of its erection, there were still some builders left in the country who possessed a right church feeling. In the tower, which is of four stages and embattled, and of very good proportions, with three bells, the original west doorway of stone has been preserved. In the walls of the church, in like manner, several of the original Decorated windows, each of two lights, were reinserted. The priests' doorway was likewise spared, which may also be said for that in the south porch, though the Carolian chisel has left awkward work in the latter. Two of the ancient doors also remain. The interior, which has no aisles, is really more pleasing than many a restored church which is much older. Except that it wants a chancel arch, it would fairly pass muster. Some old tie-beams remain above, and a fairly decent tower arch is visible. The east window, an old work of three lights, contains a good deal of coloured glass, which is valuable as showing what that art was in the first half of the 17th century. In the centre compartments are the Ten Commandments on a bright yellow ground, while Moses and Aaron fill the sides. In the lower spaces is some glass, apparently Flemish, with small figures. Some have pronounced the subject to be Paul and the Philippian Jailor, but there is no doubt it is really meant for the Pharisee and the Publican, as it suits the latter subject both in position of the two figures and the architecture of the background. If it be Paul and the Jailor, we may ask, 'Why are they in a palace, and where is Silas?' A modern memorial window close by contrasts unfavourably by its gaudy poverty with the rich mellow colouring of its older neighbour, and would be far better if removed to another place. The monuments are not very important, the chief one being to Richard Garth, 1640,—a flat slab—noticeable for its epitaph: 'A friend to the Church.' Two years after that date, where was the Church of England? and how many friends were left to her?

"The old Font was lately found in several fragments beneath the floor. Put piece by piece together, it was seen to be of Perpendicular date, of the common type, octagonal, with quatrefoils and shields on the faces. The pulpit and desk against the north wall have a pleasant look about them, recalling old-fashioned, comfortable days.

"In the vestry is an old iron chest. The communion cloth is 300 years old, and is adorned with ancient gold fringe, brought to its original lustre by the wife of the present Rector, the Rev. W. Winlaw."

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1885.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

Mr. G. H. Birch, A.R.I.B.A., read a paper on "The Ecclesiology of Paris," in which he described the principal churches and the buildings of the religious orders.

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1885.

Visit to Chelsea.

The first object of interest was the old Parish Church of Chelsea, which was described by Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A.

The architecture of this church is not imposing, but the monuments contained in it, and its historical associations, are of a very high order. In this church the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, was in the habit of taking his place in the choir wearing a surplice, which excited the contemptuous remark of the Duke of Norfolk.—"A parish clerk! you dishonour the King and his office." "Nay," said Sir Thomas, "you may not think your master and mine will be offended with me for serving God, his Master, or thereby count his office dishonoured."

A vault was constructed on the south side of the chancel by Sir Thomas More during his lifetime, to which he removed the bones of his first wife, and which he designed for his own place of burial. The inscription which he caused to be placed there has been renewed. A sentence describes him as "furibus autem et homicidis . . . . . molestus," the blank space

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being originally supplied with the word "hereticisque," which his descendant or admirer who had the stone recut did not care to perpetuate.

In the south chapel is the monument of Jane, Duchess of Northumberland (d. 1555), widow of the Protector, and mother of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester. There are also several other monuments of importance.

On leaving the Church, Mr. Somers Clarke conducted the party to Chelsea Hospital, where the Chapel, the Dining Hall, and one of the wards were inspected.

The afternoon ended with a visit to the new Church of St. Luke, which is remarkable as being the first church of the Gothic Revival which was built with a groined roof. It was consecrated in 1824, the architect being J. Savage, who lies buried on the north side of the church.

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1885.

Chaldon and Merstham.

At Chaldon an elaborate paper was read by Mr. J. G. Waller, on the painting which was discovered in 1870 beneath the whitewash on the western wall of the church, and which represents the "Ladder of the Salvation of the Soul." *

The picture is divided into two parts by a horizontal band forming a conventional representation of clouds. The lower part is devoted to the torments of the damned, the upper to the salvation of souls. In the centre is a ladder, at the top of which is the half-figure of Christ in the act of benediction. In the upper part of this ladder naked figures, representing souls, are ascending with ease, being assisted by angels; but in the lower part they are falling or ascending with difficulty, and are harassed by a demon of most forbidding aspect.

Mr. Waller directed especial attention to the antiquity of the soul-weighing represented in the upper portion, as well as to the Punishment of the Bridge which appears in the lower portion.

A paper on the architecture of the church was afterwards read by Mr. W. Bolton, which is printed at p. 47.

The church of Merstham was described by Major Heales, F.S.A.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1885.

Hedsor and Cookham.

At Hedsor the members were received by the Rev. M. E. Kirkland, the Rector, and a paper on the church, which is chiefly interesting on account of its elaborate modern fittings, was read by Mr. Montague Hepworth. Hedsor Lodge was also visited by the kind permission of Lord Boston.

Cookham Church is for the most part of Early English date, and contains several good brasses and monuments.

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1885.

Chichester.

The Cathedral was visited under the guidance of Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the Cathedral Surveyor, who described the history of the building, and pointed out the various objects of interest, directing especial attention to the tombs of the bishops. Afterwards, by the kind permission of the Bishop, a visit was paid to the Palace, the most interesting portions of which are the chapel, of Early English date, the painted ceiling of the dining room, and the large kitchen with its fine roof of carpentry.

At St. Mary's Hospital it was pointed out that this building still retains the general arrangement of a mediæval infirmary. On entering, the visitor finds himself in a long hall, beneath a wide-spread roof supported on two rows of wooden standards. In the aisles of this hall are the small dwellings for the inmates, and at the east end of it, and separated from it only by an open screen, is seen the chapel, which is a fine specimen of Decorated architecture, and contains some good stall-work.

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* Mr. Waller's paper has been printed, with coloured fac-simile and woodcuts, and is sold for the benefit of the church, 48 pp., price 2s. 6d It may be obtained on application to Mr. Waller, 68, Bolsover Street, W.

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SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1885.

Visit to Peterborough.

A most instructive day was spent at Peterborough under the guidance of the Rev. W. D. Sweeting. The work of rebuilding the central tower of the Cathedral was in progress, and the building was consequently seen in a dismantled condition, but an exceptional opportunity was thus afforded for inspecting some details. Mr. Sweeting fully discussed the age of the various parts of the building, and afterwards, by permission of the authorities, conducted the members over the Bishop's Palace, and the remains of the monastic buildings. The fine Perpendicular church of St. John Baptist and the Tithe Barn were also visited.

The following notes have been supplied by Mr. Sweeting :—

"The party was greatly interested in many of the less obvious architectural features which were pointed out. It was manifest to all that the great western transept and portico formed an addition not contemplated by the original architects. They were indeed an after-thought, designed by the later generation of architects, which had arisen when the Norman style was going out of fashion. At the west end of the nave, though the main piers and arches had been built in the style of the eastern portion, many details were noticed, clearly showing the influence of the new style. But the most striking proof of the complete change of plan was furnished by the convincing evidence still existing, that the bases of the great western towers, as originally intended were actually built. They are there, in the nave and aisles, to this day. The aisle walls are thicker, the arches in the aisle become horse-shoes in place of semi-circles, the piers in the nave become short walls, and yet all is done so skilfully that probably not one observer in a thousand discovers anything unusual. Under the great western portico, the dangerous condition of the northern arch was pointed out, as well as the losses which had from time to time occurred of ornaments, or of wall-shafts, many of these latter being replaced by rollers of wood. Attention was directed at the east end of the choir, to what is considered, generally, a characteristic of modern restoration, and is believed to have had no place in the best period of architecture, namely, the wanton destruction by improvers of their predecessors' work. In the hanging tracery of the apse, the 14th century builders have, in some instances cut ruthlessly into the chevron mouldings of the Norman work. Of the remains of the monastic buildings, the most noteworthy were the Refectory, with some beautiful Early English work in the Bishop's garden, the Heaven's Gate Chamber in the Palace, and the Infirmary Chapel and house adjoining, now forming part of one of the Canons' residences."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1885.

Chairman : Somers Clarke, Esq., F.S.A.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries read a paper on "English Medieval Chalices and Patens," which is printed at page 81.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1885.

Chairman : Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. C. L. Acland, M.A., on "The Most Remote Church in the British Islands," which is printed at page 69.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1885.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. Spenser Nottingham gave a second address on "The Common-sense Use of the Church's Plain-song."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1886.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. H. R. Gough, F.R.I.B.A., &c., read a paper entitled, "An Architect's Views on Modern Church Building," which will be found printed at page 76.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1886.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

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The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented :—

"Seventh Annual Report, 1885-6.

"In issuing their Seventh Annual Report, the Council desire to congratulate the Members upon the position and prospects of the Society.

"Ten Meetings have been held at the Chapter House since the last Report, and the following papers have been read :—By Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, on 'Some Ecclesiastical Antiquities, English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh'; by Mr. Arthur Taylor, on 'The History of Stained Glass'; by Mr. Charles Browne, on 'The Ecclesiology of the Roman Catacombs'; by Mr. Somers Clarke, on 'Some Churches of North Germany'; by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, entitled, 'Some Notes on London Churches'; by Mr. G. H. Birch, on 'The Ecclesiology of Paris'; by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, on 'Medieval Chalices and Patens'; by the Rev. C. L. Acland, on 'The Most Remote Church of Great Britain'; by Mr. Spenser Nottingham, on 'The Common-sense Use of the Church's Plain-Song'; and by Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, entitled, 'An Architect's Views on Modern Church Building.'

"The following afternoon visits were made during the year :—To the Churches of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and St. Sepulchre, Snow Hill, where papers were read by Mr. G. H. Birch; to Merton Abbey, and the Churches of Merton and Morden, under the guidance of Mr. Arthur J. Style; to the old and new Parish Churches of Chelsea, and to Chelsea Hospital Chapel, which were described by Mr. Somers Clarke; to Chaldon, where Mr. J. G. Waller read a paper on the Wall-painting, and Merstham, where Major Heales read a paper; and to Hedsor and Cookham, under the guidance of Mr. Montague Hepworth.

"Excursions were also made to Chichester, where Mr. Gordon M. Hills received the Members, and acted as guide, and to Peterborough, where the Rev. W. D. Sweeting conducted.

"The Council desire to express their best thanks to those gentlemen who have read papers and otherwise assisted in carrying out this programme, and again record their appreciation of the kindness and courtesy of the Clergy and others to whom the Society is indebted for the facilities afforded when visiting the various places of interest.

"The annexed Balance Sheet shows the financial position of the Society to be satisfactory.

"Part V. of the Transactions has been issued during the year, and Part II. has been reprinted, as mentioned in last Report. Copies can be had of the Secretaries. Part I. of the second volume is in preparation, and will be issued as early as possible.

"There are now 329 members on the register; 20 members have been elected during the year, and 13 have resigned.

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*
EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Sec.*

"Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 1885, S. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Cr.

Dec. 31, 1885.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account... ...	37	18	3
„ Entrance Fees	2	2	6
„ Annual Subscriptions	57	4	6
„ Life Subscriptions	9	9	0
„ Sale of Transactions	6	14	6
„ Repaid from Special Fund	5	0	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	0	15	6
	£119	4	3
Jan. 1, 1886.			
Balance carried forward	£30	0	5
Reserve Fund in P.O. Savings Bank ...	£89	2	6

Dec. 31, 1885.	£	s.	d.
By Amount Paid on a/c of Transactions	44	4	6
„ Printing and Stationery	10	2	6
„ Postage	21	6	10
„ Fees to Attendants	3	6	0
„ Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	4	14	6
„ Repayment carried to Reserve Fund	5	0	0
„ Miscellaneous	0	9	6
„ Balance	30	0	5
	£119	4	3

We have examined the above, and find it correct—
EDWIN H. FEDARB, S. RAWSON, } *Auditors.*

HENRY GEO. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Sec.*

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*
ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

January 22nd, 1886.

SPECIAL FUND FOR REPRINTING PART II.

	£	s.	d.
Amount voted	16	16	0
Sale of Copies	5	15	0
	£22	11	0
Jan. 1, 1886.			
Balance in hand	£0	13	6"

	£	s.	d.
Paid for Printing	16	17	6
Repaid General Fund	5	0	0
In hand	0	13	6
	£22	11	0

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The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The following were elected as Council for the ensuing year:—Revs. H. C. Shuttleworth, Lewis Gilbertson, E. S. Dewick, Messrs. F. J. Beckley, G. H. Birch, C. Browne, Somers Clarke, F. Gill, H. R. Gough, S. W. Kershaw, A. Paxon, and H. T. Roxby.

Major Heales was re-elected as Treasurer, and Mr. E. J. Wells and Rev. H. G. Duffield as Secretaries.

The meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the use of the Chapter Room, to the Secretaries and Editors for their services, and to the Chairman.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1886.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., entitled, "The Old Church and the Old Churches, with a word on 'Restoration,'" which has already been printed at page 36.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1886.

Mr. J. P. Seddon, F.R.I.B.A., read a paper, entitled, "A Series of Architectural Monuments," which was illustrated by a large series of photographs, shewn by the lime-light lantern by Mr. E. C. Gough.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, 1886.

Visit to St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., Minor Canon of St. Paul's, conducted a large party of members through the Cathedral, and gave a description of the principal objects of interest. The party first visited the choir, and after passing through the crypt, and the nave, ascended by the Geometrical Staircase to the Trophy Room and Library, and then mounted to the Stone Gallery.

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1886.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

An address on "Knights Templars" was given by Mr. Charles Browne, M.A.

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1886.

Visit to the Charterhouse.

The Charterhouse was visited by about 130 members of the Society under the guidance of the Rev. H. V. Le Bas, preacher at the Charterhouse, who related the history of the buildings, and pointed out the chief objects of interest. At the conclusion of the visit, Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., thanked Mr. Le Bas on behalf of the members. For the accompanying plan of the present buildings, the Society is much indebted to Mr. R. H. Carpenter, F.R.I.B.A.

The Charterhouse buildings have a threefold history: (1) as a monastic establishment; (2) as a nobleman's residence; (3) as a "hospital." In their present form, the sixteenth century arrangements of a nobleman's town-house predominate, but the earlier monastic buildings may be easily traced, and the changes made in the seventeenth century, when the house was rearranged for its charitable purpose, also deserve attention.

The monastery was founded in 1361, by Sir Walter Manny and Bishop Northburgh, for the Carthusian order, whose chief seat was at the Chartreuse in Savoy, generally known as "La Grande Chartreuse." Each small establishment of this order bore the name in England of Charterhouse, in Italy of Certosa, in Spain of Cartuja. The order was founded by S. Bruno, in 1084, and the severe rules which he imposed do not seem to have been relaxed amid the general decline of monastic discipline. The calm austerity of the lives of the London Carthusians seems to have had great attraction for such devout laymen as Sir Thomas More, who occasionally sought relaxation from state cares in the Charterhouse, spending weeks there, "in retreat," as the guest of the monks. At the dissolution of monasteries, the Carthusians were treated with savage cruelty on account of their refusal to accept the supremacy of the king. The last prior, John Houghton, was executed at Tyburn, being hung, drawn, and quartered, and one of his limbs was afterwards exposed to view on the gateway of his monastery. A touching account of

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the sufferings of the English Carthusians will be found in Froude's *History;* and their "martyrdoms" were a favourite subject for the pencils of Carducho and other Spanish painters who worked for the Carthusians.

On referring to the accompanying plan, it will be seen that the principal buildings of the monastery were grouped round two courts, "the great court," and "the little cloister." The site of "great court" is now the playground of Merchant Taylors' School, which has in part succeeded to the inheritance of the Charterhouse School. Around three sides of this court were grouped the twenty-four cells of the monks, each of which was a dwelling complete in itself, and consisted of a house of two stories, and a garden in the rear. Each cell communicated with the cloister by a door, and by the side of the door was a square hole, opening into an elbow-shaped passage in the thickness of the wall, through which food and other necessaries were supplied to the inmates of the cell. At the present time the opening to one of the cells can still be seen at the S.W. corner of the great court. At Mount Grace Priory, in Yorkshire, which is the most perfect specimen of a Carthusian house in England, the cells may still be seen in an almost perfect condition running round the sides of the great court.

In the London Charterhouse the south side of the great court is partly occupied by the chapel, which is a plain building without aisles, like the chapels at the Grande Chartreuse and Mount Grace. This chapel was consecrated in 1371, but subsequent alterations have left but little of the original structure. The south and east walls of the chancel, however, appear to be original, for a piscina in the east wall agrees well with the date 1371, and the same may be said of a door in the south wall, which is only to be seen on the outside. The ante-chapel beneath the tower is vaulted, and of later date. The shields at the intersection of the ribs bear the instruments of the Passion.

The nave of the church, if it ever existed, has been entirely destroyed.

On the north side of the "little cloisters" stood the Guesten Hall, which still retains its timbered roof, and on its north side was the smaller refectory of the monks.

A smaller court stands on the west side of the little cloisters, which is now known as "wash-house court," and is extremely picturesque. The various monastic offices found a home in this court, which was apparently completed in the time of John Houghton, the last prior; for his initials I. H. may be seen in the brickwork on the outside of the west wall of this court. On the same side may also be noticed a walled-up arch, through which, as it has been suggested, the monastic doles were dealt out. Above it there is a cross in the brickwork.

After the dissolution of the monastery in 1537, the site was granted by the king in 1545 to Sir Edward North, who pulled down the twenty-four cells of the great cloister, and adapted the rest of the buildings to the purposes of a private dwelling. The old "Guesten Hall" became the Banqueting Hall, and rooms formerly devoted to the guests of the monks, now accommodated the family and retainers of the new owner. After some vicissitudes, the house was sold in 1565 to the Duke of Norfolk, who spent much money upon it. The hall was fitted by him with its present screen and music-gallery at its west end, and with its gallery along its north side. The great staircase may be assigned to the same date, and also the brick arcades which exist on the west side of the great cloister.

In 1572, the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded for high treason, and the property reverted to the possession of the crown, and finally was sold in 1611 to Thomas Sutton, who determined to found his "Hospital" on the site. In this institution provision was made for the maintenance of eighty poor men, and the education of forty poor boys; and the buildings underwent some change with a view to adapting them for their new destination. The original chapel of the monks required enlargement, so a north aisle was built; and the whole building was refitted. Much of the woodwork of Sutton's time remains at the west end of his aisle, and his tomb is a fine specimen of the monumental art of his age. The altar table, also, which has been recently restored to the chapel, after having been banished for a time to the Master's drawing-room, is a picturesque specimen of Jacobean church furniture. (See the accompanying illustration, which has been drawn for the Society by Mr. Thomas Garratt). Throughout the buildings much internal refitting was done by Sutton, and his arms may almost everywhere be seen.

Until the year 1872, Sutton's twin foundations existed side by side. The poor brethren and the scholars met for daily worship in the chapel, and for meals in the hall. But in 1872, the school was removed to Godalming, and the brethren alone were left. A considerable portion of the land and buildings were purchased by the Merchant Taylors' Company, and a large building was erected to accommodate 500 boys, on the site of the former school buildingr.

It will thus be seen that the Charterhouse is of no ordinary interest. Its monastic remains, with the exception of Mount Grace, afford the most complete illustration of Carthusian life that can be found in England; in its present form it is a unique specimen of a nobleman's town house of the sixteenth century; and the changes subsequently made remind us of the grand scale on which the pious founder framed his benefactions in the early part of the seventeenth century. Long may these pages of English history, written in stone, remain intact!

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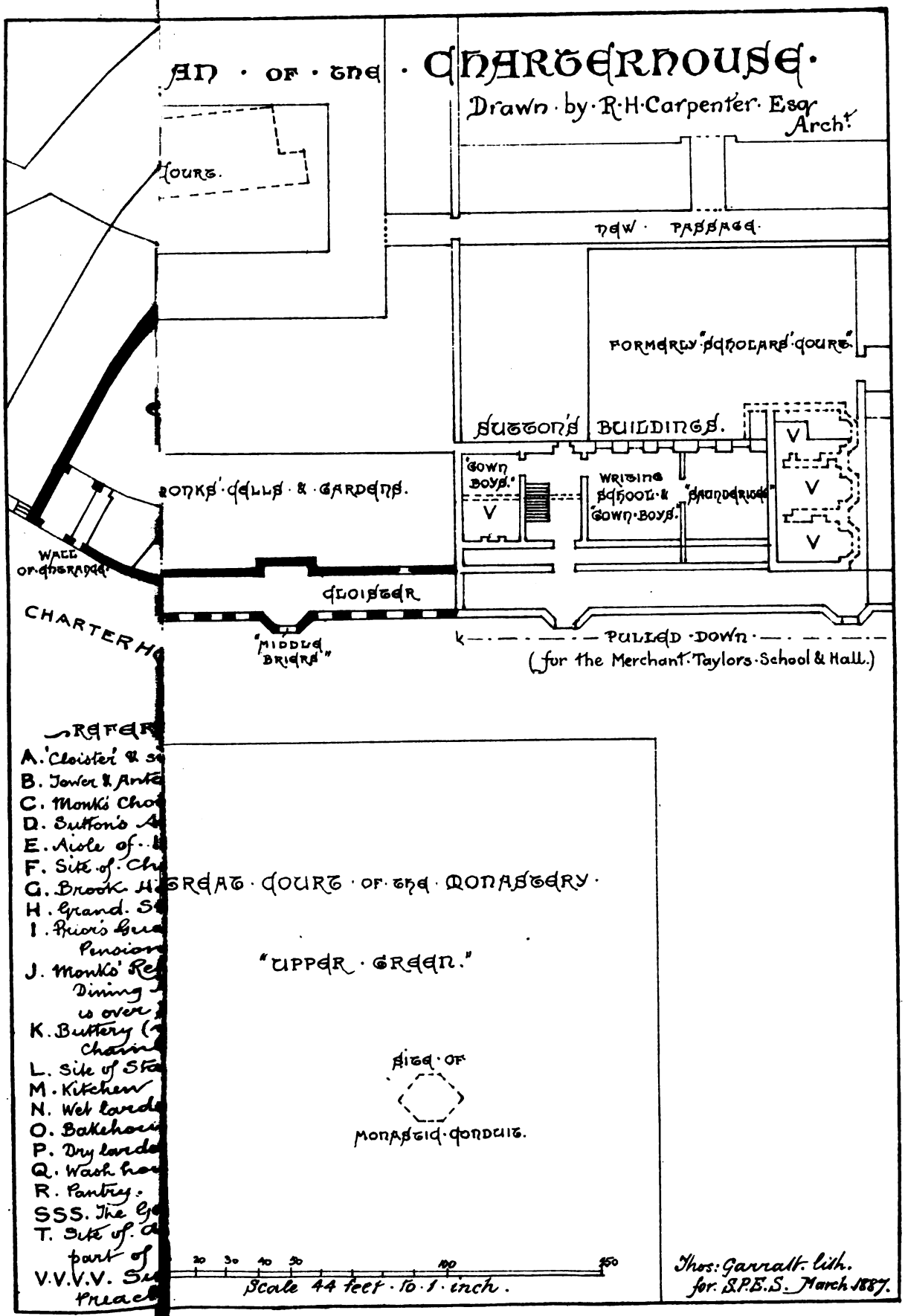

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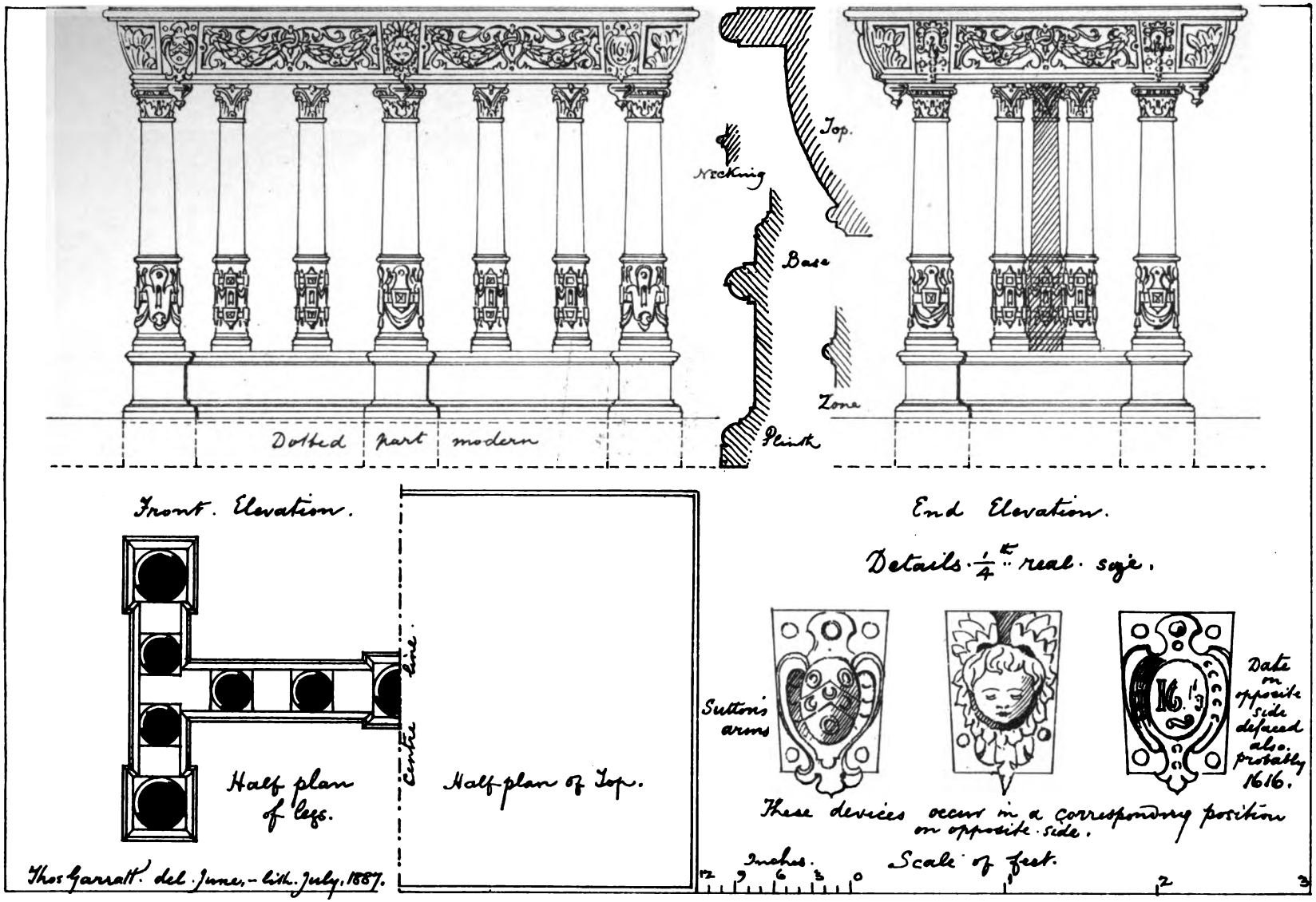

ALTAR-TABLE IN THE CHARTERHOUSE CHAPEL.

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An interesting article on the Charterhouse, with illustrations, will be found in the *English Illustrated Magazine*, April, 1886; and an account of a visit to the Grande Chartreuse in *Temple Bar*, September, 1886. There is also a short notice by Mr. Le Bas in the *London Diocesan Magazine*, January, 1887.

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1886.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

A second address on "Knights Templars" was given by Mr. Charles Browne, M.A.

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1886.

Visit to St. Bartholomew the Great.

About 150 members of the Society assembled at the church, and were received by the Rev. W. Panckridge, rector, and Mr. E. A. Webb, churchwarden. The architectural features of the church were described by Mr. Aston Webb, F.R.I.B.A., under whose care the restoration of the church was being carried out.

He alluded to the partial restoration of the church under the direction of Mr. T. Hayter Lewis in 1863-5, and then called attention to the present state of the church and the need of further work. He referred with satisfaction to the recent acquisition of the Fringe Factory, which actually projected into the church at the level of the triforium, and which could be now removed so as to allow the apse to be completed. He called attention to the great annoyance caused by the existence of the Boys' School in the north triforium of the church, and urged that it ought to be removed, as well as the Forge on the site of the north transept of the church, which was a source of incessant danger to the church from fire.

On the subject of the rebuilding of the apse, the following remarks are taken from Mr. Aston Webb's printed report:—

"The acquisition of the Fringe Factory—including the portions projecting into the church—enables the building to be freed from encumbrances which have burdened it for over 250 years.

"The termination of the east end of the church has been subject to several important structural changes since its commencement in 1103, and are briefly these:—The building, as originally designed, was to be terminated by a semicircular apse, and all but the two easternmost columns of the original ground arcade still remain, the other two having been rebuilt in 1864. The commencement of the curve of the triforium gallery is also visible, as are also the radiating arches of the groining to the ambulatory at the east end. These, however, show a change of purpose during the progress of the work, caused apparently by the addition of a Lady Chapel. What the change was, it is not possible to say with certainty, though the removal of the wall built across the opening, which has only now become possible, may be expected to throw light on this, by disclosing the bases of the arched entrance into the Chapel.

"A further alteration took place towards the end of the 15th century, when, as in most Norman churches in this country, the apse was converted into a square east end; the jambs of what was probably a large east window still remain, though there is no evidence beyond them, and the portions of string below, to indicate the design of the work.*

"The last change took place probably about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the east end appears to have fallen into a ruinous condition, the east window was taken out, and the present straight wall, with its two large round-headed windows, was built (principally of old materials, faced externally with brick).

"My object in the plans I have submitted for the removal of the present factory at the east end, and of which an interior view is appended [see accompanying illustration], has been to preserve *every trace* now existing of these changes. The jambs, therefore, of the late east end referred to I preserve, taking out only the modern wall between and turning an arch over from these jambs, *thus preserving all the indications of the square end*, and forming a sanctuary arch, with a straight wall over. Eastwards of this arch the apse will be completed as it already is on the ground arcade, and in accordance with the drawing referred to. By this means the work can be carried out without interference in any way not only with the original Norman work, but also *the latter fifteenth and sixteenth century additions*, thus preserving all the present traces of the architectural history of the building; in fact, west of the present east end, the building will be untouched by this work."

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* A considerable portion of the tracery of this window has been since discovered, and may now (1887) be seen in the Lady Chapel, which is used as a temporary museum.

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The Lady Chapel which has, till recently, been occupied by the Fringe Factory is now in a ruinous state, and requires attention. Its present condition is thus described by Mr. Webb :—

"The acquisition of the Fringe Factory, and the examination it has enabled us to make, has brought to light for the first time very considerable and most interesting remains of this building. The present factory is in fact contained within the walls of the Lady Chapel, the internal dimensions of which are 60-ft. by 22-ft., and show that the chapel was reconstructed, if not rebuilt, about Prior Bolton's time, the details of the window jambs agreeing with those of the remaining jambs of the east window; the walls and buttresses, which still remain, though now cemented over, are faced with flint, with a three-light window in each bay; traces apparently of the sedilia in the easternmost bay also remain. The original roof has entirely gone, and the building has had a story added to it for looms, probably in the last century, and the walls have been much cut about by floors and the insertion of modern windows, but enough remains to show the original design. Below the chapel is a crypt, lighted with single-light windows, and vaulted in a single span twenty-two feet wide: this crypt has been almost entirely filled with earth and fragments of the original building, but a portion has been excavated. Many interesting remains have already been found, and there is little doubt that still more interesting results will be obtained as the east end of the church is approached, including indications of the arrangement of the entrance to the church already referred to.

"Should the opportunity arise of restoring this building to its former condition, sufficient remains to enable this to be done to a great extent with certainty; but the acquisition of the almshouses on the north side would be very desirable, in order to light the building from both sides, as was originally the case, and these could probably be acquired at a moderate cost."

SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1886.

Visit to West Ham.

The church of All Saints, West Ham, was described by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., and the Rev. Canon Scott, vicar of the church, read a description of the interesting wall-paintings, which were discovered above the nave arcade, but are unfortunately no longer to be seen.

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1886.

Visit to Hatfield.

A large party assembled at Hatfield to avail themselves of the permission kindly granted by the Marquis of Salisbury to visit his magnificent Jacobean mansion. The members were conducted through the house by the Rev. E. J. Edwards, who described the history of the house, which was completed in 1611, and has come down to us virtually unaltered. The house possesses an interesting example of a nobleman's private chapel, which contains a fine painted window of Flemish work, consisting of eight compartments representing various types of the Old Testament, the antitypes being only expressed by inscriptions.

After passing through the whole of the state rooms of this noble mansion, the remains of the old palace of the Bishops of Ely were visited, the most interesting part of which is the great hall of the palace which is now used as a stable for about thirty horses. This lofty hall has a timber roof, supported by stone corbels, and is said to have been built by John Morton, Bishop of Ely, 1479-1486. The manor of Hatfield was given by King Edgar to the Abbey of Ely, and afterwards passed into the hands of the Bishops of Ely, with whom it remained, until Bishop Thomas Goodrich, in 1538, gave it to Henry VIII. in exchange for other lands. The crown retained Hatfield until James I. exchanged it with Lord Cecil for Theobalds, which he desired to possess on account of its facilities for hunting.

The Parish Church of Hatfield was afterwards visited.

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1886.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., read a paper on "Round Churches with special reference to those of the Templars."

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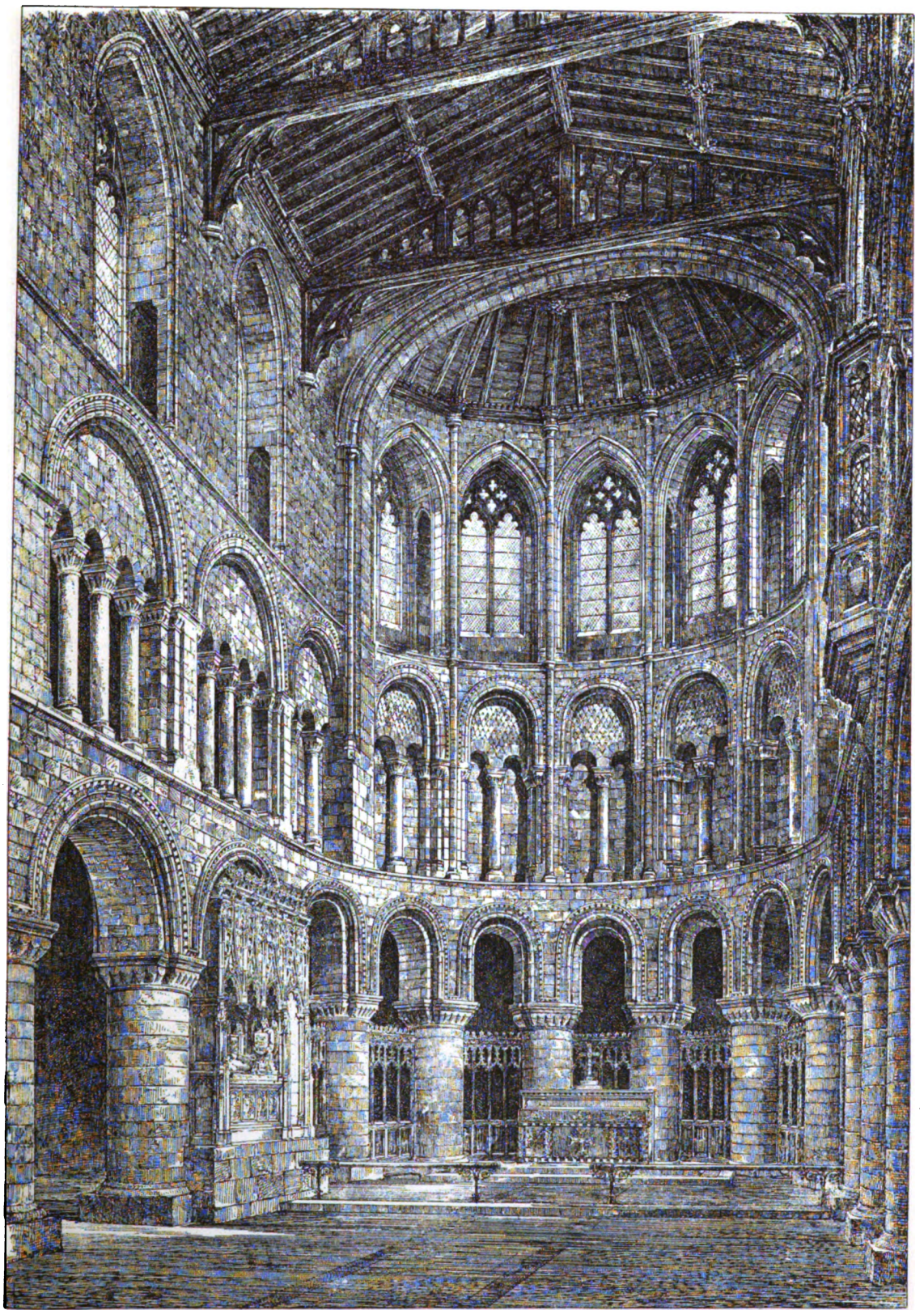

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APSE OF ST BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

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SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1886.

Visit to Ongar and Greensted.

On arriving at Ongar, the party visited the earthworks round Ongar Castle, which were described by Mr. Josiah Gilbert. The moat and mound of the keep were explored, and some scanty remains of masonry were traced.

The Parish Church was then visited, and a description of it was given by the rector, the Rev. James Tanner, M.A.

The following account of Chipping Ongar Church is copied from a pamphlet entitled, "A Few Notes, &c., on the Town and Parish of Chipping Ongar, by R. Ibbetson Porter, A.M., Rector, 1877":—

"The Church, dedicated to St. Martin, is a small plain Anglo-Norman building, erected about the twelfth century, consisting of nave and chancel, built of materials which in all probability formed part of a yet more ancient structure. At the west end is a wooden steeple, with a spire leaded, in which are two small bells. The original windows are singularly small; more resembling the loop-holes of a castle than the windows of a church. In 1860 (the Rev. Edmund Fisher being Rector) the church was restored, and refitted throughout, at a cost of £700, defrayed by voluntary offerings; at which time a stained glass window, by Chater & Son, of St. Dunstan's Hill, London, was placed on the north side of the nave, in memory of Mr. Richard Noble, an old inhabitant of the parish, at the expense of the family; and in the following year, a vestry was added on the north side of the chancel. In 1876, the pavement of the chancel in front of the altar rails was relaid with handsome encaustic tiles, interspersed with white marble, at the expense of Rev. T. M. R. Barnard, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, a parishioner. In the same year, a stained glass memorial window, executed by Messrs. Lavers and Barraud, London, depicting the Ascension of our Lord, was placed in the chancel, by Mr. Edward Sammes: it bears the following inscription:—In loving memory of Elizabeth, wife of Edward Sammes, of this parish, who in this church fell asleep in Jesus, on Sunday morning, October 24th, 1875, aged 70; this window is placed by her affectionate husband. Inside the altar rails, upon the ground, is the following inscription on a black marble stone:—Hic jacet Jona D. Oliveri Cromwelli, Finchenbrochiensis ex sedibus Huntingtoniensis Equirus balneensis, filia, uxor Tobiæ Pallavicini, Armigeri ex illustri nominis illius in agro Cantabrigiensis familia oriundi ad quadragesimum ætatis annum et ferme tertium pertingens quod mortale fuit in illa, officio vitaq: functa, in hoc pulvere deposuit xxiii Martii annoq: Christi, 1637."

The recent history of the Church is given in the following note by Mr. Tanner:—

"In 1884, the church accommodation being insufficient for the wants of the parishioners, a new aisle was built on the south side of the church, under the superintendence of Mr. Clapton Rolfe, architect, of Oxford. The walls correspond in thickness to those of the original building; in taking down the old wall many Roman tiles and bricks were discovered; the inner face of the wall is red brick, the outer being flint, while the intermediate space is filled with solid concrete. Owing to the difficulty in obtaining a sufficient slope, the roof of the aisle is covered with lead instead of tiles. The roof internally is open of English oak, and is divided into five bays; the beams are supported by angels carved by Mr. H. Hems, of Exeter, each angel bearing a shield on which is carved some emblem of the Passion. The seats are of well seasoned oak. Since the aisle was built its east window has been filled with stained glass, representing 'The Transfiguration of our Lord,' by Messrs. Heaton, Clayton, & Bell, in memory of the Rev. Edmund Fisher (who was for more than thirty years Rector of the parish), his wife, and eldest son, at the expense of the surviving son, the Rev. F. H. Fisher, Vicar of Fulham. One of the side windows of the aisle has also been filled with glass, representing the Crucifixion, by Messrs. Burlison & Grylls, at the expense of two ladies connected with the parish."

After leaving Ongar the members proceeded by a pleasant avenue to Greensted Church, which was described by Major Heales, F.S.A.; and subsequently a most hospitable entertainment was given on the lawn of Greensted Hall by Major and Mrs. Heales.

The little church of St. Andrew, Greensted, is of great historical and archæological interest. The nave, which is entirely constructed of timber, is believed to date from the year 1013. Three years before, the body of St. Edmund had been removed from Bury to London to save it from the Danes, who had made a descent upon East Anglia. In 1013 it was restored to Bury, and on its way thither, rested, according to a monastic register, "near Aungre (Ongar), where a wooden chapel remains as a memorial unto this day."

Local tradition identifies Greensted Church with this old memorial chapel, and there seems to be nothing in the present fabric to disprove the truth of this identification. The nave is about 30 ft. long, by 14 ft. broad, and consists of trunks of oak sawn lengthwise, from the centre of which a plank or two has been removed. The trunks are set up vertically and secured above into a groove of a horizontal beam, which runs along the full length of the building. The

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lower part of the woodwork had become decayed, and in 1848 it was found necessary to undertake considerable repairs, which were carried out so as to preserve as much as possible of the ancient fabric. The windows in the roof are modern, and the chancel is of brick, and dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26th, 1886.

Visit to Ely.

A long day was spent in Ely under the guidance of the Ven. Archdeacon Emery, and the Rev. J. H. Crosby. The Archdeacon gave a sketch of the history of the Cathedral, and afterwards conducted the members over the building, directing attention to the various styles of architecture contained in it, and the remarkable beauty of the octagon, which was built by Alan de Walsingham to replace the central Norman tower, which fell in 1322. The triforium galleries, the western tower, and the roof of the octagon were visited; and afterwards some time was spent in exploring the very interesting remains of the monastic buildings; and Prior Crauden's Chapel, built under the direction of Alan de Walsingham was much admired.

SATURDAY, JULY 10th, 1886.

Visit to St. Mary Cray and St. Paul Cray.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, who had been announced to conduct the visit, the church of St. Mary Cray was described by the Vicar, the Rev. A. Welsh. An account of the visit, with illustrations, was given in the *Building World* of Sept. 1st, 1886.

The following notes upon the church of St. Mary Cray have been supplied by the Rev. A. Welsh :—

"The oldest part of the church belongs to the end of the fourteenth century. In the chancel aisle (formerly called the Mount Chapel, the 'Mount' being the site of the present parsonage house), the east window is of that date; and built in by thick brickwork to form a flue in 1860, there is (or was before that year) part of a column with a floriated capital of the same date; the chancel, nave, and north aisle are somewhat later; the south aisle is rather later still, and, as it has been suggested (by the Archbishop of Canterbury), is probably the work of a French architect, or at least bears the marks of French influence. Before the restoration of the church in 1860, there was an ancient south porch (wooden), with the priest's room over, the staircase being on the outside. Over the large door there is a 'squint' looking towards the chancel arch, where formerly hung the perpetual light; on the east of this door, and inside the church, there is a stoup. The position of this stoup is very uncommon.*

"The church is very irregular in its, nevertheless, beautiful symmetry. The north and south arcades consist each of three arches of different diameter, the westernmost both north and south being smaller than the other two. The arches also on the south side differ in height and breadth and detail from those on the north; the columns of either side are different in height and mouldings. The chancel and nave have not the same centre line. There is remaining the entrance to the rood loft—the position of the staircase also being traceable. The chancel is very interesting. When it was restored in 1876 by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (who receive the greater portion of the Great Tithes), under the direction of Mr. Ewan Christian, architect, the rafters of the roof, being the ancient timbers of chestnut, were found to be quite perfect; the roof is now open, showing the rafters and the boarding upon them. Within the sanctuary in the south wall there was uncovered in 1876 an ancient piscina—the bowl almost perfect, the protruding front cut away level with the face of the wall, the back having the original chalk, as perfect as when first built. This chalk was carefully replaced when the wall was rebuilt. At the north side there is a modern credence. The east wall was

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* Mr. Gough's opinion upon it, is as follows :—"There was formerly a porch and parvise on this, the south side of the church, and we may fairly suppose therefrom that this was once the principal entrance. If so, the font would probably stand near it, and I think that this stoup was not intended for holy water, as in that case it would be placed in or nearer to the porch, but was intended to take the place of 'the bassyn of latendi,' so often mentioned in inventories of church goods, the use of which was for the washing of the hands of the godparents, as directed in the old rubrics of the Sarum manual, to the intent that upon taking the child after baptism they should wash their hands, lest they should carry away any of the consecrated oils which were mingled with the water in the font. In England, basins were expressly set aside for this use, but abroad small stoups were commonly placed near or attached to the font itself. As there are many indications that the building was designed by a Frenchman it is likely he would introduce what he was accustomed to in his own land. At Knights' Enham Church in Hampshire, there is a stoup in the centre of the west wall, which I have little doubt was used for this purpose; see also the niche near the font at Barking Church, Essex; this, although it is not a stoup, probably was intended to contain the metal basin and the cruets of consecrated oil, two of which were mingled with the water."

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rebuilt at the beginning of the century in the Perpendicular style; the three windows in the chancel, N., S., and E., are filled with stained glass by one of the Gibbs'.

"There are some excellent brasses—ancient to the Mannings, and modern to the Greenwoods. These last are very noticeable, having been executed in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There is a perfect piscina in the Mount Chapel (chancel aisle), and also a niche low down in the north wall between the windows, for which, as far as has been ascertained, no purpose has been assigned—probably an aumbry.

"Perhaps the most interesting feature of the church is the perfect hagioscope in the south wall of the chancel, looking from the Hodsole or Rookery Chapel. The chancel end of this was uncovered in 1860, when the nave of the church was restored, and the other end in 1876, apparently the whole of it is as originally constructed.

"There are remains of ancient screens in the Hodsole Chapel, north and west, and one in the belfry arch; these are in very good preservation.

"Most of the stonework in the windows is modern (1860); two windows in the north aisle and one (east) in the chancel aisle having been left as they were at the above date, the stone is very much decayed. In the wall of the north aisle there is a mortuary door, and just outside this door there is a thick stone slab, coffin-shaped, of the 13th or 14th century.

"The lych gate is an exact modern copy of the ancient one in Beckenham church-yard."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1886.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

An address was given by Mr. Hugh Stannus, A.R.I.B.A., on "Storiation," which term he used to describe the various modes of decorating a church, or other building, so as to convey a story. The didactic value of this method before the invention of printing was specially insisted upon; and a large number of illustrations, drawn both from ancient and modern sources, were exhibited and commented upon.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1886.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. J. Grimshire gave a lecture on "Some of the Cathedrals and Abbeys of England architecturally and historically considered." Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford and Worcester were the principal cathedrals treated of, all of which, together with some of the Yorkshire abbeys, were illustrated by photographic views, shown by the lime-light lantern.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1886.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., gave an address entitled "A Rambling Discourse on Churches," in the course of which he pointed out the inconvenience of the cruciform plan for a modern parish church, and objected to the apsidal ends, which are now so fashionable, as being un-English, and ugly, when not vaulted with stone.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1887.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

Mr. Veargitt W. Maughan read a paper on "Some Churches of the Nene Valley," referring especially to Higham Ferrers, Rushden and Finedon.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1887.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed, after which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented:—

"Eighth Annual Report, 1886-7.

"The Council congratulate the Members upon the proceedings of the past year; the general interest manifested, and the very large attendances at the out-door meetings, testify to the continued usefulness and popularity of the Society.

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"During the year, nine meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and the following papers have been read:—By Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, on 'The Manipulation of Ancient Churches, commonly called Restoration'; by Mr. J. P. Seddon, entitled 'A Series of Architectural Monuments'; two by Mr. Charles Browne, on 'The Knights Templars'; by Mr. G. H. Birch, on 'Round Churches, with special reference to those of the Templars'; by Mr. Hugh Stannus, on 'Storiation'; by Mr. Joseph Grimshire, entitled 'Some of the Cathedrals and Abbeys of England architecturally and historically considered'; by Mr. Somers Clarke, entitled 'A Rambling Discourse on Churches, &c.'; and by Mr. Veargitt W. Maughan, on 'Some Churches of the Nene Valley.'

"The following afternoon visits were made during the year:—To St. Paul's Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson; to the Charterhouse, under the guidance of the Rev. H. V. Le Bas; to the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, which was described by Mr. Aston Webb; to West Ham, where Mr. G. H. Birch read a paper; to Hatfield, where the Church, the remains of the Bishop's House and the Hall were inspected, under the direction of the Rev. E. J. Edwards; to Ongar, the Castle being described by Mr. Josiah Gilbert, and the Church by the Rector, the Rev. J. Tanner; to Greensted, where Major Heales read a paper; to St. Mary Cray, under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. A. Welch; and to St. Paul's Cray.

"A day was spent in Ely, where the Venerable Archdeacon Emery gave a description of the Cathedral, and afterwards, assisted by the Rev. J. H. Crosby, Minor Canon, conducted the party over it, and through the precincts.

"The Council desire to express their thanks to the gentlemen who have thus contributed to the success of the Society's proceedings, and also the Clergy and others for the welcome which has at all times been accorded to the Society.

"Part I. of the Second Volume of the Transactions has been issued during the year, and Part II. is in preparation.

"Notwithstanding that the Council have had to express their regret that some members have allowed their subscriptions to fall into arrear, the Balance Sheet attached will show that the finances of the Society are in a thoroughly satisfactory condition.

"There are now 331 members on the Register; 17 members have been elected during the year; and 15 have resigned.

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*
EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Sec.*

"Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 1886, S. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Cr.

Dec. 31, 1886.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31, 1886.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account ...	30	0	5	By Amount paid on a/c of Transactions	39	11	9
,, Entrance Fees	1	17	6	,, Printing and Stationery	10	5	7
,, Annual Subscriptions	59	10	0	,, Postage	18	18	1
,, Life Subscriptions	7	7	0	,, Fees to Attendants	2	8	6
,, Sale of Transactions	2	6	0	,, Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	3	13	6
,, Illustrations Fund	2	2	0	,, Repayment carried to Reserve Fund	2	0	0
,, Repaid from Special Fund	2	0	0	,, Miscellaneous	0	9	2
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	0	19	2	,, Balance	28	15	6
	£106	2	1		£106	2	1

Jan. 1, 1887.
Balance carried forward £28 15 6
Reserve Fund in P. O. Savings' Bank. £44 16 0

We have examined the above, and find it correct.

S. RAWSON, E. H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*

H. G. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*
ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

January 17, 1887.

SPECIAL FUND FOR REPRINTING PART II.

Jan. 1, 1886.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	0	13	6	Repaid General Fund	2	0	0
Sale of Copies	1	15	0	In hand	0	8	6
	£2	8	6		£2	8	6

Jan. 1, 1887.
Balance in hand ... ... 0 8 6"

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The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The following members of the Council were re-elected for the ensuing year:—Revs. H. C. Shuttleworth, E. S. Dewick, L. Gilbertson, Messrs. G. H. Birch, C. Browne, Somers Clarke, F. Gill, H. R. Gough, S. W. Kershaw, and H. T. Roxby.

Messrs. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt and W. Bolton were elected as new members of the Council, in the place of Messrs. F. J. Beckley and A. Paxon, who did not seek re-election.

Major Heales was re-elected Treasurer, and Mr. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield, Hon. Secretaries.

Mr. Browne suggested that the Society should endeavour to form a library; and various matters connected with the summer visits were discussed.

The meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Officers of the Society, and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the use of the Chapter Room.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1887.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. B. Edmund Ferrey, F.S.A., &c., read a paper on "Symbolism in Ecclesiology," which is printed at page 49. Mr. Stannus and Mr. Browne took part in the discussion which followed, the latter pointing out the importance of distinguishing *a priori* from *a posteriori* symbolism. To the former he attributed the cruciform shape of many churches, and to the latter the inclination of the chancel, which was adopted in the first place for architectural reasons, and the symbolism invented afterwards.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1887.

Chairman: Mr. J. Grimshire.

Mr. Bolton read a paper on "Some Little-known Churches near London," which is printed at page 101.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1887.

Visit to St. Bartholomew the Great.

A second visit was paid to the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, when Mr. E. A Webb gave an account of its history and architecture; and, subsequently, Mr. Aston Webb, F.R.I.B.A., the architect of the church, made some remarks upon the works carried out since the previous visit of the Society, and called attention to the interesting discoveries made at the east end of the church in the process of demolishing the intrusive Fringe Factory.

The change effected in the church in less than a year was very remarkable. The objectionable features of the east end had been replaced by a new apse, in Norman style, which harmonized with the older Norman work, and, at the same time, left untouched the interesting evidence of the square east end, which had been substituted for the apse, at the end of the 14th century. Stalls on the collegiate system had been placed at the west end of the present church, which is little more than the choir of the former church; and a western gallery had been erected to contain the organ, recently purchased from St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1887.

Chairman: J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, Esq.

A paper was read by the Rev. J. C. Bellett, M.A., on "The Holy Eastern Church."

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1887.

Visit to Lambeth Palace.

By the kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the members of the Society had, for the second time, the privilege of visiting Lambeth Palace, so full of architectural and historical interest. Mr. J. P. Seddon, F.R.I.B.A., acted as guide; and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., pointed out some of the principal treasures in the Library.

An account of the Palace, in connection with the previous visit, on June 21st, 1879, will be found in Transactions S. P. E. S., Vol. I., page 69.

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THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1887.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. Athelstan Riley M.A., F.R.G.S., gave an address upon "The Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Church."

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1887.

Visit to West Drayton and Uxbridge.

Papers were read at both of these churches, by Mr. C. Montague Neale, supplemented at West Drayton by some remarks by Mr. A. D. White.

The following notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. White :—

"The parish church of West Drayton, Middlesex, dedicated to St. Martin, is a well-proportioned structure, built of flint and stones; and consists of chancel, nave with north and south aisles, and a tower at the west end of the nave. The tower is the oldest part of the church, dating probably from the early part of the thirteenth century. Like several other ancient towers, it has no buttresses to give support to its massive walls, which are now covered with thick ivy growing from one stem. In the middle of the north side of the tower is a newel-turret, with a cupola of late date carrying a bell. The tracery of the belfry windows is now in a very dilapidated condition, and appears to be of the fifteenth century, at which time the tower was probably under repair. The nave and chancel were erected about 1450. The piers of the nave are octagonal and plain, and the clerestory contains large two-light windows. In the chancel there is a good thirteenth-century piscina, which formerly stood about two feet or more lower than its present position. In 1871, the then vicar, the Rev. W. E. Emmett, had it raised, so that it could more conveniently be used. As the workmen were making the alteration, I discovered in the walls of the chancel a large piece of the upper part of a thirteenth-century lancet-window, which no doubt belonged to an older church upon this spot, as did also the piscina. In 1850 the chancel was raised three steps at the chancel arch, but the east end was raised to its present height early in the seventeenth century, when a large vault was constructed under it for the Paget family.

"On the walls of the church formerly hung a large quantity of armour, such as helmets, coronets, gauntlets, and spurs, and also numerous emblazoned banners. Much of it had been stolen from time to time, and that which remained when the church was under repair in 1850-51, was removed, and never returned to the church. The same fate befell some stained glass in several of the windows. Before the repairs there could be seen on the east end of the south aisle some indistinct remains of mural painting, and some black-letter texts. In the same aisle were also traces of a piscina and a parclose screen. At the present time some faint traces of wall painting can be seen on the south end of the chancel arch. All the glass now in the church is modern.

"There are several monuments in the church, for the most part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are also three brasses, one being to John Goode, some time Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1581, and Joan, his wife, daughter of Edward Clinton, alderman of Oxford; also to Richard Roos, mercer and citizen of London, 1406. These two are in the chancel. In the south aisle is the brass of Robert Machel, Gent., servant to Lord Paget, 1557.

"The font is one of the most interesting in Middlesex. The bowl or upper part is octagonal, and has on five of its sides angels carrying shields; and on the other three sides, the crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John standing by the cross, our Lady of Pity with the dead Christ on her knees, and a sculptor at work upon some foliage. On each of the corners of the base, which is square, is a peculiar and very grotesque figure, similar in character to the corbel heads in the nave and aisles, and to those on the outside of the church. I consider the date of the font to be about the middle of the fifteenth century.

"The church possesses an ancient chalice and paten. The bowl of the chalice is hemispherical and lipped [and is not original]. The foot is hexagonal, with crucifix between foliage, and bears the following inscription in black letter :—Orate p. aiabꝫ Johis Porpell et Johanne uxor' ei'. Hall mark, a small black letter k, being the London date-letter for 1507-8. In the centre of the paten is a rude impression of the head of our Saviour. The date-letter is the same as on the chalice.

"The church book of baptisms, marriages, and burials, is very interesting, and in a good state of preservation. The first part of the entries, which commence in 1568, is copied from an earlier book."

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THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1887.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., F.S.A.

The Rev. C. L. Acland, M.A., read a paper upon "The Cathedral Church of St. Magnus, Kirkwall," which is printed at page 178.

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1887.

A visit was paid to the churches of Broxbourne and Wormley.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1887.

The church and college of Cobham, in Kent, were visited, under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. A. H. Berger, who described the architectural history of the church, and called especial attention to the unrivalled series of brasses, for which the church is famous.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1887.

The church of Bishop's Stortford was visited, under the direction of Mr. J. L. Glascock, jun.; and afterwards the party proceeded to Great Hallingbury, where the Rector pointed out the chief objects of interest in the church, calling attention to the chancel arch, constructed of Roman tiles, and a piscina, high up in the wall, on the south side of it, which belonged to an altar in the rood-loft.

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1887.

Visit to Salisbury.

On reaching the cathedral the members were received by the Dean, who gave a short sketch of the history of the building; and a long time was devoted to its inspection. By the kind permission of the Bishop the Palace was then visited, under the guidance of Mr. Holgate, the most interesting portions being the chapel, and a vaulted undercroft of the thirteenth century, which had been recently cleared out. The parish church of St. Thomas was the next object of interest on the programme. The church is a fine specimen of Perpendicular architecture, with good open roofs. Above the chancel arch is a painting of the Doom, which, however, has been twice repainted. In the south aisle of the chancel there are untouched mural paintings of the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity. In the vestry is preserved an interesting specimen of medieval embroidery—an altar frontal, with the Annunciation in the centre. The churches of St. Martin and of St. Edmund were next visited. The former has Early English portions, and contains an old eagle lectern and a curious sculpture in alabaster of the Annunciation, which has been lately discovered, and is now in the south aisle.

Subsequently the party divided into sections. Some were attracted to Bemerton, by the memory of George Herbert; others inspected the "Saxon" arches at Britford, which are assigned to the ninth century; and a few visited the church of Stratford, which has a good chancel screen and Jacobean pulpit with an hour-glass stand. The tower of Stratford Church, rebuilt by Thomas Pitt, Esq., in 1711, as recorded by an inscription, is a curious specimen of the Gothic of Queen Anne's time.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1887.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., read a paper upon "Some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse," which is printed at page 113. The paper was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. C. Browne, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and others took part.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1887.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

A paper was read by Major Heales, F.S.A., on "The Ecclesiology of Gottland."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1887.

Chairman: S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt read a paper on "The City Companies," which is printed at page 162.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1888.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., on "The Cathedral of Las Palmas, Grand Canary"; and some further details were given by Major Heales, F.S.A., who had also visited Las Palmas.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented:—

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1887-88.

"In presenting the Ninth Annual Report the Council are glad to state that the position of the Society continues to be thoroughly satisfactory.

"During the past year eight meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and papers have been read on the following subjects:—By Mr. B. Edmund Ferrey, on "Symbolism in Ecclesiology"; by Mr. W. Bolton, on "Some little-known Churches near London"; by the Rev. J. C. Bellett, on "The Holy Eastern Church"; by Mr. Athelstan Riley, on "The Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians"; by the Rev. C. L. Acland, on "The Cathedral of St. Magnus, Kirkwall"; by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, on "Some Liturgical Customs now falling into disuse"; by Major Heales, on "The Ecclesiology of Gottland"; and by Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, on "The City Companies."

"Visits have been made during the year to the following churches, &c.:—To St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, where Mr. Aston Webb described the progress of the restoration. To Lambeth Palace, where Mr. J. P. Seddon described the architecture, and Mr. S. W. Kershaw the pictures and the contents of the Library. To Uxbridge and West Drayton Churches, under the guidance of Mr. C. Montague Neale. To Broxbourne and Wormley. To Cobham, where the church and college were described by the Vicar, the Rev. A. H. Berger. To the churches of Bishop's Stortford, where Mr. J. L. Glascock, junr., acted as guide; and Great Hallingbury, which was described by the Vicar.

"A whole-day Excursion was made to Salisbury. The Cathedral was visited under the guidance of the Very Reverend the Dean, and afterwards sections of the party visited the parish churches of the city and of Stratford-sub-Castle, Britford and Bemerton.

"The Council tender their best thanks to all those gentlemen, who, by reading papers or otherwise, have conduced to the success of the Society during the year, and also to the Clergy and others for the facilities which have been afforded for the inspection of churches and other objects of interest on the occasion of the Society's visits.

"Part II. of the Second Volume of Transactions has been issued during the past year.

"The annexed Balance Sheet must be regarded as very satisfactory. The Society has no outstanding liabilities.

"The number of Members on the Register is 334. 34 New Members have been elected during the year, and 21 names having been removed from various causes.

"H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH,
Chairman.

"EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Sec."

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BALANCE SHEET, 1887, S. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr

Dec. 31st, 1887.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account ...	28	15	6
„ Entrance Fees	2	15	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	65	19	6
„ Life Subscriptions...	13	13	0
„ Sale of Transactions	2	15	6
„ Repaid from Special Fund ...	1	0	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund ...	1	1	10
	£116	0	4
Jan. 1st, 1888.			
Balance carried forward	£19	17	0
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	£52	12	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1887.	£	s.	d.
By Amount Paid on Account of Transactions	55	11	9
„ Printing and Stationery	10	15	6
„ Postage	19	6	7
„ Fees to Attendants	2	6	0
„ Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	6	16	6
„ Repayment carried to Reserve Fund	1	0	0
„ Miscellaneous	0	7	0
„ Balance	19	17	0
	£116	0	4

We have examined the above, and find it correct.

E. H. FEDARB, S. RAWSON, } *Auditors.*

H. G. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*

January 19, 1888. ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

SPECIAL FUND FOR REPRINTING PART II.

Jan. 1st, 1887.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	0	8	6
Sale of Copies	0	18	0
	£1	6	6
Jan. 1st, 1888.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	0	6	6

	£	s.	d.
Repaid General Fund	1	0	0
In hand	0	6	6
	£1	6	6

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The Rev. E. S. Dewick proposed to amend Rule V., by substituting "fourteen" for "twelve." This was seconded by Mr. C. Browne, and carried.

The retiring members of the Council were re-elected; and Mr. Thomas Garratt and Mr. Arthur Taylor were elected as new members of the Council.

Major Heales was re-elected Treasurer; and Mr. E. J. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield were re-elected Secretaries.

The meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for their continued kindness in allowing the use of the Chapter Room for the meetings of the Society; to the Secretaries and Editor for their services; and to the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1888.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. W. Bolton read a paper on "English and Foreign Cathedrals and Churches contrasted and compared," which is printed at page 169.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1888.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Suggestions for the Ritual of the Communion Service," which is printed at page 150.

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21, 1888.

Chairman: B. Edmund Ferrey, Esq., F.S.A.

In the absence of Mr. Thomas Garner, his paper on "The New Altar Screen in St. Paul's Cathedral" was read by the Rev. L. Gilbertson. After the reading of the paper (which is printed at page 167), a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the author.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1888.

St. Paul's Cathedral was visited, under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, who gave a short sketch of the history of the cathedral, and described in detail the new altar screen.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1888.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner, F.L.S., F.G.S., on "Metal Grilles in connection with Architecture."

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1888.

A large party visited the Church of St. Mary Overie, under the guidance of Mr. J. T. Dollman, F.R.I.B.A. A previous visit had been paid to the church, on May 1, 1880; and an account of the church, in connection with that visit, will be found in *Trans. S. P. E. S.*, vol. I. p. x.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1888.

Chairman: Major Heales, F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., on "The Knights Hospitallers."

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1888.

A visit was paid to Westminster Abbey, under the guidance of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A. The members assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber, where Mr. Micklethwaite gave an address on the architectural history of the Abbey, pointing out the influence which the Confessor's work had had upon the plan and proportions of the present church, and noting the changes in the architecture of the building, which tell of its execution at different dates, though the same general design was always kept to. Mr. Micklethwaite afterwards conducted the party through the Abbey, pointing out the principal features of interest in the monuments and in the architecture of the building.

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1888.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

A paper was read by Major Heales, F.S.A., on "The Ecclesiology of Bornholm," in which he described the fifteen churches which are found on the island.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1888.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., read a paper entitled "The Churches of Great Britain and Ireland compared, in respect of their Orientation, with those of Italy and the East." An interesting discussion followed, in the course of which Dr. J. Wickham Legg pointed out the true test of Orientation is to be found in the position of the celebrant at the High Altar.

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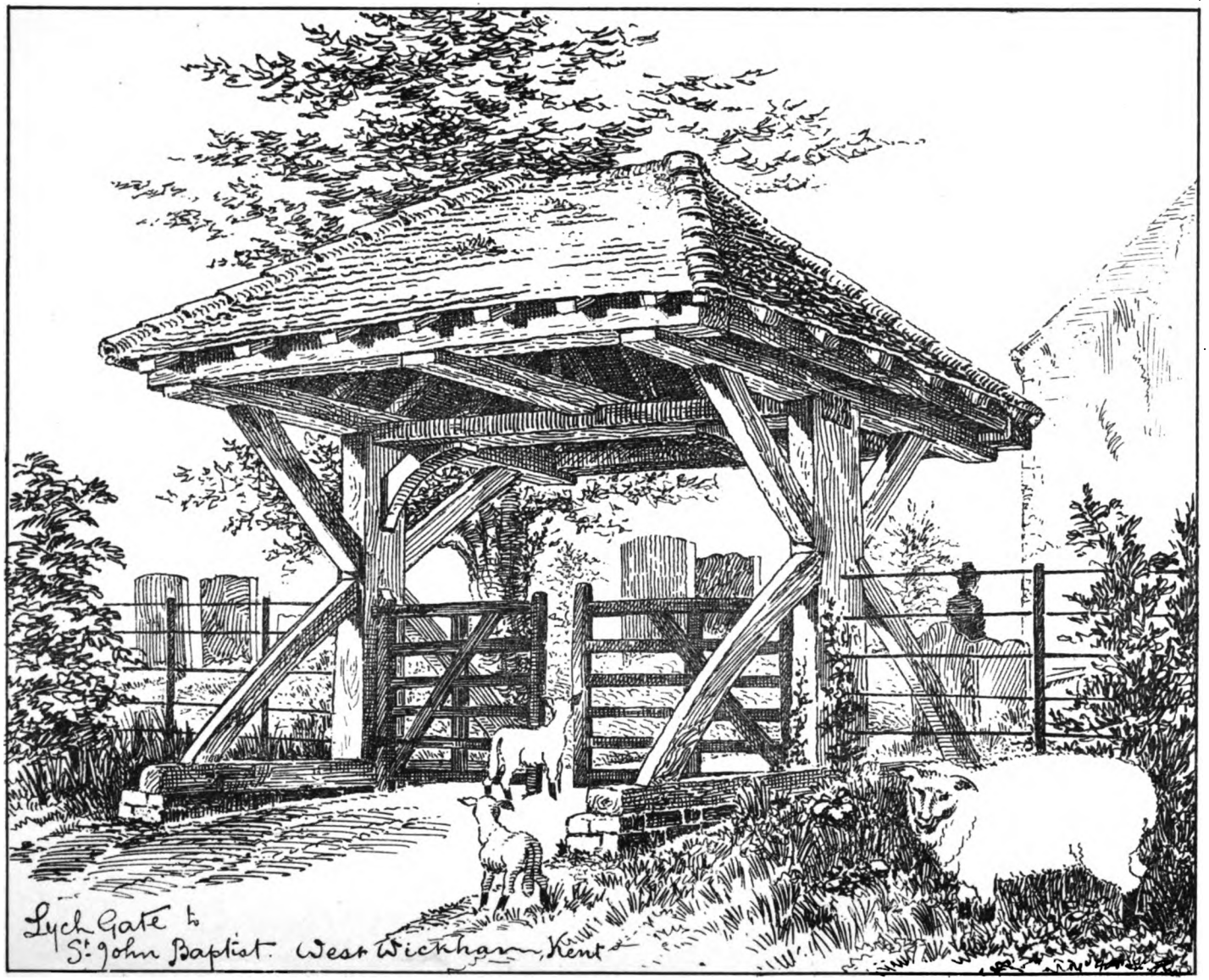

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SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1888.

Visit to West Wickham and Addington.

The church of West Wickham was described by Mr. G. Clinch; and some notes on the tombs at Addington were furnished by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A. The accompanying sketch of the old Lych-gate at West Wickham is from the pencil of Mr. Thomas Garratt.

The following notes on the stained glass at West Wickham were read in the church by Mr. Arthur Taylor:—

"The remains of old glass in this church form the principal feature of interest: in fact there are few churches within a short distance of London where glass of equal importance is to be found. I have not met with any particulars regarding the history of these windows, or throwing much light on the question how far the original arrangement differed from that which we now see. The old glass is placed in three windows of the north chancel aisle, viz., the east window and the first and second on the north side, counting from the east. Each of the lights (with one exception), contains a figure standing upon a bracket; the background consisting simply of diamond quarries with the monogram ihs. These quarries are entirely modern, the figures and brackets alone being old, and even these have been considerably restored. This restoration has been satisfactorily done, upon the whole; for, although the restored parts harmonize with the original, there is no attempt to palm off new glass as old, the difference being readily distinguishable upon examination. The simplest method of describing the figures will be to take each light separately, commencing with the east window, which contains three lights. In the left-hand light is St. Ann teaching the Blessed Virgin. The centre light contains two small uncoloured figures, one being St. Christopher and the other a kneeling skeleton, with a scroll containing the words:—Ne reminiscaris dñe delicta nra vel parentum nostrorum. The skeleton is supposed to represent Sir Henry Heydon, who rebuilt or repaired the church during the reign of Henry VII. In the right-hand light are the Virgin and Child, the latter holding a bird (as seen in some early Italian paintings). The first figure on the north side is the blessed Virgin: this is considered very fine, but has been much restored. It is larger than the other figures, and differs somewhat in style; very probably it has been brought from some other church. In the next light is the figure of a female saint, in the act of giving flowers from a basket to the Infant Christ. This subject has sometimes been described as the Virgin and Child, but is no doubt intended for St. Dorothea. In the adjoining window are figures of St. Christopher and St. Catherine. With the exceptions referred to above, the figures are uniform in size and general treatment, and evidently formed a series. They probably date from the time of Henry VII."

The following notes upon "The Leigh and other Monuments in Addington Church, Surrey," have been communicated by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.

"Among the Surrey churches are several remarkable for their monumental and other remains, as can be especially seen in the well-known examples at Cobham, Croydon, Guildford, Esher, and elsewhere.

"At Addington, more than ordinary interest attaches to these memorials, as their history si closely connected with that of the manor, which can be traced to early times.

"The Leigh family, who are chiefly commemorated in this church, were associated with the parish so early as the reign of Edward III., when Rowland atte Lege appears as a holder of land in Addington.

"Several small monuments and inscriptions of interest have, unfortunately, disappeared in past times. A stricter guardianship, however, of these memorials now exists, and their value, both in an historical and artistic sense, is much more appreciated.

"Two of the monuments which were erected to the Legh family are not to be identified, viz., that to John Legh who died in 1469, and that to his son and successor who was Sheriff of Surrey in 1486. The latter, according to Aubrey the historian, was removed from its original position to make room for a tablet to Archbishop Howley. All that remains of this memorial is the slab which is on the floor of the chancel, and has a brass to the memory of John Legh, his wife and children.

"The particular Leigh Monument, however, to which the stranger's attention is at once directed on visiting this church, is on the north side of the chancel; a monument, which, in point of interest and variety, is on a par with many similar remains in this county.

"It is described as large and stately, chiefly of alabaster and black marble, enriched with gilding, painting, &c.

"The effigies are in a recumbent position, those of Sir Olliph Leigh and his wife being in the lowest part of the monument; in the two arches at the head, are the figures of Sir Nicholas

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Leigh and his lady in one compartment, and John Leigh and his wife in the other. Above, are four shields, with the arms of Legh, Carew, and Olliph; the figures are in the dress of the time, and the whole was surmounted, originally, with a cornice and angels blowing trumpets; these were not visible in the days of Aubrey, the Surrey historian.

"The structure has suffered greatly in former years, and I am pleased to say that before long this handsome memorial will be judiciously repaired, and the coats of armour, and other enrichments be replaced, as far as possible, after the original.

"The repairs will be carried out by Messrs. S. and H. Poole, who are engaged on similar work at Westminster Abbey, and who have lately re-constructed with much skill, from many broken fragments, the defaced and almost destroyed monument to Archbishop Whitgift, so terribly injured in the fire at the old parish church of Croydon, in 1867.

"Sir Olliph Legh, whom the Addington memorial commemorates, was born in 1559, and died in 1611; he was knighted in 1586, and was Lord of the Manor, with which office many curious usages were connected. Among others, he had a claim to perform service at the Coronation of James I., in 1603, in respect of his Manor of Addington.

"The family of Leigh was for a long period after Sir Olliph's death resident at Addington, and it was not until 1768, that the manor rectory and advowson were conveyed to Alderman Trecothick of London. In 1807 the estate was purchased for the See of Canterbury, in great measure from the proceeds of the sale of Croydon Palace, which had then become unfit for habitation. The connection of the Legh family with the Manor of Addington lasted nearly 400 years, and their influential position in the county, secured for them a permanent rank among the old Surrey families.

"The reader will find an elaborate and learned account of the Leigh family, in the Transactions of the Surrey Archæological Society (vol. vii.), by G. Leveson-Gower, F.S.A., one of its Vice-Presidents; an exhaustive paper, which the limit of these notes will not afford.

"It remains to say, Addington, like other churches, has undergone much change, both externally and internally. The church was "restored" in 1843; and again in 1876, under the direction of J. P. St. Aubyn, Esq., Architect, when the tower was raised, and a new north aisle and vestry built, and the whole church, with the exception of the chancel, was re-roofed. The more modern memorials are the large west window in the tower, filled with stained glass, to the memory of the Rev. Craufurd Tait, only son of the late Archbishop, mural tablets to the Primates Longley and Tait, and various hatchments, &c., of persons interred in the chancel of the church."

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1888.

Visit to Harmondsworth.

The architectural history of Harmondsworth Church was described by Mr. A. D. White, who afterwards conducted the members to the Great Barn, for an illustration of which the Society is indebted to Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A.

The following account of Harmondsworth has been furnished by Mr. A. D. White:—

"This *Church*, dedicated to St. Mary, is a structure of great archæological interest. It is very difficult to trace with certainty the original design of the church, on account of the considerable alterations which have been made from time to time. No doubt, some portions are very ancient, particularly the lower part of the tower, and the south wall of the nave. The present columns and arches of this wall are probably of the early part of the twelfth century; but judging from the irregular span and shape of the arches, I am inclined to think they were inserted at that time into an older wall, which might have served originally as the north external wall of an older church. The present south aisle is of a much later date, and largely constructed of old stone-work taken from other parts of the building, as many portions of late Norman sculptured stone-work can be seen, which were used as filling-up. This plan appears to have been adopted in other alterations of the church. We must remember that this is not a stone district, and that, therefore, our forefathers were anxious to carefully perserve and use the little which came into their possession.

"At the south entrance of the church is a very fine late Norman doorway, which was probably at one time of larger span, and was removed from some other part of the church.

"At the end of the twelfth century considerable alterations were made, and the general design of the church changed. For some reasons, now unknown, the building appears to have been extended towards the north, and the present nave erected. The columns and arches on the north side are of this date. The chancel is perhaps somewhat later.

"The next great change happened, or was commenced in the latter part of the fourteenth century. We gather from documentary evidence that the Manor of Harmondsworth, which

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had formerly belonged to the Abbot of Holy Trinity, Rouen, but had come into the hands of the King, Richard II., was conceded in 1391 by royal grant to William of Wykeham, the famous Bishop of Winchester, who at that time was engaged in carrying out his architectural work at Windsor Castle. He was clerk of all the King's works in his manors of Henle and Yeshamsted, and surveyor at the Castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadlam. About this period the north wall of the chancel at Harmondsworth was taken down, and the chancel aisle erected. Instead of the north wall, the present Perpendicular columns and arches were constructed. These alterations gave a very irregular appearance to the chancel, as the space formerly occupied by the north wall was added to the body of the chancel; this caused the great east window to be out of the centre of the east wall. In the construction of the work of the Perpendicular period we see again the stone taken from other parts of the church; for although we may conclude that the stone of the north wall, when taken down, furnished the greater part of the material for the erection of the chancel aisle, we can see also several portions of stone with late Norman sculptured work. The hammer-beam roof in this aisle is a work of much beauty, and worthy of careful study. Whether or not Wykeham had anything to do with these alterations, we cannot tell; there does not seem to be any record; probably they were not completed until after his death, which occurred in 1404. The tracery in the great east window and that in the most western window on the south side of the chancel look very like Wykeham's work. The Piscina and Sedilia are also of this date

"This church, like the majority of the country churches in Middlesex, has no chancel arch; but there is a bracket for the support of the rood-loft on the first arch on the south side of the nave. The font of Purbeck marble is probably of the twelfth century: it now stands in the baptistery under the tower.

"Before the repairs in 1863, all the small windows in the north wall were of single-light, and the tracery of the most eastern window of the south wall of the chancel was of wood. Externally this window has two fine sculptured heads terminating the weatherhood. Some very good open seats of the Perpendicular period have been preserved. The monuments were also carefully preserved during the late repairs above mentioned, but unfortunately all the brasses were stolen. The year 1672 is the date of the commencement of the parish registers; the entries are generally interesting only to the resident families. There are several entries relating to touching for the king's evil.

"*The Great Barn.*—In the account of Harmondsworth Domesday Book commences:—"*Terra Scae Trinitatis de Monte Rotoni.* The Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen holds Hermodesworth of the king for 30 hides; the land is 20 carucates; 8 hides belong to the desmesne, on which are three ploughs. The freeholders and villans have between them ten ploughs, and seven more might be employed. A certain knight has two hides, and two villans have each a hide; fourteen villans have a virgate each; six villans have a virgate each; six bordars five acres each; there are seven cottars and six slaves. There are three mills, which produce 60s. rent, and 500 eels. The fisheries produce 1000 eels. The meadow-land is equal to 20 carucates; there is pasture for the cattle of the manor; pannage for 500 hogs, and one acre of vineyard. The whole value is £20 per annum; when the Abbot first came in possession, £12. In the time of King Edward, £25. Earl Harold was then proprietor of this manor, within which a certain socman held two hides, parcel of the said 30, but could not sell it out of Hermodesworthe."

"It is stated by Bishop Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica,* that there was an alien priory here, belonging to the Abbey of St. Catharine, Rouen. It would have been more correct to have said, the Abbey of the Holy Trinity on St. Catharine's Hill, Rouen.

"A work upon the Alien Priories by Warburton Somerset Herald, edited by John Nichols, assisted by Ducarel and Gough, mentions an Alien Priory at Harmondsworth. Several of these establishments existed in England. Dugdale gives a list of 120, but at such times as we were at war with France they fared very badly. Edward I., in 1295, seized a large number; others were seized by Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II. In the second year of Henry V., at the parliament held at Leicester, all the Alien Priories were given to the King, with their lands, houses, &c., except those that were conventual, *i.e.,* that had liberty to choose their own prior. We find in the Alien Priories Roll, 18 Edward II., that a writ was directed to Robert de Kelleseye and Robert de Asshele commanding the seizure of ecclesiastical goods 'in potestate Regis Franciae in Civitate Londiniae et Comitatu Middlesexiae.' Harmondsworth does not appear to have been disturbed until later, as may be gathered from the Pipe Roll of 13 Edward III., A.D. 1340; and also from the *Inquisitio post mortem,* 14 Edward III., 22nd April, 1341; when it is stated that the King, being at war with Philip de Valois, seized this manor into his own hands.

"The *Barn* is certainly a very fine building; and reminds us that those great architects, the

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Benedictines, were as careful and ingenious in their domestic constructions as they were in their church work. The whole of the timbers, which are of oak, are morticed and held together with strong oak pins. The principal columns, which are placed root end upwards, stand upon large blocks of sandstone, under which is a mass of pudding-stone. The low side-walls are also composed of pudding-stone and of brick. The extreme length inside is 192 feet; width, 36 feet 9 inches; height, 39 feet. The barn is divided into twelve bays with three threshing-floors. This fine specimen of medieval carpentry is one of the largest structures of the kind in this country; the massive grandeur of its well-preserved timbers, and the excellent character and good proportions of the whole work, give it a most imposing appearance. It is not easy to give the date of this barn, as there are not any decorative or clearly distinctive features; but the general character of the building leads me to think that it was erected during the early part of the fourteenth century. Tradition states that the barn lately standing at Heath Row, in this parish, was at one time a part of, or attached to, the Harmondsworth barn; it was 128 feet long. It is further stated that it stood at the north end or north-east end, and lengthways towards the east; but I cannot discover any really substantial authority upon the subject. I am inclined to think that, if the Heath Row barn ever stood here, it was in the direction stated, but not attached to the present building; and, perhaps, not quite in the supposed position. The foundations of a building were discovered some time ago in the new portion of the churchyard, consisting of pudding-stone; but these were much nearer the centre bay than the north end of the barn. Whether they belonged to the Heath Row barn or not, it is not easy to pronounce a positive opinion."

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1888.

Visit to Lincoln.

Under the guidance of the Rev. Precentor Venables, a delightful day was spent in Lincoln. After inspecting the outside of the cathedral, the members assembled in the Chapter House, where the Precentor gave a lecture on the architectural history of the cathedral, illustrated by diagrams prepared by the late Prof. Willis. He then conducted the party through the building, pointing out the numerous objects of interest; and afterwards explained the ruins of the Bishop's Palace. Subsequently, a visit was paid to the Castle, the Newport Gate, and the remains of the Roman Basilica. Little time was left for examination of the parish churches, but attention was directed to the towers of St. Mary-le-Wigford, and St. Peter-at-Gowts, both of which have pre-Norman features though they are known to have been erected shortly after the Norman conquest.

The leading architectural dates connected with the Minster are given in the following extracts from "*Architectural and Historical Notes of Lincoln Cathedral*":—

"The first cathedral of Lincoln was built by Remigius, the earliest Norman bishop, on the removal of the see from Dorchester-on-the-Thames, about 1074 A.D. It was ready for consecration on the Founder's death in 1092 A.D. Of this cathedral the parts remaining are the central portion of the west front with its three recesses, a fragment of the first bay of the nave, and the foundations of the semi-circular apse, beneath the floor of the stalls and the pavement of the choir. Remigius's work is characterized by stern, almost savage, plainness.

"The third Norman bishop Alexander 'the Magnificent,' after an accidental fire c. 1141, restored the cathedral 'to more than its former beauty.' To him we may probably ascribe the three western doorways, the intersecting arcade above the two side recesses of the west front, and the three lower stories of the western towers with their elaborately ornamented gables facing north and south. These are in the later Norman or Transition style.

"The choir and eastern transept, with a portion of the east wall of the western transept, were built by Bishop Hugh of Avalon (St. Hugh) after the cathedral had been shattered by an earthquake in 1185 A.D. The first stone was laid in 1192 A.D., and Hugh's death took place in 1200. These portions of the building are very remarkable, as affording the earliest known example of pure Early English, free from any trace of Norman influence.

"The great transept was completed, and the nave gradually carried westward in the Early English style, during the successive episcopates of William of Blois, Hugh of Wells, and Robert Grosseteste, 1203–1253. To the close of this period we may assign the two western chapels, the arcaded screen-wall of the west front and its flanking turrets, the Galilee porch and the vestry. To the same period belongs also the chapter house, a polygon of ten sides, with a vaulted roof springing from a central clustered pillar, and supported by huge detached flying buttresses.

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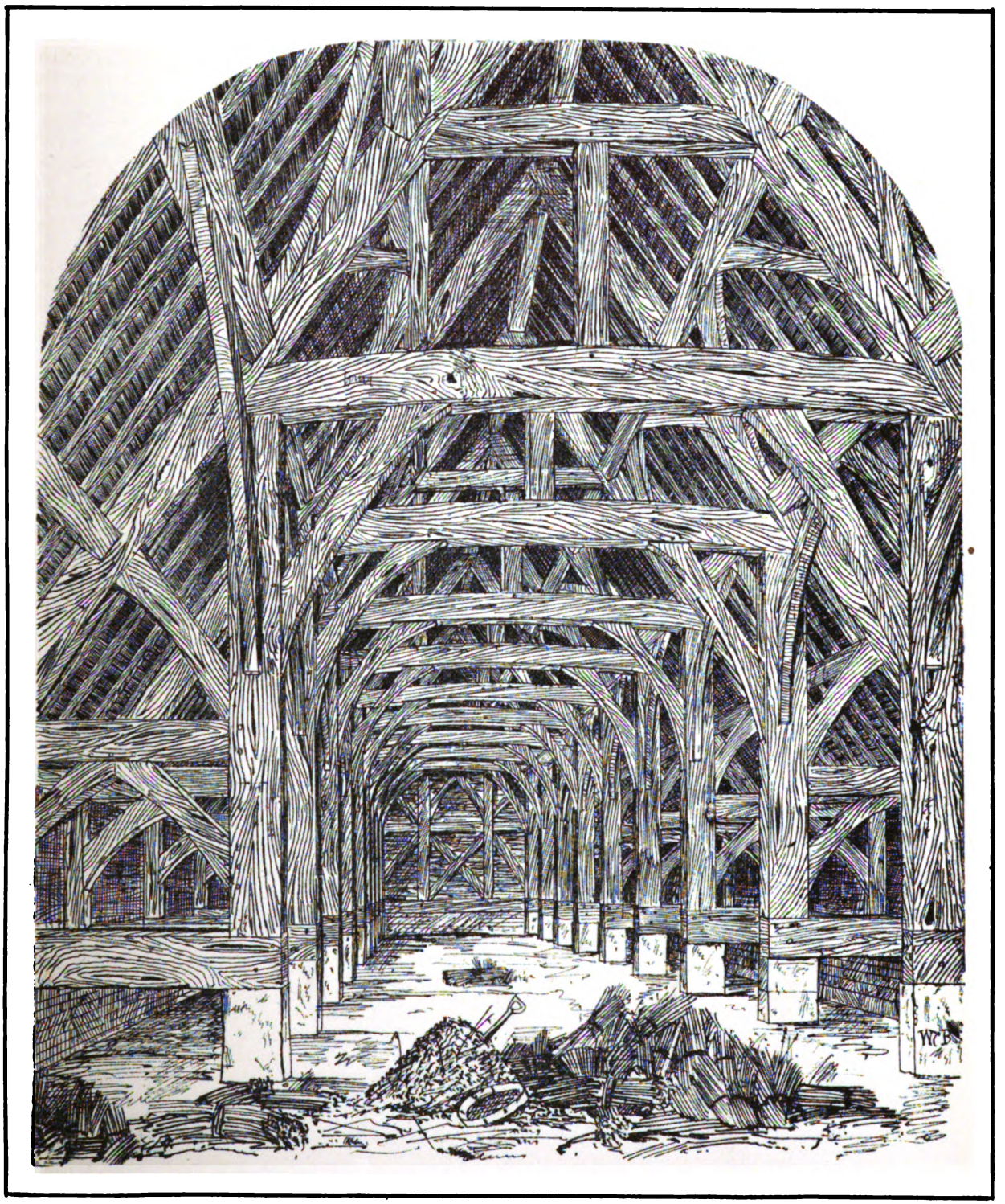

C F KELL PHOTO LITHO 8 FURNIVAL ST HOLBORN E C

INTERIOR OF BARN AT HARMONDSWORTH.

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"The two lower stories of the Central or Broad Tower were built during Grossetete's episcopate, on the fall of its predecessor in 1237. The upper story of the tower was begun under Bishop Dalderby, in 1307, and finished in 1311, in the Decorated style. The spire of timber, covered with lead, reaching a height of 524 feet, which once surmounted it, was destroyed by a tempest in 1548.

"The Angel Choir at the east end, was built between 1255 and 1280, to receive the shrine containing the miracle-working body of St. Hugh, which was removed to it from St. John the Baptist's Chapel, in the north-east transept, in the latter year. It belongs to the period of transition between the Early English and Decorated styles, just when Gothic architecture was touching its point of highest development, and exhibits a refinement and elegance, as well as a delicacy of finish which can hardly be paralleled. The great east window of eight lights, is the noblest example of Geometrical Decorated in the kingdom. The triforium is of most exquisite design, and the angels with expanded wings which fill its spandrels exhibit mingled grace and dignity. The south porch, with its deeply recessed moulded arch, carved gabie, and sculptured representation of the Last Judgment, is a unique and beautiful feature. No part of the building deserves closer attention.

"The Angel Choir is the latest portion of the main fabric of the church. The cloisters and vestibule belong to the Decorated period, A. D. 1296, of which they present a small but beautiful example. The large circular window of the south transept, known as 'The Bishop's Eye,' with the gable and window above, are in the Curvilinear style, and may be placed about 1350. John of Welbourn, treasurer of the Cathedral, 1350—1380, set up the choir stalls, and erected the vaulting of the central and western towers, with the internal panelling of the latter, and the row of niches and regal statues over the great west door. To a closely subsequent period belong the three western windows, and the upper stages of the western towers. In these works we see the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, as in the Angel Choir that from Early English to Decorated. The wooden spires which crowned the towers were taken down in 1807.

"To the Perpendicular style belong the chantry chapels of Bishop Fleming, d. 1431; of Bishop Russell, d. 1493 (fitted up as a vestry for the Bishop); and of Bishop Longland, d. 1547 (used as a music library).

"The Library, with the cloister under it, is a classical work built by Sir Christopher Wren, in 1674. The reredos, which bears the date 1769, and the open battlement of the central tower, were erected by Essex, towards the close of the last century. The carved wooden pulpit was designed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, and the tall brazen gas-standards by Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A."

For fuller information as to the Cathedral, reference may be made to the following papers by the Rev. Precentor Venables:—

A walk through Lincoln Minster.

Williamson's Guide through Lincoln.

The Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral. Arch. Journ., Vol. xl.

Notes on the Chronology of St. Hugh's Choir. Arch. Journ., Vol. xxxii.

The recent discovery of the Foundations of the Eastern Termination of Lincoln Minster, as erected by St. Hugh. Arch. Journ., Vol. xliv., pp. 194-202.

And also to—

Architectural History of Lincoln Minster, by Ayliffe Poole. Associated Societies' Reports, Vol. iv., 1857.

The Lincoln Excursion of the Architectural Association, by Edmund Sharpe, 1871.

Memoir on the System of Proportions of the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral, by F. C. Penrose. Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, Lincoln Volume, 1848.

Briton's Architectural Antiquities, Vol. v. Plates and Memoirs by E. J. Willson.

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1888.

A visit was paid to Harefield under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., who described the church and its fine series of sepulchral monuments, and afterwards conducted the members to Moor Hall, where still exists a chapel of the thirteenth century, which once belonged to the Knights Hospitallers.

Mr. Birch has supplied the following account of Harefield:—

"The first historical note with regard to this ancient parish is struck in the Domesday survey compiled in the 15th year of the reign of William I. It is there spelt 'Herefelle,' and the manor is held by Richard, the son of Gilbert de Clare, ancestor of the Earl of Clare and Gloucester. A priest is mentioned as holding one virgate, a variable quantity of land from 8 to 16 acres.

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"Twenty years afterwards, in 1100, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was established in London at Clerkenwell, and their famous priory church was commenced. This was their head house in England, and they were soon very richly endowed with lands and manors in many counties.

"Unlike other monasteries which often threw out cells, and built priories on distant possessions, to all intents and purposes freed and separated from the main or head houses, the Knights of St. John, or Knights Hospitallers, as they were more commonly called, held all their lands under a central authority. Thus it was that this church and parish became their property in the year or between the years 1180 and 1195, for we then find Beatrix de Bollers giving to Richard Turey or Turk, Prior of St. John, the advowson of the church of 'Herefeld' with all its appurtenances 'in pure and perpetual alms.' Who this Beatrix was, whether a member of De Clare family or not, I am unable at present to say, but a certain Alice or Alina de Clare confirmed previous grants, and, with her husband, increased the donation by 120 acres of land in 'Herefeld'; and mention is made of certain lands abutting on the land of Baldwin de Bollers, the husband of Beatrix, so that the credit of this charitable gift of the manor and advowson must be shared by these two noble ladies. But they were not alone; during the 13th century there are records of various other donors, and one which is the most interesting is a charter of Roger de Bacheworth, Knight, at the instance of Brother Nicholas de Daccombe, then Preceptor of the Hospital of Herefeld, for the health of his soul, that of Sibila his wife, and of his ancestors and successors, 10 acres of land with appurtenances of the moor of 'Herefeld.'

"With regard to the CHURCH it is a very fine one, but was unfortunately restored about 1846–47, at a very great expense, with more zeal than discretion. In plan it consists of nave of four bays, with chancel and north and south aisles, the eastern ends of which formed chantries. The main structure is about the date of 1320, but has later additions of the 14th and 15th centuries. The chancel always seems to have been considerably elevated, or, at all events, it was so before the late alterations, as I gather from an older description of the church. The arcade on the north side either replaced an earlier one, or was added in the 15th century; the south side remains in its original state, and the chantry at the east end of this aisle still possesses a piscina. The priest's door has been removed, and also the south doorway. The chantry on the north side is called the Breakspear Chapel, and has a late screen. The oak stalls remain in the chancel, and the woodwork forming the reredos and altar rails were brought from some religious house in Belgium, and are very rich. The brasses which remain are very good, and belong principally to the Newdigate and Assheby families. The tombs are also fine, especially that of Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, 1637. She was the daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, the progenitor of the present Duke of Marlborough, and Earl Spencer, and was married to Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby (died 1594), and had three daughters, who are represented on the tomb. The Dowager Countess remarried, her second husband being Lord Keeper Egerton, created Lord Ellesmere, and was again a widow in 1617. This lady was celebrated in verse by three poets—by Harrington, who wrote some lines on her marriage with Egerton; by Spenser, who celebrated her under the name of Amaryllis, 1595; and last, but not least, by John Milton, in his 'Arcades,' performed by her children at Harefield Place.

"The other stone and marble monuments do not call for special notice; they are principally to the Ashby and Newdigate families, both long seated in this parish, the former at Breakspear, an ancient manor, which gave the name to a family, one member of which rose to great eminence in the person of Nicholas de Breakspear, Monk of St. Albans, afterwards Pope of Rome, under the name of Adrian IV. The south chapel is called the Brackenbury Chapel, from an estate held by Thomas de Brackenbury, which passed afterwards to the Newdigates, and became their burial place.

"As to Moor Hall, the existing remains of the Preceptory or Camera are but small. The picturesque Farm House conceals a fine 13th century timber roof, probably the hall, and a detached chapel, long used as a barn. One does not expect to find the remains of an ordinary priory, for, as I have noticed before, it was but the dwelling place of a few of the *obedientarii*, settled here for the purpose of looking after the estate, probably under the command of a Preceptor; and the building was of the character of a moated grange or manor, with a detached chapel; traces of the moat can still be seen.

"In 1338 a return was made to the Grand Master, which is now preserved at Valetta, in the Island of Malta, and we find there a notice of 'Herefeld.' The officer then in charge was named Brother Simon de Myneworth, chaplain, and we find nothing more recorded until 1516, when Prior Thomas Docwra leased this farm to Rose Assheby for 40 years, at £19 per annum, to maintain a chaplain for the parish church, and to administer the Sacrament to the parishioners. In 1520 another lease was granted to Rose Bower, widow, at £20 per annum. In 1538 the order was suppressed in England, and the King, who had seized the estate, granted it to Robert Tyrwhitt, for the 20th part of one knight's fee, and the fee farm rent of 40s.; by him it was conveyed to the Newdigate family, and has been part of the manor of Harefield ever since."

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1888.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, on "The actual Uses of Colours in the Mediæval Church of England." The reading of the paper (which is printed at p. 233) was followed by an interesting discussion.

Dr. Wickham Legg asked what was the relation of the English white for Lent to the ash colour formerly used in Germany, France, and Spain, during Lent. He had seen, this spring, some ash coloured ornaments still in use at the Cathedral at Lyons, which he should have called white. The English ornaments, he thought, in all likelihood, were not of a pure white. Then he must retract an opinion formerly expressed, that the Sunday colour dominated the week. Besides the English instances that Mr. Hope had given, he had found cases in the Cathedral and King's College at Aberdeen, at Majorca, in the Pontifical of Durandus, at Besançon, and in actual use at Lyons. Mr. Hope's paper was very important, because it destroyed the modern idea that in England before the Reformation there was any uniform sequence or any uniform ceremonial. Doubtless, the words recited were very nearly the same, but the ceremonies which accompanied the words were very different. This desire for uniformity was a Renaissance idea, fostered abroad by Pius V., who had published a new Roman missal and breviary, reformed from the Franciscan curialistic books which again were based upon the ruins of the old Roman Liturgy. These Pian books had simply stopped the study of liturgy in the Roman communion, and replaced it with a mere study of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Mr. Hope's paper, by destroying the idea that uniformity prevailed in England before the Reformation, had rendered a signal service to the study of liturgy.

The Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee disagreed altogether with the last speaker, considered uniformity highly desirable, and contended that the rules in the Pian books were plain, simple, easy to be understood, and always at hand. Thirty years ago an influential committee of clergy had drawn up a set of rules for colours from the Roman books, which could not be bettered.

The Rev. J. Baden-Powell thought that the white ornaments were simply linen sheets for covering the altars during Lent, just as white veils were used for covering up the images.

Mr. Micklethwaite, who had taken the chair when Mr. Shuttleworth left, pointed out that the mode of obtaining silk fabrics here in the middle ages, prevented there being any very hard rule as to the use of colours. The stuffs were brought from abroad, and had not been specially made for church use; and although in rich churches which possessed many, there might be some general classification according to colour, in ordinary parish churches more was thought of the comparative richness of the vestments than of their colour. And it might well be that a chasuble, which, in the thirteenth century, served for Easter-day, might, as it grew older, pass in turn to less important feasts, and come in the fifteenth to serve for Ash Wednesday. The one colour rule which seems to have been generally observed all over England, although not laid down in any rubric, was the use of white for Lent, to which Mr. Hope had called attention. These Lenten vestments were often of stuff other than silk.

Mr. Hope replied that among the thousand instances of white for Lent which he had come across, ash-coloured vestments were named only twice, and he could not agree with Dr. Legg's hypothesis that white meant ash-coloured, or anything but pure white. In reply to Mr. Baden-Powell, Mr. Hope said that white for Lent included vestments of all sorts, which were expressly named, and the white ornaments were certainly not mere linen sheets, since there was mention in the inventories of white vestments for Lent for priest, deacon and sub-deacon, and of white frontals for high altars of churches like Salisbury and Lincoln.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1888.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. J. Grimshire, entitled, "A short account of the ancient Cathedrals and Conventual Churches of Scotland." The lecture was illustrated by numerous photographs shown by the lime-light lantern.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1888.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. J. R. Buchanan, Vicar of Herne, on "Herne Church, Kent." An interesting account was given of the architecture of the church, and its sepulchral monuments,

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which include several fine brasses. The paper was profusely illustrated by views of the church, and rubbings of the brasses; and was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. Charles Browne, Mr. Stannus, and others, took part.

The substance of Mr. Buchanan's paper will be found in his "Memorials of Herne, Kent," of which a fourth edition has been lately published.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10, 1889.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. W. Bolton on "The Marshland Churches of Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1889.

Chairman: Major Heales, F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. A. Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., entitled "Notes on Monumental Brasses and their details." The paper was illustrated by a fine series of rubbings, and was followed by a discussion in which Mr. Stannus, Mr. C. Browne, the Chairman, and others took part.

Among the rubbings exhibited was one of Thomas Nelond (Prior of the Cluniac Monastery, of St. Pancras, at Lewes), from Cowfold, Sussex. The brass has been engraved by Dallaway, and Waller, and also in the *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* of the Cambridge Camden Society. A comparison of these engravings with the photo-lithographic illustration, which we give from a rubbing by Mr. Oliver, will show the advantages of the process here used.

Mr. Oliver supplies the following notes on the Nelond brass:—

The Prior, represented in surplice and hood, stands on an elaborate basement under a triple canopy, the central division of which, consisting of three arches, is surmounted by a super-canopy, under which is placed a seated representation of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Child. The latter has the cruciform nimbus, and the hand raised in the act of benediction. The head of the Virgin is crowned and nimbed. Her right hand embraces the Holy Child, who is standing on her lap, and her left hand holds a book. The two side arches of the triple canopy are surmounted by crocketed canopies, the finials of which support brackets. The left bracket bears the effigy of St. Pancras, the patron saint of the Cluniac Priory, at Lewes. His name appears on a small scroll above his head. He carries the martyr's palm in one hand, and in the other a book; and tramples his persecutor under his feet. His head is nimbed, and has a small crown or circlet. The right bracket bears the effigy of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saint of the prior, his name appearing on a scroll above his head. He is represented in full pontifical costume, consisting of alb, tunicle, dalmatic, and chasuble. Over the chasuble is worn the pall, and the fringed ends of the stole are seen between the tunicle and the alb. The maniple is suspended from his left wrist. His right hand is raised in the act of benediction, whilst his left supports his crozier. His head wears the mitre, and is nimbed.

From the hands of the Prior, which are joined in the attitude of prayer, three scrolls issue, carrying the words of prayers addressed to the sacred personages above. To the Blessed Virgin: Mater sancta Ihu me serves mortis ab esu; to St. Pancras: Martir sancte Dei duc ad loca me requiei; to St. Thomas of Canterbury: Sit sancti Thome suscepta precatio pro me. The brass originally had a border inscription running all round. One side is now unfortunately wanting. The portion which remains runs thus:—

✠ Hic terre cumulus Thome Nelond tegit ossa
Est et ei tumulus presens sub marmore fossa
Virtutum donis hic claruit et rationis
Exemplisque bonis decus auxit religionis
Mundo Martha fuit sed Christo mente Maria
In mundo viguit sed erat sibi celsa Sophia
Ad celi mensis sedes migravit habendas.

The fifth line is evidently imitated from two lines of the inscription on the tomb of Gundrada, foundress of Lewes Priory:—

Martha fuit miseris, fuit ex pietate Maria,
Pars obiit Marthe, superest pars magna Marie.

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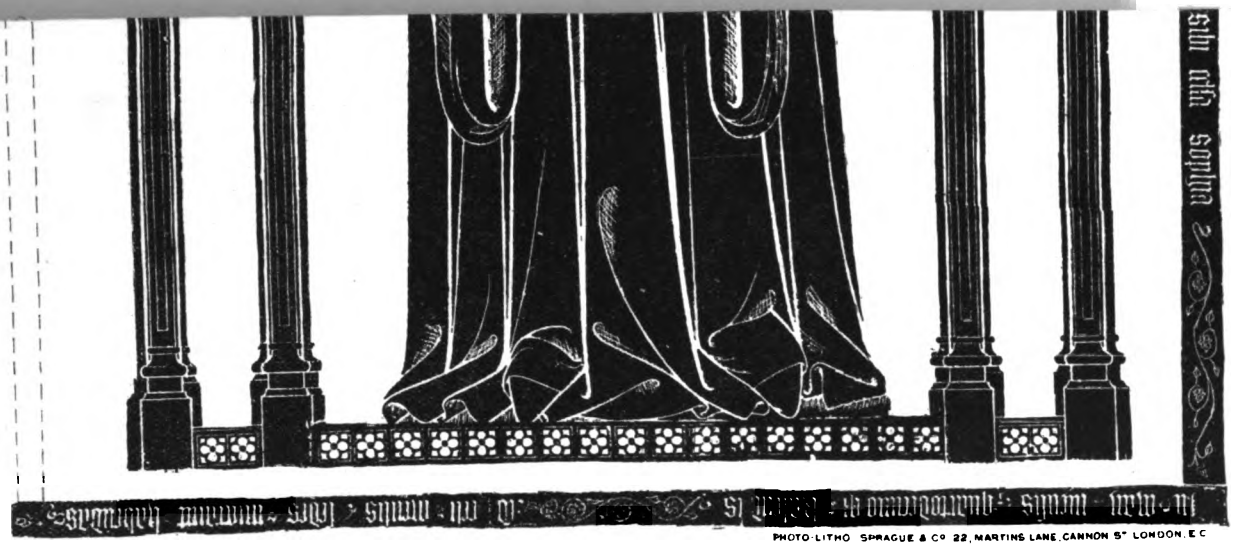

PHOTO-LITHO SPRAGUE & Co 22, MARTINS LANE, CANNON St LONDON, E.C

Thomas Nelond; Cowfold, Sussex d. 1430.

REDUCED FROM RUBBINGS BY ANDREW OLIVER.

Reprinted from the Archl' Assoc^n Sketch Book "New Series." Vol 9

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There is a shield in the left upper corner bearing the verbal symbol of the Holy Trinity; the corresponding shield on the right side has been lost.

The brass is inlaid on a slab 9-ft. 10-in. by 4-ft. 8-in., and is placed in the nave of Cowfold Church, which is dedicated to St. Peter.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1889.

Tenth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented.

Tenth Annual Report, 1888-89.

The Tenth Annual Report chronicles another very successful year's work of the Society. The papers read at the evening meetings have been of unusual interest, and the visits have generally been very largely attended.

Since the last report twelve meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and papers have been read on the following subjects:—By Mr. Somers Clarke, on "The Cathedral of Las Palmas, Grand Canary"; by Mr. W. Bolton, "English and Foreign Cathedrals and Churches contrasted and compared"; by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, "Suggestions about the Ritual of the Communion Service"; by Mr. Thomas Garner, on "The Altar-Screen at St. Paul's Cathedral"; by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner, on "Metal Grilles in connection with Architecture"; by Mr. Charles Browne, on "The Knights Hospitallers"; by Major Heales, on "The Ecclesiology of Bornholm": by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, on "The Churches of Great Britain and Ireland compared in respect of their Orientation with those of Italy and the East"; by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, on "The actual Uses of Colours in the Medieval Church of England"; by Mr. J. Grimshire, giving "A short account of the Ancient Cathedrals and Conventual Churches of Scotland"; by the Rev. J. R. Buchanan, on "Herne Church, Kent"; and by Mr. W. Bolton, on "The Marshland Churches of Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire."

Afternoon visits were made to St. Paul's Cathedral under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson; to the Church of St. Mary Overie, under the direction of Mr. J. T. Dollman; to Westminster Abbey, under the direction of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite; to West Wickham and Addington, where papers were read by Mr. George Clinch, supplemented by a description of the stained glass at West Wickham by Mr. Arthur Taylor, and of the tombs at Addington by Mr. S. W. Kershaw; to Harmondsworth, where Mr. A. D. White described the Church and Tithe Barn, and to Harefield under the direction of Mr. G. H. Birch.

A whole-day Excursion was made to Lincoln. The Cathedral was visited under the direction of the Rev. Precentor Venables.

The Council desire to express their thanks to all the gentlemen who have thus contributed to the successful carrying out of these proceedings, and also to the Clergy and others for the welcome with which the visits of the Society have at all times been received.

Part III. of Volume II. of the Transactions has been issued during the year. It has been decided to transfer the Special Part II. Fund to the General Account.

The accompanying Balance Sheet is not so satisfactory as could be desired owing to many members having allowed their subscriptions to remain unpaid. It is hoped that this will bring the fact to their notice, and that the arrears will be paid forthwith.

Twenty-nine new members have been elected during the year; the number on the Register being now 302.

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Sec.

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BALANCE SHEET, 1888, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Payments.

Dec. 31st, 1888.	£	s.	d.
To balance from last Account	19	17	0
„ Entrance Fees	2	10	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	51	5	0
„ Life Subscriptions	6	6	0
„ Sale of Transactions	4	4	0
„ Illustrations Fund (Special Donation)	5	5	0
„ Repaid from Special Fund	1	4	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	1	5	8
„ Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	2	2	4
	£93	19	0
Jan. 1st, 1889.			
Reserve Fund in Post office Savings Bank	55	15	6

Receipts.

Dec. 31st, 1888.	£	s.	d.
By Amount Paid on Account of Transactions	60	19	0
„ Printing and Stationery	7	16	9
„ Postage	17	14	3
„ Fees to Attendants	2	16	0
„ Half of Life Subscription carried to Reserve Fund	3	3	0
„ Miscellaneous	1	10	0
	£93	19	0
Jan. 1st, 1889.			
Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	2	2	4

We have examined the above, and find it correct,

E. H. FEDARB, S. RAWSON, } *Auditors.*

H. G. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, *Chairman.*

January 17th, 1889. ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

SPECIAL FUND FOR REPRINTING PART II.

Jan. 1st, 1888.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	0	6	6
Sale of Copies	0	17	6
	£1	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Repaid General Fund	1	4	0
	£1	4	0

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The following members were elected as members of the Council for the ensuing year :— Revs. H. C. Shuttleworth, Lewis Gilbertson, E. S. Dewick, Messrs. G. H. Birch, Charles Browne, W. Bolton, Somers Clarke, T. Garratt, F. Gill, H. R. Gough, S. W. Kershaw, H. T. Roxby, J. C. L. Stahlschmidt and A. Taylor.

Major Heales was re-elected as Treasurer; and Mr. E. J. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield as Secretaries.

The Chairman, on behalf of the Council, proposed the following amendments and additions to the Rules :—

In Rule I. For "associates" to substitute "members."

Rule IV. to be altered thus:—"Honorary members (limited to six) shall be proposed by the Council and elected by a General Meeting. They shall enjoy all privileges of membership except that of voting at meetings."

After Rule IV., to insert a new Rule:—"Vice-Presidents shall be proposed by the Council and elected by a General Meeting."

After Rule XI., to insert a new Rule:—"The Editor of the Society's Transactions shall be appointed by the Council."

The above alterations and additions were carried (with power to re-number the Rules); but a proposed alteration in Rule XII. was referred back to the Council, and the further consideration of the question was adjourned to the meeting of February 6th, which was ordered to be extraordinary for that purpose.

On the proposal of the Council, the Rev. Precentor Venables and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope were elected Honorary Members; and the Ven. Archdeacon of London, the Rev. Precentor Venables and Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite were elected Vice-Presidents.

On the proposal of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for the use of the Chapter Room for the Society's meetings.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1889.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

The general meeting was preceded by an extraordinary meeting, convened for the purpose of considering alterations in the Rules.

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The Chairman, on behalf of the Council, proposed the following alterations :—

Rule V. To add, "Four of the elected members of the Council shall retire, in rotation, each year, but shall be eligible for re-election at the annual meeting."

Rule VI. To omit "and Council."

Both proposals were carried unanimously.

The Rev. Ernest Geldart read a paper on "Transepts," which provoked a considerable discussion, in which Messrs. H. R. Gough, B. E. Ferry, Bell, Grimshire and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1889.

Chairman: F. Gill, Esq.

A paper was read by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., on "Christian Art on Coins, from the time of Constantine the Great."

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1889.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., read the first portion of a paper on "Round Churches."

THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1889.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Birch concluded the reading of his paper on "Round Churches."

SATURDAY, APRIL 6th, 1889.

Visits were paid to the churches of St. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens, and All Saints, Fulham.*

At St. Cuthbert's the members of the Society were received by the Vicar, the Rev. H. Westall, and an account of the building was given by the architect, Mr. H. R. Gough, F.R.I.B.A., who explained that the church was built under the Private Patronage Act. The cost of the site and the former temporary church was about £3,500, and of the clergy house £1,600. The first contract for the church, amounting to nearly £3,000, was signed on St. Cuthbert's Day, the 18th March, 1884, and the second contract in May, 1886, for a further sum of nearly £8,000. The foundation stone, which was quarried by the Vicar of Holy Island, was laid by Earl Beauchamp, on the 2nd July, 1884, and the completed fabric was consecrated by the Bishop of London on the 18th November, 1887. Attention was drawn to the unusual treatment of the east end, there being no window, and the external wall containing a number of niches intended to receive statuary. The great beauty and variety of the polished Devonshire marble from the celebrated quarries at Plymouth, which has been so freely used in this building, excited much admiration; and Mr. Gough strongly urged upon all interested in church building the desirability of using so beautiful a material in preference to foreign and more costly marbles, few of which could compare with its excellent colouring. He also stated that the whole of the marble in the church had only cost some £500 or £600 more than if Portland stone had been used. The carving of the sedilia, and piscina, and the pulpit, by Baron de Sziemanowicz, was much admired, as was also that of the seven-sided font, with its panels representing the seven sacraments, and lofty oak cover and crown of angels, the work of Mr. Hems, of Exeter. The stained-glass windows in the chapel and in the baptistery, were considered remarkably fine examples of modern glass painting, and well worthy of the great reputation of their artist, Mr. Kempe. The screen to the chapel, of wrought iron and copper, and the gas fittings, the work of Messrs. Starkie Gardner & Co., were also much praised. The stations of the Cross have been painted by M. Vinck, a Belgian artist, who has been employed in painting a similar series for Antwerp Cathedral. Mr. Gough explained that the lectern was from a design by Pugin, but needed its base to make it complete; he also pointed out that the east end of the sanctuary was intended to receive a very handsome and lofty reredos, and that the permanent high altar was not yet provided. It was further in contemplation to build a screen and rood-loft in marble and stone. The visitors next inspected the handsome altar vessels, and beautifully embroidered vestments, the latter executed by the St. Cuthbert's

* Of these visits a full account, of which use has been here made, was given in the *West London Observer*, April 13th, 1889.

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Needlework Society. Many of these have been designed by Mr. Gough. A very handsome jewelled morse, or clasp for securing the priest's cope, attracted much attention, containing, as it does, several hundreds of jewels mounted in gold, the whole clasp measuring about a foot in length.

The Parish Church of ALL SAINTS, FULHAM, was afterwards visited, under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. F. H. Fisher, who explained the reasons which necessitated the pulling down of the old church. With the exception of the tower, the church has been entirely rebuilt, from the designs of Sir A. W. Blomfield. Mr. Fisher exhibited several prints of the old church, and also a plan of the memorial stones in it; and stated that, according to the contract, every stone was to be put back in the same place, and that only two had been lost in the rebuilding of the church. The glass of the east window of the old church, now in the south transept, was given by Bishop Blomfield; and that of the present east window by his son, Sir A. W. Blomfield, the architect of the church. The handsome communion plate and the old parish baptismal and burial registers were placed on tables for the inspection of visitors, and attracted much attention.

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1889.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. H. Hamilton Kelly, entitled "A Study of Precedents for Liturgical Development." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Micklethwaite and others took part.

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1889.

The Society visited the church of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, and the Parish Churches of Hammersmith and Chiswick.

The church of ST. MARY ABBOTS has been rebuilt, from the designs of the late Sir G. G. Scott, at a cost of not less than £70,000. Its spire is 278 feet high, being only surpassed in height by five English spires, viz.:—Salisbury (404 feet), St. Michael's, Coventry, Norwich Cathedral, Louth, and St. Mary Redcliffe (292 feet).

At the Parish Church of HAMMERSMITH the members were received by the Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Snowden; and an account of the building of the church was given by the architect, Mr. H. R. Gough, F.R.I.B.A.* He commenced by expressing his regret at the necessity of pulling down a building with the historical associations of the old church, which was one of the churches consecrated by Archbishop Laud. It was built simply as a chapel of ease to Fulham Parish Church. In 1628 the foundation stone was laid, and in 1631 it was consecrated. Hammersmith was then a very little hamlet. One could quite understand that in 1880, when the new church was first proposed to be built, that the old building was not suited to the requirements of a large parish like Hammersmith. Another site, sufficiently central, could not be found for the new church, and therefore they came to the conclusion that they could not do better than put the church on the same site. Some people might say that it was strange that they should build the nave and aisles first rather than the chancel. They could not build the chancel without pulling down the old church, in which services were held whilst the nave of the new edifice was being built. The old church was erected mainly by Sir Nicholas Crispe, who was a very devoted subject of Charles I. Mr. Gough then called attention to an interesting monument in the chancel, a bronze bust of Charles I., which Sir Nicholas Crispe gave to the church, underneath which was an urn, in which he directed that his heart should be preserved. He believed that, under Sir Nicholas Crispe's will, wine was put into the urn until about the year 1834, when it was sealed up. The monuments of the old church had been preserved in the new church. The church had been some years in course of building. The foundation stone of the nave was laid on July 1, 1882, by His Royal Highness the late Prince Leopold, and the nave was consecrated in October, 1883. The chancel was commenced in 1886, and the Duchess of Albany laid the corner stone on July 3rd of the same year. The building was consecrated on July 2nd, 1887. Mr. Gough said, in conclusion, that the church, when entirely completed, would cost about £24,000, and that £2,000 was yet required to finish the tower.

At CHISWICK CHURCH the Vicar, the Rev. Lawford Dale, was in readiness to receive the Society, and gave an interesting account of the old church, which he described as having one aisle of red brick and the other of brown brick. With the exception of the tower, it has been entirely rebuilt, from the designs of Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A. The materials used in the building are of the best and most durable quality, and the fittings are remarkable for beauty of workmanship. Mr. Dale concluded by referring to the many celebrated men buried in the church and churchyard.

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* We are indebted for the greater part of this report to the *West London Observer*, May 11, 1889.

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SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1889.

Visit to St. Albans.

Nearly ten years had passed since the Society visited St. Albans, on July 5th, 1879. Since then a good deal has happened at St. Albans; and the visit was intended to give members an opportunity of seeing for themselves the nature of the works carried out by Lord Grimthorpe.[1] A large number of members assembled, and among the visitors were, Messrs. H. Hucks Gibbs, Arthur Baker, J. P. Seddon, J. Drayton Wyatt, E. C. Allam, H. and G. Hems, E. L. Pearce, and W. Longmire. Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, F.R.I.B.A., acted as cicerone, and explained that he proposed not to give a history, or to point out the beauties, of the magnificent abbey church in which they were assembled, but to show on the spot, with the aid of old drawings and photographs, why many of them held strong views as to which of the persons anxious to continue the work of restoration ought to be entrusted with the undertaking. They were probably aware that, since the death of Sir Gilbert Scott, Sir Edmund Beckett, now Lord Grimthorpe, had continued the restoration in the nave and transepts, at first with the help of the late Mr. John Chapple, the able clerk of works to Scott, and latterly unaided. The work in the choir had been undertaken by Mr. H. Hucks Gibbs, also at his own cost, but under the advice of Sir Arthur Blomfield, on whom they were pleased to find the Queen had just bestowed a well-merited honour. Both these gentlemen wished to have the faculty for carrying the work eastward into the Lady-chapel. All present knew that Lord Grimthorpe's work had been assailed in more or less vigorous terms in one of the leading professional journals, and he, for one, felt the denouncements had been none too strong, as the injury that had already been wrought in that noble abbey, through the intense vanity of our self-styled only architect, Lord Grimthorpe, could never be repaired. The treatment of the west front, especially the useless carved sill beneath the great window, had been very severely criticised, but, as they would see when they looked at it, comparing it with old views, not without reason; in this work, however, his lordship was to a certain extent guided by the drawings made by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and by the designs by Scott, which Mr. Chapple had acknowledged he was able to borrow for his use. Mr. Arthur Baker, who was present, and was for years in Sir Gilbert Scott's office, would be able to show them how much of the work in the portals was founded on the thirteenth and fourteenth century remains which they found there, and would doubtless confirm his statement that most of the details in this front were gleaned from various drawings by Scott, the great window from Doncaster, and the curiously-treated angle turrets from St. Mary Abbotts, Kensington. After the completion of the new west front, Lord Grimthorpe worked eastwards, and Chapple becoming ill, he rapidly went from bad to worse. They would see that, instead of reconstructing the cloisters on the south side of nave, as was done by Scott at Chester, where a similar shaky old wall presented difficulties, his lordship had cut through the delicate fourteenth century work with common-place buttresses, without regard to the lines of the arcading. He had opened new windows into the nave, where, owing to the position of the old monastic buildings, no such apertures had existed in mediæval days, and had thus flooded the nave with a uniform glare of light; the ancient painted ceiling, which was certainly in a bad state of repair, had been stripped off, and as they would see, was now cut up into hoarding for the Lady-chapel. The treatment of the transepts was still worse. The beautiful slype to the south transept had disappeared, and its carvings were stuck in a new passage wall; the transept itself had been rebuilt, and the fifteenth century lights replaced by a group of five lancets, copied from the Five Sisters at York Minster, but with this difference, that whereas on the exterior they ranged in height upwards, the central light being the loftiest, and the other two the shortest, internally they were all of one height, the upper part of the three middle ones being concealed, he was told, by blackened felt. The mouldings of these south transept windows were very coarse, and the charming diverse turrets on either side had been replaced by square towers, which would be in keeping with a water tower or a factory chimney. As to the north transept, the old windows had been replaced, as they saw, by a wheel window supposed to be a copy of that in the south transept at York, but filled with wheels within wheels. The design appeared to have been evolved by laying on a sheet of paper a Jubilee sovereign, and surrounding it by a row of three-penny pieces, with outer rows of shillings and sixpences of the same class. Returning to Mr. Hucks Gibbs' work from Mr. Blomfield's designs, Mr. Gough said the work in the altar screen before them had been criticised; but he thought they would agree with him that it was a careful piece of restoration. The old pinnacles, all of which had been destroyed, had been replaced from the careful indications shown by the fragments remaining, and the niches in the front, sides and ends of screen had been filled by a series of seventy-six figures; of these, the

[1] The account of this visit is taken from the *Building News* of May 31, 1889. In the following number will be found a most interesting and instructive "Sheet of Contrasts dedicated to all lovers of old St. Albans Abbey."

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small figures representing Christ and His Apostles, were in white English alabaster; the others in yellow magnesian limestone. These pinnacles and figures had been executed by Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, and as they had been severely criticized, he had hung below them, for comparison, photographs of some of the figures, and others of Redfern's essentially French work at Salisbury, and he thought all would see they would, in their English treatment, bear favourable comparison with Redfern's works. All were now in position with one exception.

A perambulation of the building was made, Mr. Gough referring in detail to the character of Lord Grimthorpe's new works, and at the close of the proceedings, Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., moved, and Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., F.S.A., seconded a resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That the members of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society having seen with regret and dismay the work which has been done under the name of restoration, at the Cathedral Church of St. Albans, earnestly hope, that, whatever further works may be contemplated, will be entrusted to the hands of those who will have more reverence and respect for the original work, and a better appreciation of its beauty and historical value."

SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1889.

Visit to Stepney and Bow.

The churches of Stepney and Bow were visited under the direction of Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., and the papers read by him are printed at pp. 326 and 328.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1889.

Visit to Norwich.

The Cathedral Church was very thoroughly inspected, under the guidance of Dr. Bensly, who also directed attention to the two gateways leading into the precincts, and to the remains of the monastic buildings. A visit was then paid to the Grammar School, which was originally built at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Bishop Salmon as a charnel-house, with a chapel of St. John the Evangelist above it. Under the direction of the Rev. W. Hudson, the castle was visited; and the valuable regalia of the City, and other objects of interest, were exhibited at the Guildhall. St. Andrew's Hall, formerly the church of the Black Friars, was the next object of interest. Time did not allow of a full examination of the numerous parish churches of the City, but the churches of St. Peter Mancroft, and St. John the Baptist, Madder Market, were seen, and the party left Norwich with the wish that more time could have been spent in the city, and with very grateful feelings towards the many gentlemen whose kindness and attention had contributed so much to the success of the day. Unfortunately, owing to the distance from London, and other causes, the attendance was very small.

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1889.

Visit to Wennington and Aveley.

At Wennington the church was described by the vicar, the Rev. N. Brady; and at Aveley the Rev. B. G. Luard, vicar, pointed out the chief features of the church.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1889.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

A paper by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., was read, entitled, "The Divine Service in the Sixteenth Century, illustrated by the Reform of the Breviary of the Humiliati in 1548" (printed at p. 274).

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1889.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., on "Flemish Brasses in England," which was illustrated by rubbings from the more important Flemish brasses which are known to exist in this country. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Macklin and Mr. Horsburgh took part, and the chairman called attention to the palimpsest fragments of Flemish brasses at St. Giles's, Camberwell, and Margate, the latter of which contains two scenes from the ages of man, similar to those on the brass of Pieter Lansame at Ypres, which is figured in Creeny's *Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe*. The scenes in the Margate fragment consist of a child chasing a butterfly, and two lads walking on stilts.

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The introduction to Mr. Oliver's paper here follows:—

"Flemish brasses may be distinguished from English by the employment of diapered and canopied backgrounds, which form part of the brass. In the English brasses this feature is altogether wanting, and the stone slab, in which the brass is laid, takes the place of the background seen in the Flemish brasses. This difference may be accounted for by the way in which the brasses are built up. In Flemish brasses, square, or oblong plates, are used, which are joined in such a manner as to form a complete whole. In English brasses the plates are cut out so as to follow certain outlines as canopies, &c., and backgrounds, when used, are only to be seen in small and late examples. Briefly, therefore, Flemish brasses are those which have backgrounds, and English brasses are those that are without this feature. The examples which are in this country are few in number, and scattered in various parts. In the North of England, at Newcastle, is the brass of Roger Thornton and wife, 1411. In Yorkshire there are two: at Topcliffe to T. de Topcliffe, 1391, and at Wensley to Simon de Wenslagh, 1360. In Norfolk there are two: at Lynn to Adam Walsokne and wife, 1349, and to Robert Braunche and his two wives, 1364. The counties of Notts, Suffolk, and Essex, have one each: the brasses to Alan Fleming at Newark, 1360; John Pounder, Ipswich, 1535; R. Knevynton, at Avely, 1370. In the county of Herts there are two: one the splendid Delamare brass in the Abbey of St. Albans; and the other at N. Mimms to T. Horton, both of the date 1360. Middlesex has no less than five, of which four are in London: the British Museum, a head of a Bishop, 1360; the Museum of Geology, L. de Corteville, 1504; the South Kensington Museum, to H. Oskens, 1535; All Hallows Barking Church, 1535; and at Fulham, to Margaret Saunders, 1529.

"In the early examples there is great similarity in detail and workmanship with others that are in other parts of Europe—viz., at Schwerin, Lubeck, Stralsund, and Thorn. (See 'Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe,' by the Rev. W. F. Creeny, for illustrations of these examples). They consist of the following:—A. Walsokne and R. Braunche, Lynn; A. Fleming, Newark; T. Delamare, St. Albans; T. de Wenslagh, Wensley, Yorks; T. Horton, North Mimms, Herts; T. Topcliffe, Topcliffe, Yorks; and the fragment at the British Museum. In all these examples we see similar detail used in the arrangement of the figures in the canopies, in the diaper work in the backgrounds, in the cutting of the folds of the drapery, in the lettering placed round the brass, and in other ways. The side canopies are double in the brasses to Abbot Delamare, Alan Fleming, and Adam Walsokne, and in those of Robert Braunche and Topcliffe single canopies only are used. Figures of saints are placed under the canopies of the brasses of Delamare, Walsokne, and Horton; civilians are in those to Braunche and Fleming, and angels in the Topcliffe brass, with musical instruments. In the super-canopies—with the exception of the Delamare brass (which has the Saviour enthroned)—in each of the examples is the representation of the soul (in the fragment at the British Museum the small figure is shown bearing a mitre), with the figures of Angels, holding either candles, censers, or musical instruments, placed on either side of the figure. The pattern of the diaper is very similar in each case, and a similar ornament is also shown in the vestments of the priest at Wensley. The ornamental border of round and square roses is the same. The inscription is unfinished in the brasses of Delamare and Braunche, it is mutilated in the Topcliffe brass; in two cases it is missing, viz., Wensley and North Mimms; and in two examples it is complete, viz., Walsokne and Alan Fleming. The evangelistic symbols are placed at the corners. Shields, bearing arms, or merchants' marks, are used to break up the inscription, as in the Walsokne and Fleming brasses. The only example of the fifteenth century in this country is the brass of Roger Thornton, Newcastle. It bears a very close resemblance to those of the preceding century in the general detail as shown in the canopies and super-canopies, &c. The figures are not so well drawn as the earlier examples. The brasses of the sixteenth century, with but one exception, are small in size, and there may be seen a great falling of in design and detail, as compared with those of the earlier periods."

Detailed accounts were then given of the principal Flemish brasses in England, illustrated by rubbings.

The accompanying illustration of the brass of Roger Thornton, at Newcastle, is from a rubbing by Mr. Oliver, and his description of the brass is as follows:—

The Brass of Roger Thornton, All Saints' Church, Newcastle, 1411, is the only Flemish brass of the fifteenth century in this country. The figure of Roger Thornton is dressed in a long gown, which reaches to the feet, with full deep sleeves, buttoned at the throat, and a strap, from which a sword is suspended, is buckled round the waist. Two dogs are placed under the feet. The wife's figure shows a long sleeveless gown (with a high collar) which covers the feet. The sleeves of an underdress, buckled round the waist, may be seen at the wrist. On the head is worn a cap with long ends which fall below the shoulders, and below the buttoned collar of the gown is worn a plaited wimple. The heads of the figures are on cushions, which are supported by angels. Each of the figures has below the feet seven light arches, each with the figure of a son or daughter. The son's dress consists of a gown

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with deep sleeves, which reaches below the knee. The collar is loose, and a belt is worn round the waist. The daughter's dress is a loose gown with deep sleeves, secured round the waist by a belt. The hair is worn in plaits at the sides. A similar head-dress may be seen worn by the figure in the representation of the soul in the super-canopy. Beneath these figures is a running pattern similar to that on the outside. Over the principal figures are three pointed arches. The centre arch is groined, and instead of corbels the arches terminate in small balls. From these arches spring canopied compartments in two tiers, the lower centre compartment of which contains a representation of the soul held in a cloth by angels. Angels holding censers are on either side. In the upper portion the soul is seen placed on the lap of the Divine Person; angels with candles are placed on either side. The side compartments are similar in each case. In the lower compartment a figure holds a scroll, and angels with candles are on either side. In the upper an angel is placed standing on a pedestal and playing a musical instrument. Smaller figures are placed below. On either side of the principal figure (and also between them) are niches containing various saints with their emblems. On the side next to Roger Thornton are the following: an Angel, St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist, St. Thomas, St. Matthew, St. Bartholomew, and St. Simon. On the side next to the wife, an angel with pot and sprinkler, St. Paul, St. James the Great, St. James the Less, St. Andrew, St. Philip, and St. Jude. Between the figures and the inscription is a row of figures in monk's habits. Between the principal figures are the following Saints: the Blessed Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, St. Catharine, St. Barbara, St. Agnes, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Lawrence. The inscription, which wants the usual concluding sentence, is divided by small shields bearing the arms singly, at the sides, and quarterly, at the top and bottom, of Thornton and his wife. The Evangelistic symbols are at the corners. It was originally on an altar tomb, and is now placed on the wall of the vestry.

Roger Thornton was a great benefactor, not only to his native town of Newcastle, but also to the Cistercian Abbey of Newminster, near Morpeth, in the martyrology of which monastery he is thus commemorated:—"Anno Domini MCCCCXXIX, in crastino circumcisionis, obiit Rogerus de Thornton, burgensis villæ Novi Castri, et dominus de Witton, qui castrum ibidem construxit, et dedit nobis plumbum quo operitur navis ecclesiæ nostræ; pro quo Rogero, et Agnete uxore ejusdem, et liberis, dicimus quotidianam missam beatæ Virginis, et aliam missam pro defunctis, et jacent in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum in Novo Castro." *The Newminster Cartulary* (Surtees Society), p. 302.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1889.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

This meeting was devoted to the exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest, and brief descriptions were given of the objects exhibited by the following members:—

Rev. L. Gilbertson. Crucifix, candlesticks, and a model of the St. Paul's tonsure plate.

Rev. E. S. Dewick. Illuminated MSS., including an Epistolarium of the end of the fourteenth century, and the Pontifical of Gilles de Luxembourg, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1503-1535). Carvings in ivory and wood. An incense boat of the fifteenth century. The head of a cantoral staff, dated 1558, of Flemish workmanship.

Mr. R. J. Jackson. A jewelled monstrance. A MS. relative to St. Paul's. A triptych in carved bone of the fifteenth century. A picture by Memling, supposed to have been a portion of the altar-piece of old St. Paul's

Mr. J. Horsburgh. Medals, books, and a piece of tapestry.

Mr. W. H. Pitman. Orphreys of an ancient chasuble.

Mr. Krall. Chalices, lamps, the pastoral staff of the Bishop of Llandaff, and other metal work.

Mr. H. W. Macklin. Rubbings of two curious brass roundels in the British Museum, which are 5½ inches in diameter, and engraved on both sides, the obverses bearing the heads of priests, with marginal inscriptions.

Rev. H. G. Duffield. Wood carving.

Mr. A. Taylor. Ancient stained glass.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1890.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. F. Hamilton Jackson, on "Mural Decoration in Churches," which was illustrated by a large number of photographs. A discussion followed, in which the Rev. E. Hoskins, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, and the Chairman took part.

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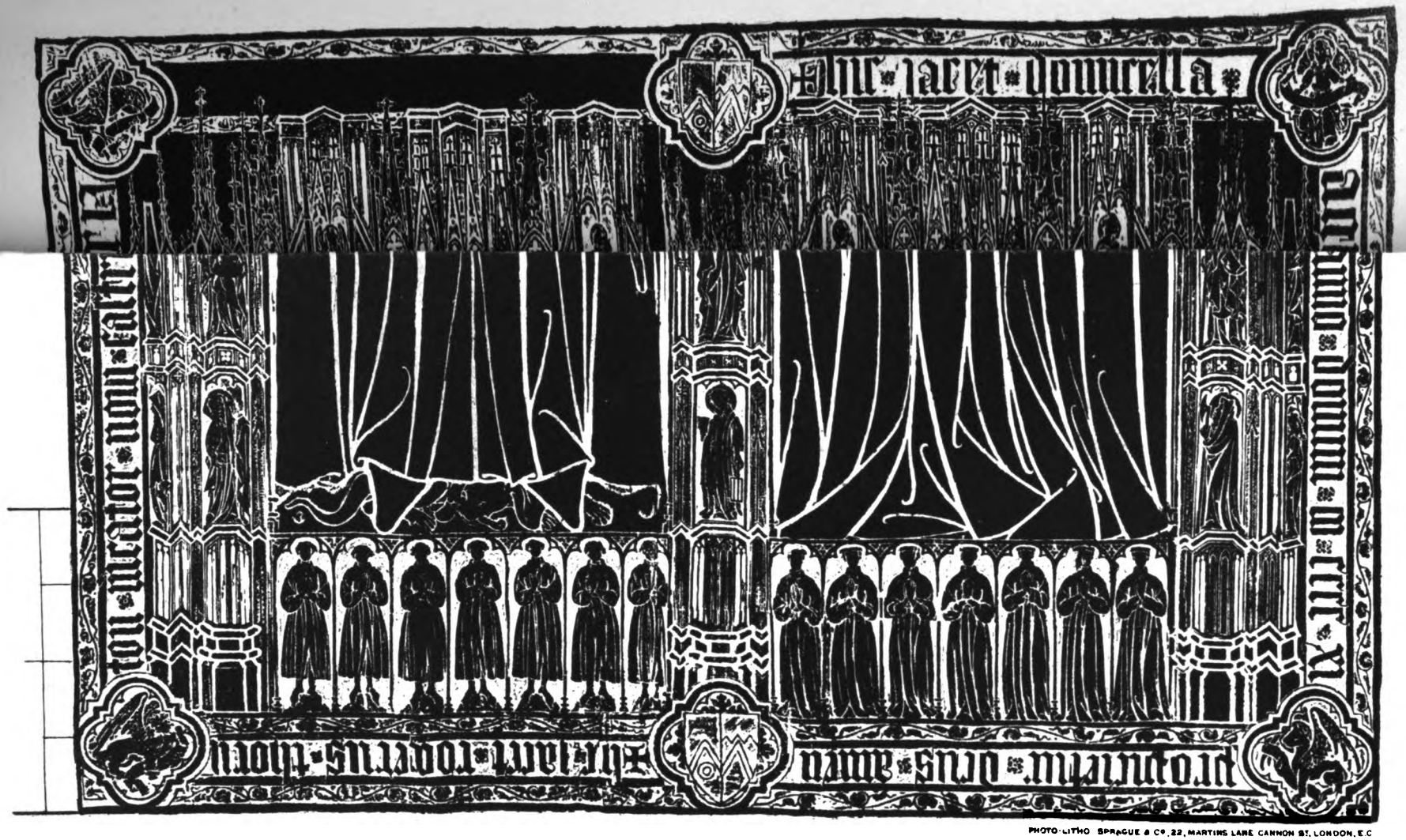

PHOTO-LITHO SPRAGUE & Co. 22, MARTINS LANE CANNON ST. LONDON, E.C

BRASS OF ROGER THORNTON: ALL SAINTS CHURCH, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. (DATE 1429.)

Reduced from a Rubbing by ANDREW OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

Reprinted from "THE BUILDER," NOVEMBER 16, 1889.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1890.

Eleventh Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed, after which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented:—

"Eleventh Annual Report, 1889-90.

"The proceedings of the past year have been very satisfactory. The papers read at the evening meetings have been of great interest, and the visits, with one exception, have been very largely attended.

"During the year ten meetings have been held in the Chapter House, and the following Papers have been read:—Two by Mr. A. Oliver, one on 'Monumental Brasses and their Details,' and one on 'Flemish Brasses in England'; by the Rev. Ernest Geldart, on 'Transepts'; by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, on 'Christian Art on Coins from the time of Constantine the Great'; two by Mr. G. H. Birch, on 'Round Churches'; by the Rev. H. Hamilton Kelly, entitled, 'A Study of Precedents for Liturgical Development'; by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, on 'The Divine Service in the Sixteenth Century, illustrated by the Reform of the Breviary of the Humiliati in 1548'; and by Mr. F. Hamilton Jackson, on 'Mural Decoration in Churches'; and on one evening members were invited to bring for exhibition, and to describe, objects of ecclesiological interest. This was a new departure, but the result was so successful as to warrant a repetition of the experiment in the future.

"Afternoon visits were made to the Churches of St. Mary Abbotts, Kensington; St. Cuthbert, Kensington; and Hammersmith, under the direction of Mr. H. Roumieu Gough; to All Saints, Fulham, where the Church was described by the Rev. H. Fisher; and to Chiswick Parish Church, described by the Rev. L. W. T. Dale. To St. Albans, where a very large party inspected the Cathedral under the direction of Mr. H. Roumieu Gough; to Bow and Stepney, under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Birch; to Wennington, which was described by the Rev. N. Brady; and to Aveley, described by the Rev. B. G. Luard.

"A whole-day visit was made to Norwich, but owing to the distance very few members attended. The Cathedral was described by Dr. Bensly, and the Castle and some of the Parish Churches were inspected under the guidance of the Rev. W. Hudson and other gentlemen.

"The members were greatly indebted to the Dean and Chapter, to the Mayor and Corporation, and to the Rev. O. W. Tancock, Master of King Edward's School, for the facilities afforded by them for inspecting various objects of interest in their custody.

"To the Clergy who have granted facilities to the Society, to the gentlemen who have conducted, and described the various churches, to the readers of papers, and to all who have contributed to the success of the year's proceedings, the Council desire to express their most hearty thanks.

"Part IV. of Volume II. of the Transactions has been issued during the year, and the Council venture to say that it is a publication of which the Society may well be proud. Attention is drawn to the fact (as shown in the Balance-Sheet) that the illustrations have been largely due to special contributions. The thanks of the Society are due to those who have thus contributed, and to the Rev. E. S. Dewick for the excellent service he renders the Society as Honorary Editor.

"The Council, in common with the Church at large, have to lament the recent decease of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Durham, and they remember with gratitude the support that he (then the Rev. Canon Lightfoot) afforded to the Society on its formation, by becoming one of its first Vice-Presidents.

"The accompanying Balance-Sheet, although showing a deficit, must be regarded as satisfactory, the chief outlay being for Transactions; and as these are now published, they will probably speedily repay their cost.

"Twenty-two new members have been elected during the year; the number on the Register is now 274.

H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Honorary Secretary.

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"Dr. BALANCE-SHEET, 1889, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Cr.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31, 1889.			
Entrance Fees	1	17	6
Annual Subscription	70	15	0
Life Subscriptions	25	4	0
Sale of Transactions...	22	1	3
Illustrations Fund (Special Donations)	15	13	6
Interest on Reserve Fund	1	7	5
Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer)	12	14	7
	£149	13	3
Jan. 1st, 1890. Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	68	7	6

Payments.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31, 1889.			
Balance from last Account... ...	2	2	4
Amount paid for Transactions ...	103	6	6
Printing and Stationery	9	0	6
Postage	19	16	5
Fees to Attendants	2	15	6
Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	12	12	0
	£149	13	3
Jan. 1st, 1890. Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	12	14	7

We have examined the above, and find it correct—

H. G. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

EDWIN H. FEDARB, RICHARD C. JACKSON, } *Auditors.*

January 22nd, 1890.

ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*"

The Report and Balance-sheet were unanimously adopted.

In accordance with Rule VI., four members of the Council retired, viz.: Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, Messrs. G. H. Birch, W. Bolton, and S. W. Kershaw, and a vacancy occurred through the death of Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt. The places were filled by the re-election of the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth and Messrs. Birch and Bolton, with the addition of Mr. Dullea and Mr. E. C. Hulme as new members.

On the proposal of the Chairman, the re-election of Major Heales as Treasurer, and of Mr. E. J. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield as Hon. Secretaries, was carried unanimously.

On behalf of the Council, the Chairman proposed the election of three Vice-Presidents, viz.: the Ven. Archdeacon of London, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., which was carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the use of the Chapter Room for the meetings of the Society, to the Honorary Secretaries, and the Honorary Editor.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Evensong in the Cathedral was attended by a large number of members, for whom seats were specially reserved in the choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1890.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., entitled, "Historical Notes on the City of Angers: its Ecclesiology and Antiquities." A large number of plans, sketches and photographs were exhibited by way of illustration of the paper, which is printed at p. 329.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1890.

Chairman: C. Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

The Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, M.A., was elected a Vice-President of the Society.

Major Heales, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Ecclesiology of Denmark." A discussion followed, in which the principal part was taken by Mr. G. H. Birch, Mr. Bolton, Rev. C. L. Acland, and Mr. Grimshire.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1890.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., read a paper entitled, "An Inquiry into the Literal Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric, so far as it affects Parish Churches." The paper is printed at p. 309.

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THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1890.

Chairman: F. Gill, Esq.

Mr. R. H. Carpenter, F.S.A., read a paper on St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, which was illustrated by a large number of plans and drawings. A discussion followed in which Messrs. Gordon Hills, W. White, F. J. Beckley and A. Taylor took part.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1890.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, Esq., F.S.A.

An address was given by Mr. C. Browne, F.S.A., on "The Knights of the Teutonic Order."

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1890.

Visit to Churches in Battersea.

Under the guidance of Mr. W. White, F.S.A., visits were paid to the churches of St. Mark, St. Peter, and St. Mary by the Park, Battersea.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1890.

Visit to the Tower of London.

The two chapels in the Tower of London were visited by a large party, and papers were read by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., which are printed at p. 348.

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1890.

Visit to Stone and Northfleet.

A visit was paid to the churches of Stone and Northfleet, under the guidance of Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, F.R.I.B.A. This was the second visit of the Society to the beautiful church at Stone. A paper read by Mr. Gough on the occasion of the first visit, in 1880, will be found in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, vol. I. p. 45, where a plan and illustrations of the architecture of the church are also given.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1890.

Visit to Waltham Abbey.

A large party visited the Abbey Church under the guidance of Mr. J. A. Reeve, who read a paper on its architecture, which is printed at p. 339. Mr. Reeve who had had ample opportunities for studying the architecture of the church, when acting as clerk of the works during the restoration of the Lady Chapel by the late Mr. W. Burges, gave his reasons for considering a great part of the existing church as the work of King Harold.

The site of the cloister, which stood on the north side of the choir, was afterwards visited and also the remains of the monastic buildings.

An account of a former visit of the Society to Waltham Abbey, in 1879, will be found in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, vol. I., p. 4.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1890.

Visit to Coventry.

Under the guidance of Mr. W. G. Fretton, F.S.A., a long day was spent in examining the many objects of antiquarian and ecclesiological interest which Coventry contains. Soon after leaving the railway station, attention was directed to the remains of the Manor House of the Earls of Chester in Cheylesmore, and also to the spire of the church of the Franciscan or Grey Friars. The original church, formerly 260 feet long, was, with the exception of the spire, destroyed in 1540; but in 1832 the modern building of Christ Church was attached to the old steeple. On passing up Grey Friars Lane, the party stopped to admire the picturesque gables and carved woodwork of Ford's Hospital, which happily remains almost the same as when founded by William Ford in 1529, and still serves its charitable office as a hospital for aged

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women. Progress was then made to the well-known church of St. Michael's, the tower and spire of which had been recently restored. Mr. Fretton here called attention to the great size of the church, and the chapels of the numerous guilds, which he mentioned by name. The stalls now in the north aisle of the choir were noticed on account of their carved subsellia with representations, amongst other subjects, of a funeral, a dance of death, and a Jesse tree. St. Mary's Hall was the next object of interest, and the magnificent tapestry and the fine collection of medieval documents belonging to the Corporation received a share of attention. The Church of the Holy Trinity, which, like St. Michael's, has been recently restored, was then visited. The church is, for the most part, of the Perpendicular period, but some earlier portions were pointed out; and the ancient stone pulpit and brass lectern were noticed. On the north side of the church were seen the foundations of the west end of the Benedictine Church, which was once the Cathedral Church of Coventry, and was destroyed at the Dissolution of Monasteries. Part of the city walls and gates were seen on the way to an interesting church of the Decorated period, which formerly belonged to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, but is now used as a mission room. It contains stalls brought from the ruined cathedral and the Church of the White Friars. Mr. Fretton then led the party to an open space surrounded by the picturesque buildings of Bond's Hospital, Wheatley's Hospital for Boys, and the Church of St. John the Baptist, which has been recently restored, and is a transeptal church of very irregular plan, the axis of the choir being greatly inclined to the north, and the transepts not at right angles to the nave.

After a short rest for dinner, a visit was paid to the Workhouse, for the sake of inspecting the remains of the convent of the White Friars. The party were welcomed by T. G. Beamish, Esq., the Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and J. B. Loudon, Esq., Vice-Chairman. The very beautiful groined east walk of the Friars' cloister, with the chapter house in the centre, has been preserved, and now serves as the refectory of the inmates of the Workhouse; whilst the dormitory over the cloister is used as a sleeping apartment for the inmates, being one of the few instances in England of a conventual dormitory still used for its original purpose. A short walk hence brought the party to the Charterhouse, where the precinct wall remains in a very perfect state, and the remains of what seems to have been the Prior's lodging have been fitted up as a dwelling-house. By kind permission the house was thoroughly inspected, and numerous mural paintings and fragments of carving were pointed out.

A walk through the beautiful cemetery laid out by Paxon brought to a conclusion the day's sight-seeing, and the party returned to London with the consciousness of having spent a most instructive and pleasurable day in the ancient city of Coventry.

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MODERN ECCLESIASTICAL ART.

BY J. D. SEDDING, F.R.I.B.A.

If my opening words are those of apology—as in this case they needs must be—the apology relates to my loose and informal treatment of my subject, and not to the subject itself. As to the subject of Modern Ecclesiastical Art, you will, I think, agree with me that no more interesting, more important, or more fruitful theme could well be found. In speaking of this matter, I must, naturally, mention its connection, first and last, with the Gothic Revival—seeing that all modern work of the Ecclesiastical class is of the *genus* Gothic. Let me begin, then, by calling the Gothic Revival a unique phenomenon of the age. Science, you know, tells us that life depends upon contact with life: it cannot develop out of anything that is not life. Here, however, is something which, on the face of it, defies that general law. Here is something that more closely resembles spontaneous generation than anything one has ever heard of. For it must be remembered that the Gothic had been dead, and buried in its tomb of crumbling walls, for over 350 years. Yet, at the touch of your hands and mine, the old forms become a living influence: the dead bones move, and take flesh, and we have the Gothic Revival.

This striking fact concerning the origin of the modern Gothic should not be overlooked: and when you consider the strange genesis of its life, the unexpectedness of its appearing, its vigorous bearing, and the wondrous success of its development along many fields of modern enterprise, you will allow that the modern Gothic is one of the marvels of the age.

And other people are as ready to praise it as ourselves. The world is confessedly the richer for its manifestations. Our English towns and villages are rendered more interesting by its achievements—yes, even, perhaps, this remark applies to the churches that have been denuded of their monumental value by bad "restoration"—even these may be interesting to posterity, and, at all events, serve the archæologist of the future with a theme for his choicest invective. The art of our land has found a new impulse by its means. Even the rough and tumble Englishman; the Gallio of society; the historian; the critic, accepts the importance and the marvel of it. Everyone is more or less interested in its future. Everyone must take note of its works, and include in the list of notable people of this century the names of those accomplished artists, living or dead, who, by their force of character, their conscientious motive, their personal genius, and their fervent enthusiasm, have founded the Gothic school, and carried its work forward to such successful issues.

It has been well observed that the measure of an inundation is marked by the extent of fertility which is produced on all sides; and the test is, on the face of it, so fair that I shall not scruple to apply it in what I have to say of the modern Gothic to-night.

In recommending my subject to you I have, thus far, dwelt only upon its general aspects: yet there are certain special reasons why our Society should be attracted to it. Ecclesiology is, doubtless, a valuable science in itself. It offers a pleasant pastime to the curious; and it is a sure way to the extension of a man's knowledge and sympathy with different eras of the past. You will agree with me, however, that the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society is not doing its proper work amongst us unless it proves itself an educational institution as regards contemporary as well as ancient art. We ought, then, to have large and clear views of things touching ecclesiology going on around us, and should be prepared to take an intelligent part in the application and dissemination of right principles in the day in which we live.

Now, for my own part, I confess to being not a little jealous at the preponderating place and masterful influence of archæology in art affairs in this Nineteenth Century. I am not a little tired of antiquity as antiquity. I love not revivals for their own sake; my soul is surfeited by strange meats, and my stomach is averse to acquiring any more antique tastes. To speak frankly, I think we have been parasites long enough. "Parasites," Mr. Drummond says, in his valuable book on "Natural Law," "are the paupers of nature. They are forms of life which will not take the trouble to find their own food, but borrow or steal it from the more

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industrious." And it seems to me that we designers of this century should be something nobler than *lazzaroni*, to live in the poor-house of mediævalism. The modern Gothic school should present a nobler front, and find a worthier claim for toleration in this work-a-day world than the dodder plant, or the mistletoe. If we have struck our roots deep into the past, and sucked life out of the past, and experimented with its types for fifty years and more, it is high time we gained our independence, and ceased to beg, and borrow, and steal promiscuously from dead people. Parasitism ministers only to decay, and not to development and progress. All this continued reliance upon old traditions has, in truth, taken all sense of independence out of our nature. We copy, but do not invent. More than this: our life in the past has incapacitated us from taking part in the life and current thought of the present. We have become estranged from the modern world, and the modern world from us; and what we require to be reminded of is that "the live dog is better than the dead lion!"

Having said this, you will see that I propose to look upon modern ecclesiastical art in no blind spirit of adulation and congratulation. On the contrary, I purpose to look with frank eyes on what has been done—to speak gratefully yet critically of the past, to glaze over nothing, yet to be critical only with a view to the improvement of any defects which may disclose themselves in the course of our enquiry. The enquiry I am, in my humble way, about to institute, is worthy of a careful answer. But the answer can only be given by students who investigate with freedom. To speak with one eye towards our subject, and another on the susceptibility of prejudiced people can lead to no good and useful result.

The advantage of the platform of this Society for the calm discussion of these matters is obvious, inasmuch as this Society is pledged to no one system of design; we delight in, sympathize, and stand neuter, with all. One night we treat of Thirteenth Century Gothic, another night of the Perpendicular; one night we spend in the Catacombs, and another we are in the dome of classic S. Paul's. Like the bees, we rove from flower to flower with seeming indifference but concealed choice. Further than this, we have by our discursive wanderings in the wide field of ecclesiology, gained a touch of cosmopolitan ease in handling matters of taste which is all too rare in English Churchmen. And this free-mindedness of yours is of no little moment to me when I am about to open up the question of style, and when I am about to claim that the Renaissance style shall have an equal share with the Gothic in the affections of the English Churchman, and shall have an equal right for employment where the conditions of site and neighbourhood clearly prove its greater fitness for adoption.

In touching upon the question of style I cannot be ignorant of the fact that, owing to certain circumstances, which I shall mention, the modern English Churchman is, in a measure, pledged to the Gothic, and he will find it hard to shake himself free of his Gothic coils. One knows that with our revived Church-feeling came our taste for the Gothic. With our increased reverence for the old sanctuaries came increased respect for the forms and features of their environment. The Gothic has thus become associated with our warmer devotion and our enkindled zeal, and we should be basely ungrateful if, as the result of our enquiry to-night, we were to cease to look with affection upon forms which we have hitherto exclusively used in our enforcement of Divine truth, and in our expression of religious sentiment. That a halo of reverence has gathered around the familiar forms is no wonder. We must remember that the employment of Gothic in the early days of the Church movement was, in a measure, forced upon us both from considerations of policy and of taste. Inasmuch as there was no living traditional art to work upon as a basis of design, we must needs take some new type, and the choice lay between the Renaissance or Classic and the Gothic. As people were just then rejoicing in the pleasant whiffs of mediæval air that came through the pages of Sir Walter Scott and others there was a general predilection for Gothic architecture. More than this, Mr. Ruskin assured us that the Renaissance types were immoral (poor things!). Add then to this predisposition to romanticism, Mr. Ruskin's solemn adjurations and the wellknown fact that the Renaissance was the style used by Roman Catholics, and our course was plain. If there is one thing which distinguishes the Britisher from the rest of mankind it is his fine moral and religious sense. He can strain a point now and then, but never in this direction. Mr. Ruskin had demonstrated that—like the little boy in the nursery rhyme—the Renaissance was made up of slugs, and snails, and puppy-dog's tails, while the Gothic—like the little girl—was composed of sugar and spice, and all that is nice; and this settled the matter. And if I did not love the English Church, and my art, and my religion better than modern "Ecclesiastical Art," I would not say a word to outrage British feeling on this score.

For yet one more reason did it suit the English Churchman to use the Gothic types. Were they not the pre-reformation types, and therefore conducive to the building up of the historic sense of the continuity of the English Church? In choosing the Gothic, we could identify ourselves with the old Church of England, and could reunite the lost links of outward observance severed by Puritans in the days of panic and anarchy. The recovery of the ancient

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accompaniments of Catholic worship enabled the Churchman of to-day to touch hands with the Churchman of far-off times, and to kindle the bonds of Catholic fellowship. So it was that the Gothic came to be identified with the Church movement; and as I have no fear for its future, I speak with less reserve and scruple of such points in our present handling of it that seem to call for comment. We who love the Gothic, and are engaged in its development, need not fear to discuss these points; for it is error, and not truth, which is dangerous: and, as Burke said, "to know whether any proposition be true or false, it is a preposterous method to examine it by its apparent consequences."

It is high time, however, that we enquired what we mean by "Ecclesiastical Art," and this question is all the more necessary to be put when we remember that in old days there was no such thing as "Ecclesiastical Art." The thing is quite a modern invention, and a very bad one, too, in my humble opinion. In old days, as you are aware, the art of any given period flowed as one body in one broad, undivided stream. It was one in motive; one in type; one in character; one in being; however men might chance to apply it. It flowed spontaneously, and without effort. There were no miserable lecturers to chatter about "Ecclesiastical Art," and no apparatus existed to turn it out to order, as we do now-a-days. Designers hadn't to squeeze their minds into this attitude or that, or to cast their thoughts into this mould or that, according to the purpose and place assigned for their work. Take music for instance. We talk glibly now-a-days about "Church" music as though Church music were something essentially different to home music. As though Mozart's "*Requiem*" or Bach's "Passion Music" were less of "Church" music than "*Missa Regia.*" As though the motets and madrigals of Tallis, Bird, and Palestrina were not identical in style and tone with the contemporary masses and anthems. So of "Church" architecture. We talk as though there had been in days gone by one sort of architect for a house, and another for a church; or one sort of architecture for the dining-hall, and another for the chapel. Nay, our choice of the types for modern Church architecture would seem to indicate that we imagine that the crude types of rudimentary art are, for some occult and unexplained reason, of a more "Ecclesiastical" character than the more developed forms, and, therefore, the worthier to be employed for the temples of the God of perfection. We talk of art "Ecclesiastical" as though there had been one method of decoration, or one sort of stained glass, or one species of carved subjects, for the secular, and another for the devotional structure.

Let me say that this definition of art is altogether false, misleading and mischievous. It is false, inasmuch as until recent times there was no such division of the subject, and no distinction of method, style, or structure of the architecture, music, or poetry of old days by which you might define this thing as in essence "Ecclesiastical" and the other as secular. It is misleading inasmuch as it ignores that secret basis of all the variety of type and style in art, when it was a living, growing thing: namely, evolution, or the gradual unrolling and opening out of the flower of art in the world. (The principle worked slowly, I grant you, but those were the charming days of "Art's delays.") It is misleading, too, because it begets a false taste, and leads good people to imagine that you must don the old clothes of some past century, and speak the accents of a remote time if you are to do any work for God's sanctuary in this day of our salvation. It is mischievous because it encourages artists to carry imitation too far, and because it helps to bolster up in a hundred ways that miserable affectation and artificiality which is the bane and curse of all our modern work. Nay, in a far higher sense is this worship of antique forms mischievous, in that it practically ignores the work and office of the Holy Spirit of God in the realm of Nineteenth Century invention.

Having said this, you will not expect me to define "Ecclesiastical" art as more religious than any other art, nor will you expect me to class the vendors and manufacturers of "Ecclesiastical" art in a higher order of mankind than other people. You will not get me to believe that the Almighty has any special regard for modern art that takes Gothic shapes: nor to believe that the fascinating articles of Church furniture which we admire so much in the ante-rooms at meetings of Church Societies, are one whit more religious in type, or motive, or workmanship than any other Birmingham or Cockney wares. And it is certain that there are no clearer traces of Mr. Ruskin's "Seven Lamps" in our so-called "Ecclesiastical" manufactures than in any other. The truth is, I suppose, that what Lord Bacon said of wars, applies likewise to art of all kinds—"it goes on its belly." Art "Ecclesiastical" is a welcome stimulus to trade: and here as elsewhere the law of demand and supply is obeyed; and the work produced in this class, as in others, exactly tallies with the aim and ideal of the producer: and here, as elsewhere, the worse the quality of the work the better it pays.

If my definition of modern "Ecclesiastical" art be correct, it comes to this; that the term is applied to a species of design that is dressed up in old clothes by people of an archæological or ecclesiastical turn of mind. As things are managed now-a-days, it would seem that the designer should have two taps to his brains, one of which should be the

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ecclesiastical, and the other the home tap: and when one of them is turned on you find the man his own living self, and when the other is turned you find a man who affects to be living several hundreds of years ago.

Now, while I would in no wise desire our Gothic designers to forget the old Gothic, or to lose any healthy relation with the fine traditions of old times, I do claim that they should handle the old forms in a more elastic way, and bring a more humane and natural, and a more essentially modern spirit to bear upon their work. The predominant impression we receive from Mediæval art is its naturalness and ease; while the predominant impression I get from modern "Ecclesiastical" art is its stiff, forced, unnatural character. It is antique or nothing. It is revived, but it smells of the tomb. Its clothes must all be cut out of the same old shroud, and must always drape the whole of its limbs, lest you should see how little human flesh there is upon them. The flowers it carries in its hand have no fragrance, except of plaster. The pictures it displays suggest musty manuscripts, and its ornament Norman studies. No wonder poor Nineteenth Century humanity shivers in its austere presence.

But if modern Ecclesiastical art is a cold, bloodless, more or less revived thing, and its ecclesiastical buildings repulsive to modern feeling, the old ecclesiastical buildings, erected before "Ecclesiastical Art" was invented, are full of life and contemporary thought. An old church is a poem built upon nature, that recalls the home-life of the people who built it, and the familiar things of daily existence. There is animal spirit in it. It is all home-felt, home-influenced, every-day art. In the art of Giotto, Ghirlandajo, Perugino, Della Robbia, we find not only perceptions of simple forms of beauty, but great originality and naturalness of treatment. Each man strove to render the incidents and symbols of religion in the manner that would be most touching and most attractive to the people living around him, for whom he worked. And with this end he scrupled not to weave into his religious picture something of his and something of their home-life.

So, too, with the imagery of our old English churches. Its character changes as time goes on, but the changes do not affect its inner motive, they only indicate progress and cumulative power: the varied character and scope of the imagery in the later work shows the enlarged powers of observation of the artist, his wider interest in nature, and increased aptitude in expressing his ideas. And here is a lesson for us who wilfully work under our knowledge and skill when we affect "Ecclesiastical" art. It is a lesson for us who, like the formalists in another line and of another time, accept the letter, but not the spirit, of the old law—for us, who adopt certain conventional forms of art-expression as though they had been used as conscious trickeries and chosen conventionalisms in the period from whence we have dug them out.

Look at old art, and you find that it always expresses the limit of the skill and acquirement of the day in which it was made. You find that the art-expression of an age runs neck and neck with its capacities. The artist works up to the limit of his training and culture. He never works beneath his strength. Thus, the English sculptor in the early Gothic seems to have looked at the goings on of Nature (which is the storehouse of Art) much as a child does—more to enjoy than to apprehend; and when he attempts to delineate anything it is done only in a suggestive, highly conventional way. So, in Norman days, the drifting clouds and the vexed sea-waves are imaged by chevrons and frets; the interlaced branches of trees by a trellis of lozenge-mouldings: and cables, and chains, and cats' heads and birds' heads, are used for purposes of decoration. In Early English days comes the simple dog-tooth and the ball-flower ornament, set in deep-cut mouldings, with bossy foliage to capitals, and bands of meandering leafage in repeated, continuous patterns, the beauty of whose curvature saves us from weariness, just as we do not weary of the repeated cadences of a pure melody sweetly sung. There is much more fascination about the imagery of the Fourteenth Century—the period of Chaucer—when nature was more closely watched, and more sympathetically noted. There is a freshness, a melodious grace and brightness, in those details taken straight from nature which is infinitely refreshing to us, who manufacture sculpture only from labelled casts. These lispings of Early Art come to us like a breath of spring, with a charm of birds in the air, and a sense of budding hedgerows about us, and at our feet an

> "Embrouded mede,
> Alle full of freshe flowers, white and rede."

Later on still, sculpture, both of the higher and lower kinds, groups itself more and more among the lines of constructive form, and we get a larger range of subject, a more intricate system of composition, and more delicacy of treatment; till in the Perpendicular period the sculptor aims at a more graphic, more pictorial, more naturalesque, and more humane phase of things, and gleans directly from the homely drama of daily life. I said just now, that in old

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days there was no such thing as "Ecclesiastical" art, and certainly the imagery of our old churches is not a little disconcerting to persons accustomed to the proprieties of modern Ecclesiastical art; for heaven and earth, saint and sinner, means of grace and means of livelihood, martyrdoms and field sports, are all mixed up there in a strangely incongruous bundle, just like life! You remember the Monks' Watchloft hard by the Patron's shrine at S. Alban's, with its series of sculptured illustrations of the avocations and pleasures of town and country-folk, of noble, tradesman, and peasant—the reaper, the gardener, the shepherd blowing his pipe to the pleased sheep at his feet, the tradesman and his wife selling their wares, the huntsman with his dogs "pricking" a hare, the bear-fight, the wrestlers on the village green, the martyrdom of S. Alban and religious subjects coming between—not strictly didactic, or ethical, or theological, you will say, yet, on the whole, somehow suitable to the Fifteenth Century Englishman, who had a large amount of human clay in his composition. Some of you, too, may know the porch and aisle, built in the Sixteenth Century, at Tiverton, by a cloth merchant. The porch is surmounted by a crucifix, but in parts of the structure are bales of goods, marked with the merchant's name in cypher, a ship at sea, dragons, dolphins, fish, a sheep, with a bell round his neck, a bird settled on a crow's back, a cat playing with a monkey, coils of ropes, bunches of fruit, etc. In the spandrels of the aisle-windows are anchors, wrought in relief; and on a deep frieze above the windows are represented the merchant's vessels at sea—a large ship in each compartment, attended by its boat. On a string-course are twenty-one subjects from Our Lord's life, and between these, and elsewhere, are sprays of foliage, anchors, sheaves of corn, bunches of grapes, the Instruments of Our Lord's Passion, bales of goods, etc.—rather a miscellaneous grouping of things, but I imagine our forefathers loved to play with cross-lights, and, as it were, to mix religion with their common life in quite an unaffected, simple sort of way; for neither Puritanism nor "Ecclesiastical Art" were then invented.

If we may gather anything from this familiar relation of old art to social life, we may say that it was eminently an art made congenial to, and practised for, the people. Unlike the genteel "Ecclesiastical Art" of modern days, with its conscious trickeries and stale types, this spoke spontaneously with the local idiom of the place. The sculptor of those days went himself to the wayside of everyday life and made his posy, and presented his flowers to God's glory and man's delight, while the glow of inspiration was still bright on his face, and the fragrance and bloom of the morning was still fresh on theirs.

I suppose that I should expose myself to certain opprobrium if, with the foregoing thought in my mind, I were now to advocate the erection of poor men's churches. The venerable members of Convocation, and people with ecclesiastical minds—who require that a Church should first be Gothic, and then fit for Nineteenth Century use—would lift the whites of their eyes as far as they could go at the notion of such a thing. Yet, candidly, is it not time that we thought a little more of the lower middle-class, and the working man, when we build churches, and less of the virtuoso, and the F.S.A. and the archæological, travelled, ecclesiastical art-loving connoisseur? By all means let our fashionable churches be as correct, and as stiff, and as remote, in their air and type as fashionable people like to have them. It is well that in this free country, people should have exactly what they bargain for, and what they fancy that they like. By all means let the carving of your churches be faultlessly copied from Dorchester or Lincoln, or from any other approved casts in the Architectural Museum. Let the mouldings be adorned with miles of the same tenpenny nail heads, let the wall-surfaces be trellised in sampler patterns, and be scrawled all over with "holy beetles." Let enlarged Anglo-Saxon illuminations adorn their east ends, and let flat-gabled reredoses with their neat assortment of British stones and tiles dignify the altar. Let barbaric stained-glass figures keep out the daylight, and let enlarged Marcus-Ward Christmas cards be spread out upon your aisle walls as at All Saints,' Margaret Street. But do not suppose that any person, who has not acquired the proper ecclesiastical squint in his eye, or the correct archæological crick in his neck, cares one dump for these things. Having a certain amount of Nineteenth Century clay in my composition, I confess that I shut my eyes when I say my prayers in the presence of these obtrusive manufactures, and try to forget them. For my own part, I find in our modern churches a culture of ugliness and barbarism that is repugnant to the culture of beauty and civilization, which, in spite of my dealings with modern "Ecclesiastical" art, I feel it my awkward (and perhaps mistaken) duty to carry on. I feel that our churches are characterized by all that "haughty simplicity" and all that unmeaning ornament that Mr. Ruskin has connected with the worst specimens of Renaissance. I have, moreover, often thought that if a good sturdy Puritan could find aught in the archaic ornamentation of our modern churches to tempt his fine irreverence, it would be only from religious, and not from artistic reasons, that I would seek to restrain him.

This scorn of humanity that I have dwelt upon is carried out in things great and small

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connected with modern Ecclesiastical art. Look, for instance, at that fine church of S. Augustine, Kensington, a building of noble proportions and irreproachable early Gothic character, and see that though "fine" it is not "fit" for its place. Either the character of the church is wrong, or the houses are wrong; and although the houses may be wrong, they were there first, and had a right to some consideration. But there stands the church like a rampant Thirteenth Century lamb among Nineteenth Century wolves; for not only is the style and character of the structure out of harmony with the site and surroundings, but its front is set wilfully at variance with the frontage of the street. So again, in the matter of memorials of the dead in our ancient churches. It suits us to encourage people to put up painted windows in them as records of affection, but it is not so much that we love their dead, as that we want our churches suitably decorated. You know how, in our zeal for ecclesiastical art, we have ruthlessly smashed up innumerable monuments of modern date, some of which were priceless specimens of English art, and valuable as memorials of local or family history. Catacomb Christianity differed from ours in loving to associate the holy dead with the homes of Christian worship. We love blank walls, and, I suppose the walls of the Catacombs themselves would hardly have escaped our zeal for naked construction had the people commemorated been of a less remote date.

There are two points connected with foreign travel which invariably exercises the mind of the archæological John Bull: one is the ill-taste and modern character of the fittings and ornament of Continental churches; the other is, the attachment of the people to the churches. But it never occurs to him to put the two things together, and to ask himself how long the people would be attached to the churches, or how long their sense of ownership in them would remain if all the fittings, and pictures and records of the past were swept away by prudish people. Let us never suppose that the antiquity of a building is any bar to modern sympathy with it or modern acceptance of it—on the contrary, the older its walls the more is it associated with humanity's joys and sorrows. Age but increases its pathos, and gives its pathos a deeper voicefulness. Age makes it more endeared and more endearing to man. But *sham* antiquity stands wholly on another footing. Humanity resents that, and laughs at its hollowness.

The sum total of all I have to say to-night is comprehended in a plea for fresh thought and purpose in our modern Ecclesiastical art, and a more reasonable and more plastic handling of the forms in vogue. It is of no use for us to go on reproducing remote types and crude barbarisms that have no more spring of life in them than a parched pea, or the chip of a mummy of the time of Moses! Has it never struck you to calculate how much modern Ecclesiastical art has lost by its determined set against modern thought, and the exercise of modern capabilities? I ask, have we no better record to leave of Nineteenth Century progress, and no better presentment of its imaginative reach, and the capacity of its power of imagery to offer than scrawled sampler lines, "holy beetles," verdant green tiles, and carvings and pictures copied from museum casts, and museum manuscripts? I have just given a specimen or two of mediæval ecclesiastical imagery, and I have shown you that when an old sculptor or painter did a piece of decoration, he meant something by it, and meant it intensely. But those modern "Ecclesiastical Art" things mean—what?

Think, for a moment, how much more we know of the beauty of the world, and how much more skill we have to depict that beauty than the old men to whom I have alluded, and yet how completely we bury our skill and knowledge in the earth, wrapped up in a Gothic napkin! Think how now-a-days nearly every man you meet in the street is in some sort a student of Nature. Think how God has visited us in these latter days in the persons of Wordsworth, Browning, Tennyson, Morris, Keble, Newman, Hawthorne, Landseer, Hook, Brett, Turner, Ruskin, Rosetti, Walker, Riviere, and Caldecott: each of whom has, by the exercise of his own spiritual gift, done something to illustrate and to interpret the beauty and significance of the physical world, and to draw into more apparent closeness the three-fold cord that has united God, and man, and nature, from the beginning of the world. Think what these men have done to identify man with nature, and to interfuse with human interest the sights and sounds of the natural world, and then ask what testimony Nineteenth Century "Ecclesiastical Art" has to give of this fresh insight. Ask our architects what the added knowledge of the beauty of sky, and sea, and plants, and flowers, and birds, and animals, and man, has done for their design; and why they give us "holy beetles," and sunk traceries, and conventional trees, such as the hodsman's brother drew for us in the days of Rufus. Ask them why they do not go and glean in the fields on their own account, where, as our poet says,

> "The earth is crammed with heaven,
> And every bush afire with God."

Ask them how much of the canvas of the fields and hedgerows they have brought to the adornment of God's house, or to gladden the eyes and refresh the souls of poor, jaded, smoke-dried humanity in our cities and towns!

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You may tell me that all this sort of thing is quite foreign to the spirit of Church feeling, and that it would look irreligious and out of character; and I daresay you are right. It would, perhaps, be as incongruous in a modern Gothic church as the carol of a lark in an underground prison. But, if this be so, there is something wrong, either in the cravings of the modern world, or in the Ecclesiastical art of the present day, which shunts those cravings into as remote a siding as it can find—anywhere! anywhere, out of the way! Are we to understand that, except in the matter of gas, and ventilation, and heating, there is to be no place for modern progress in our Gothic churches, and no place for any handiwork which shall not be contemptibly below the skill, and knowledge, and imaginative power of modern days? If this be indeed so, then it is high time that every religious, human-hearted man began to look out for a style that would confessedly admit of modern things. I am not at all of the opinion that we need go back to the "dark ages" for the imagery for our modern Gothic. Far from it. But at this point I will ask whether it is worth while for the English Churchman to put all his eggs into a Gothic basket; and whether, if he should think fit to get a new basket, he might not at the same time procure a fresh lay of eggs, for the old ones are addled?

I merely put the questions to you, and leave you to answer them. So long ago as 1877 I had my doubts about the matter, and expressed them in a lecture in another place. In considering the fitness of different styles for Nineteenth Century Ecclesiastical Architecture, I then advocated the use of the early styles for the country, where cheapness and simplicity are necessary, and where small churches are needed. Use, I said, the Perpendicular for country towns, and the Renaissance for cities. I make the distinction in the two last because a Renaissance building has an essentially modern aspect, well suited to the modern surroundings of a city: whereas a country town that may have plenty of modern structures in its streets, will probably also contain some historical remains, or historical traditions, or some picturesque qualities of site to recommend the adoption of an historic and picturesque type of English architecture like the Perpendicular. Further, the outside of a church in a country town—where the space is less cramped—has to be more carefully studied than the outside of a church in a crowded city. In a country town it is one of two or three conspicuous objects of the place; in a city a church is inconspicuous among factories, and warehouses, and crowded streets. Granted, then, that the Renaissance style is equally suited for Church architecture, and that it conforms to the requirements of the structure, the picturesqueness of its outside is a matter of little comparative importance in a city. It so happens that the Renaissance is marvellously well suited to Nineteenth Century ideas and wants. The Gothic is a remote, obsolete style, while the Renaissance is the living, traditional style of Europe; and its employment would best satisfy the craving of the modern mind for vastness, size, and space. Taking as our models the best Renaissance churches of Italy, we have a style that can touch our modern sympathies, and that can be appreciated without the least affectation or stress of taste.

More than this, in a Renaissance building no sense of propriety need be violated if modern art there expressed itself in a thoroughly modern way. In such a building our Royal Academy painters and sculptors might deign to employ their genius without any sense of inconsistency, or without any fear of jarring against archæological, legal correctness. You might cover your whitewashed walls with a series of figure-subjects which poor people would look upon with pleasure and recognize as human. Your altar, and reredos, and pulpit, need not be selected out of the registered list of an "Ecclesiastical" warehouse where parsonic coats and hats are bought. Your organ need not be daubed with bands of Egyptian colours. Your stained glass need not be painfully archaic. Your reredos need not be of the side-board-type, made up of an arrangement of British stones, but it might contain modern paintings, or sculptures, done by a man who can draw, and who knows the constitution of the human frame. Your church need not be arranged upon monastic principles, but the singers might be ranged in galleries on either side of the altar; and the altar itself—instead of being planted as distant as possible from the congregation—might be put close to them, and the poor might gather at the feet of the Saviour as the sheep gather round the shepherd. Your carved and painted ornament might be veritable transcripts of natural facts, and true interpretations of natural science: and you could find room for expressing the beauty of animals and the laws of their nature, the mystery of botany, and the mineral laws. You may cover the walls and arches of a modern Renaissance church with lovely carved subjects, terra-cottas, and inlaid marbles, as at S. Francesco, at Rimini. You may have a church painted all over—every feature and every particle of wall-space having its due place in one vast scheme of colouration—as at S. Andrea, at Mantua; or you may aim at stern, massive effects, as at Sto. Spirito, Florence, whose noble lines even the carping purist would admit have no touch of luxury or sensuality.

Suppose we settled that the Benedicite should be painted all round the aisle walls of our ideal modern church (with the stations in medallions between); Sir Frederick Leighton should

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lead off with the first verse, and have the control of, and some share in the rest. The angels, and the stars, and the elements, would go naturally to Mr. Burne Jones; Hook and Brett would share the seas and floods between them. Millais, Poynter, Long, and others, would take the priests and servants of the Lord. Marks, Riviere, Yeames, and Caldecott,* and Crane, would have the beasts and cattle, and the whales, and all that move in the waters, together with the birds of the air—only reserving the choicest for Mr. Ruskin's exquisite pencil (no one can draw like Mr. Ruskin). Watts should have the "spirits and souls of the righteous"; Millais, and Sant and Hughes and Kate Greenaway the children. Morris the green things of the earth—again reserving special spaces for studies of wayside flowers by the author of "Proserpina." What a temple for God and man to meet in would this ideal church be! And you would still have plenty of room for pictorial art; where the Royal Academy sculptors and painters, and other academically trained artists, could delineate the earthly history and the heavenly glory of Christ and His saints as they have never had a chance of doing before. And it must not be forgotten that it is not necessarily the fault of these men that the church has not enlisted their services hitherto; for, after all, painters and sculptors do not execute, and never have executed, work before they have received their commissions!

In conclusion, let me repeat my plea for a more natural and more humane handling of the Gothic, and of Gothic ornamentation: and let me combine with this plea a claim for the use of the Renaissance where the conditions, site, and surroundings are best met by its adoption. With regard to the first, few will be inclined to argue, as no principle is at stake. But as to the second, I am in some doubt as to your sympathy. Still, as a Churchman and an architect who has thought a good deal on this matter, I venture to register my humble opinion that religion, art, and the English Church, would all gain by the liberty of choice as to style which I have here advocated. English religion would thus gain as her hand-maid a type of art that is still an active agent for the Christianization of the world by means of its pictures and sculptures. Bellini, and Titian, and Michael Angelo still speak to Christendom through their pictures. More than this, the Renaissance type of painting *alone* can be strictly modern; this type *only* can "touch the meadows and leave the daisies rosy"; and it is by the modern pictorial, imaginative, and realistic treatments of religious subjects that the heart of the modern man can best be reached.

The English church would gain by the alternative use of the Renaissance. We should be able to get rid of the mischievous idea that Catholicism and sham Mediævalism are one and the same thing. The Virtuoso and the F.S.A. might growl, but the poor and the lower middle-class would rejoice: they care not for "the falsehood of extremes"; and religion is too real a thing to them to be bound up in the same bundle with experimental revivals and unreal travesties of bygone times. And art and religion, mutually, would gain by the acquisition of an entirely new platform from which to survey the needs of the modern world. Art would gain a fresh motive; and religion would provide a way whereby all that is noble in the art of the present day might be utilized and consecrated. That such a reconstruction of Ecclesiastical Art as I have here indicated will find immediate fulfilment I doubt very much indeed. But that it may come eventually, this I dare both to hope and to pray for. Personally, I am no fetish worshipper, and I have no superstitions about styles; nor are the types and trappings of design a matter of the slightest moment to me, provided the design be worthy and God-inspired. I believe in the unity and fellowship of all art; and, with Victor Hugo, I believe that art is a city, and the citizens of art, like the citizens of heaven, speak but one universal tongue.

* This paper was read two years ago: alas, that as this proof goes to press, I have to chronicle the death of Randolph Caldecott. R.I.P. (J. D. S.)

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NOTES ON THE ANCIENT CHURCHES OF LONDON.

By E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

It is proposed in this paper to refer to the group of churches existing or formerly existing within the walls of the City, or so close to the latter as to cause them to be a portion of the City, to all intents and purposes; to make some observations upon their dedications and orientation; and finally to describe the portions of the ancient buildings which have survived all the visitations of time, the accidents of fire, and the hands of the "improver," to our own times. An ordinary passer through the streets of our great City, so crowded during the day, and so deserted at nightfall, is not so impressed as must have been our grandfathers with the great number of churches within the limited area of the City. A glance at any old view of London is sufficient to show what a fine effect was produced by the towers and spires of these buildings, rising high above the houses, of lesser height than now, which then formed London. To a greater degree is this so if the view we are inspecting is that of the City before the Great Fire of 1666, which levelled so many of the sacred buildings of the City which were not afterwards rebuilt. Now, the number is still further diminished, while the lofty nature of the buildings erected from one end of the City to the other, often higher than the church-towers themselves, has completely destroyed the relative scale of proportion between the churches and the other buildings, and their appearance is dwarfed and diminished accordingly.

The number of parish churches existing before the Great Fire was 109, of which number thirty-five were not rebuilt after that event. If we add to these the names of the four churches removed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have no fewer than 113 churches as having once existed in London, apart from the cathedral and the great monastic establishments. There is record, too, that there were in the twelfth century three or four old parishes incorporated in the new Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Although these figures are well known, attention has not been drawn to the very remarkable grouping of these buildings. They do not cluster around the cathedral as in many other Mediæval cities, such as in Paris, for example, but they are the closest together more to the east of the cathedral. A reference to any old map where the churches are marked (Vertue's, for instance), shows this at a glance. Let us, however, be a little more precise, and render the result of measurement. Taking the statue of King William IV. as a centre, and striking a radius of only a quarter of a mile, we find that all the following churches formerly stood within this small space, notwithstanding that a large portion of the half-mile circle is occupied by the Thames:—SS. Michael (Paternoster Royal), John Baptist, Mary Bothaw, All Hallows the Great and the Less, Laurence Pountney, Martin Orgar, Michael (Crooked Lane), Swithin, Mary Abchurch, Stephen (Walbrook), Mildred (Poultry), Christopher-le-Stocks, Bartholomew, Benet Fink, Mary Woolnoth, Nicholas, Edmund the King, Peter (Cornhill), Michael (Cornhill), Allhallows (Lombard Street), Benet (Gracechurch), Gabriel (Fenchurch), Allhallows Staining, Margaret Pattens, Andrew Hubbard, Leonard (Eastcheap), Margaret (Monument Yard), George, Mary-at-Hill, Dunstan-in-the-East, Botolph, and Magnus,—or thirty-three in all. This extraordinary group of churches has not its parallel in any other city of Western Europe, Rome itself not excepted; and the reason for their being so crowded together is a problem far more readily proposed than answered. Its solution is difficult, but we may at least be interested in the consideration of the fact. If we enlarge the radius of our circle, we shall find that proportionately the number of churches is increased up to a certain distance, but no more; but the small space noted is sufficient for attention to be called to the remarkable fact indicated. Following the analogy of arrangements in other cities, we may reasonably conclude that these churches were erected where the population was the thickest, and where, in consequence, they were the more needed, a conclusion which receives some support from the fact that away from the centre indicated, the churches gradually dwindle away until but a few only are found, one at each of the gates of the city, fewer still away from the walls, and still less along the line of the ancient thoroughfares of Fleet Street and the Strand. It will be observed, however, by reference to Faithorne's map of the City as it was before the Great Fire, which shows generally the outline of all the churches, that

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the orientation of these buildings was fairly perfect, showing that it had been carefully and purposely studied. I conclude from this that whenever these buildings were founded space was sufficiently at command to admit of this being provided for, even although they were erected in what were then the most closely-populated portions of the then existing city.

The periods of the foundation of these buildings ought to be clear to us among the mass of documentary evidences of all kinds that have been handed down to us, and by the painstaking researches of so many generations of antiquaries from the time of Stow to the present day. Such, however, is far from being the case. Stow speaks again and again of the building of churches, money being left by will, one citizen helping in this good work of building, another in some other, and the like. This occurs from end to end of his carefully-compiled history. His numerous continuators and successors have not added much in addition, except of the same kind. When we examine more closely these evidences, we must come to the conclusion that the works named were but the ordinary works of rebuilding upon an old, and not the construction of a new foundation,—in fact, that churches had been on the sites long anterior to the works named. Thus, for example only, it is related that W. and John Oteswich were the founders of St. Martin Outwich; but it is evident that the church existed before their time, since John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, was its patron, *temp.* Edward II. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, it is related, was built in the fifteenth century, but a new site being mentioned, it is evident that the parish was not a new one, and we find a reference to its existence *temp.* Henry I. Allhallows, Lombard Street, was built in 1516, but there is a reference to it before the Conquest. St. Augustine's Papey was founded in 1430, but the church is mentioned early in the preceding century. We glean, however, from older records than Stow that the Church of Canterbury was the patron of several churches in London, called peculiars, thirteen in number, which appear to have belonged to that foundation from a very early period. I can find no reference to the actual dates when they were presented to Canterbury, but from this circumstance the date is likely to be an early one, and the more so since some changes of patronage and transfers of later date have been carefully recorded. St. Martin Orgar is stated to have been given by Odgarus in early times, and Allhallows, Lombard Street, by Brightmenus, citizen of London, 1053 or 1054. There is reference to the patronage of several churches in London being held by the Dean and Canons of St. Martin's-le-Grand. They were possessed of these anterior to the Conquest, since William the Conqueror, by a charter so early as 1068, confirmed them in their possession. One of these, the Church of St. Alphege, is mentioned by name. The following churches are known to have been in their patronage at a later time, and they are probably those to which reference was intended in the charter referred to:—St. Anne, Aldersgate; St. Botolph, Aldersgate; St. Katharine Coleman.

We are informed by Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, that several churches were collated to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. No evidence is forthcoming as to when they were bestowed, but we find that in the time of Ralph de Diceto, dean from 1181 to about 1204, a survey was made, and we know from this that the following churches were then in existence, as they had been probably for a long time before:—SS. Anthony; Augustine; Benet, Gracechurch; Benet, Paul's Wharf; John Baptist, Walbrook; John Baptist (Zachary); Mary Aldermary; Mary Magdalen; Michael, Queenhithe; Michael-le-Quern; Olave, Jewry; Peter, Paul's Wharf; Peter-le-Poor; Stephen, Coleman Street; Thomas Apostle; and that St. Nicholas Olave was given to the Dean and Chapter by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, in 1163. Had the others been presented at a later date, I think that there would have been a record. As it is, the dates when they were given seem to be lost in the dim past. Matthew Paris relates ("Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's") that in the time of Paul, fourteenth abbot, 1077, there were many churches in London belonging to St. Alban's of which St. Alban, Wood Street, was one. It is said to have been originally a chapel erected by King Offa. St. Botolph is said to have been founded about the time of the Conquest, and St. Mary-le-Bow was being built at the same time. St. Botolph, Billingsgate, seems to have been of early foundation, for the gate was called Botolph's Gate *temp.* Edward the Confessor. The body of St. Edmund rested for three years in the Church of St. Gregory. There was certainly a church at St. Helen's before the foundation of the Priory, and called by the same name. St. Margaret Moses was given to the Priory of St. Faith, Norfolk, in 1105, by the founder. St. Martin, Ludgate, is said by Robert of Gloucester to have been founded by King Cadwallo, who was buried there in 677. This reference is, however, of more value as showing that the church was there at the early date at which this author wrote. St. Martin, Vintry, was given to the Abbey of Gloucester in the time of the Conqueror, and St. Mary Woolchurch at the same time to St. John's, Colchester; St. Michael's being given to Evesham by Alnothar the priest about the same time; St. Nicholas Acon being given to Malmesbury in 1084. None of these records, early as they are, appear to imply that the churches were then built for the first time.

The evidences of new parishes are clear enough, but they are not numerous. They are as

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follow:—St. Mary Woolchurch appears to have been one, since it is called a new church. St. Mary-le-Bow was built *temp.* William the Conqueror. St. Mary Mounthaw was a small chapel at first attached to the House of the Mounthaunts. St. Leonard, Foster Lane, was founded between 1231 and 1241. Holy Trinity, Minories, grew out of the Nunnery at the Dissolution, as did Christ Church parish at the same date, on the suppression of two smaller parishes, following at this later date what was effected when Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, was founded at an earlier one, when the three or four old parishes, already referred to, were suppressed. St. James, Duke's Place, was founded 1622, on the dissolution of this priory, and St. Anne, Blackfriars, 1597, on the demolition of the old parish church with the conventual one.

This is a brief outline of the recorded history of the London parishes, and it justifies the remarks made with respect to its meagre nature. This does not apply to the foundation of the Norman and later monastic establishments, of which the recorded dates are ample—numerous in later times, but apparently very few in number anterior to the Conquest. The later histories of the parishes, too, are precise enough, and no work of building of especial note appears to be without its record. All this, however, points to the uncertainty which hangs over the foundation of the great bulk of the London parishes; for it will be apparent from what has been named that the early records for the most part speak of the parishes as then being in existence. Not a word is said to justify the belief that they were new creations of that exact period. Had they been so, it would, we may naturally expect, have been stated. This was so, probably, as we have seen, in the one case which has been referred to, of St. Mary Woolchurch, and possibly also of the new buildings at St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Giles, Cripplegate. We know also the circumstances which called the parish of St. Leonard, Foster Lane, into existence. Should we not have had records equally as precise if the other parishes were even of but moderately early date? We are forced, I believe, to the conclusion that the vast mass of the City churches, crowded together as they were, were founded in times anterior to the Norman conquest. This is a conclusion somewhat startling, and it opens up to us a field of inquiry of no small interest. What were the forces at work to produce so great a number of churches in so small an area, and when it is but reasonable to conclude that the population must have been small, comparatively, for the space? How was it that the foundation of other churches ceased to so great a degree at the Conquest? When did it begin? How was it that other churches were not founded to keep pace with the increase of the population and the growth of the city westward?

When we come to consider the dedication of the buildings we find evidence which points equally to an early rather than to a late foundation. Let us consider the names of the saints to whom the churches are dedicated. St. Alban, the proto-martyr of England, occurs once; All Hallows, the old Saxon form of All Saints, no less than eight times; St. Alphege, the archbishop murdered by the Danes, once; St. Andrew, four times; St. Anne, twice; St. Anthony, once; St. Augustine, twice; St. Bartholomew, three times; St. Benet, three times; St. Botolph, four times (at three of the gates of the City, and formerly at a fourth); St. Bride, once; Christ Church (as a parish), once; St. Christopher, once; St. Clement, once; St. Dionysius, once; St. Dunstan, twice, once at each end of the City, east and west, in fairly corresponding positions; St. Edmund the King (murdered in 866), once; St. Ethelburga, once; St. Ewan, once; St. Gabriel, St. Giles, St. George, St. Gregory, St. Helen, once each; St. James, twice; St. John the Baptist, twice; St. John the Evangelist, once; St. Katherine, twice; St. Lawrence, twice; a like number to St. Leonard; St. Magnus, once; St. Margaret, four times; St. Martin, five times, apart from St. Martin's-le-Grand; St. Mary, fifteen times; St. Matthew, once; St. Michael, seven times; St. Mildred, twice; St. Nicholas four times; St. Olave, three times; St. Osyth, once; St. Pancras, once; St. Peter, four times; St. Stephen, twice; St. Swithin, St. Sepulchre, St. Thomas the Apostle, the Holy Trinity, and St. Vedast once each. There seems never to have been a change of dedication. The names by which the churches are known in early times are those recorded in later ones. St. Osyth, however, was called afterwards by the name of its rebuilder, Benedict Shorne, *temp.* Edward II. There is also reference in a list of the churches under the patronage of Canterbury to one dedicated to St. Werburg. St. Agnes occurs as a double dedication with St. Anne. The mention of these names will at once show that many of them are of saints who were popular in Saxon rather than in Norman or later times, and thus evidence of another kind is adduced in support of the foundation of a large number of the London churches in times anterior to the Conquest. The dedications to SS. Alphege, Benet, Botolph, Edmund, Mildred, Osyth, Ewan, Olave, Dunstan, Ethelberga, and Swithin, are so thoroughly Saxon as to render it far more probable that they would have occurred when Saxon influence was strongest rather than when it was weak. The dedication to St. Pancras is likely to be very ancient, since it was introduced by Augustine at Canterbury. So are also those to SS. Bridget, Anthony, Augustine, Benet and Dionysius. St. Martin was always popular in England, as he was in Wales, Gaul, and Switzerland; and

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from the continuance of his popularity from early to later times, no safe deduction as to the age of the dedication can be drawn from the naming of a church after him. Still, of the number of churches so called in the city, it is within the range of fair reasoning to believe that some of them are of remote antiquity. We must, in this respect, bear in mind that it was to this saint that Augustine, on his arrival, found the little Roman Church at Canterbury already dedicated. It is desirable also to note that, of the other dedications, there are none, not even to St. George, that might not have occurred in Saxon as well as in later times. St. Mary, St. Michael, and Allhallows were, in fact, as favourite dedications in the earlier days of the Church in England as they were in later ones.

There is, however, another statement referred to by more than one of the older historians of London, and it appears, too, in the Church itself. This is the foundation of St. Peter's-upon-Cornhill by the British King Lucius, in Roman times. This is the Lucius who, in the year 156, according to Bede (although I do not think that the statement is more than a compilation from other sources), sent a letter to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, "entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian." This statement occurs also, much in the same terms, in the Saxon Chronicle, and in the Book of Llandaf. All these, of course, were compiled long after the event; probably it occurs also in other records, after the usual manner of the times, one compiler following another frequently in the same words. On the face of it the statement appears more like a pious fraud of the seventh century than a contemporary record of the second. At that early time evangelical doctrine would prompt a man to appeal to the Great Head of the Church rather than to a pope for direction in the spiritual life. In the seventh it was not unimportant to show to the ancient Church of Britain, flourishing in the un-Saxon parts of the country, and still independent of Rome, that in the earliest times popes were appealed to by the British Christians. The statement will not bear investigation, for, as has been shown more than once, Eleutherus was not Bishop of Rome until at least twenty years after the date named. There are two emperors named in the statement, Commodus and Verus, as reigning together, which they never did; and to this may be added that King Lucius himself belongs so entirely to the realm of romance, rather than history, that we have no reliable evidence of the actual existence of such a personage, and certainly not as a king in London. I believe fully in the existence of Christianity in Britain in ancient Roman times, in that of a Bishop at London, and consequently of churches in this remote period; but we may dismiss the record of the foundation of St. Peter's-upon-Cornhill at this time as being too uncertain for service in our inquiry. The relics of the existence of Christianity in Roman times which have come down to us consist of personal ornaments, some plates of metal marked with the Chi Rho, found at Battersea, now in the British Museum, and the like. They are few in number, but are important in their evidence. The reference to St. Peter's may be the dim indication of a remote tradition, similar to that which points to the foundation of the earliest cathedral on the site of the present building beneath whose shadow we are gathered. There is another tradition worthy of passing remark. Stow relates that the descriptive "Staining" attached to the church of Allhallows, Mark Lane, was in consequence of the building being erected originally of stone, when so many others were of wood. Stow could not have foreseen the discussions among ourselves as to the erection or non-erection of stone churches in Saxon times, and his record of what was thought in his day to be the reason for this name is of interest to us as marking a state of things likely to have existed in the city, but only in early times.

Attention has already been called to the great pains that have been bestowed upon the orientation of the London churches, for, although four are now built north and south, namely, St. Martin's, Ludgate; St. Edmund the King; St. Peter-le-Poor; and St. Botolph, Aldgate; yet Faithorne's map shows us that this was not the arrangement prior to 1666. This is also the case in the two little ancient Roman churches of Canterbury, St. Martin's, and that now known as St. Pancras. It is the case, too, with some few very ancient churches which I have pointed out in Wales. It is worthy of observation that this custom, so remarkably characteristic of our London churches, while it has continued in England for so many centuries, does not appear to owe its origin to Papal Rome. A comparison of a map of Rome with that of London shows the curious fact, that while all our churches were fairly well orientated, notwithstanding all the difficulties of site, yet in Rome itself no attention has been paid to any such arrangement. The great basilicas point in all directions, St. Giovanni Laterano being due west instead of east; Sta. Maria Maggiore, north-west; St. Croce in Gerusalemme, south-east; many of the churches north or south, or any other point indifferently, while St. Peter's itself has its main entrance at the east, and its choir altar to the west. These arrangements are of early as well as more recent date, and indicate clearly enough that there never was any rule of orientation observed in Rome. The cities of Italy, in like manner, for the most part follow what we find in Rome; but across the Alps orientation begins to show itself, and at Paris, and in most of the other cities of France, the rule is observed as in England, Wales, and

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Ireland. These facts are curious, and, perhaps, unexpected, and they raise the enquiry: From what people did the ancient Roman Christians of Britain derive the practice, and how did it come about that the Anglo-Saxons followed the older practice rather than that which was observed in Italy?[1]

The churches which escaped the Great Fire of 1666, included in the area under discussion, were twenty-two in number. These were, doubtless, fairly typical examples of the whole; so far, at least, as one group of churches can resemble another, each building having, in fact, its own characteristics not to be found in another. The resemblance, therefore, of the churches which survived can be but a very general one, and nothing more, to those which perished in the terrible calamity referred to. Of these, no fewer than twelve have been since rebuilt, and two have been demolished, leaving but eight in number of those which survived. These latter have been so frequently described that their bare enumeration here will be sufficient. They are as follows: Allhallows, Barking; SS. Andrew, Undershaft; Ethelburga; Helen; Catherine Cree; Olave, Hart Street; Bartholomew the Great; and Giles, Cripplegate.

Our attention to the churches which have been rebuilt since the Fire may be more interesting and profitable than any further consideration of the buildings which still exist, and the more so since so little attention has hitherto been directed to the references to them which have come down to our time from the last century, when their rebuildings took place. These notices are, indeed, more exact and definite than many may be aware of. They consist not only of pictorial illustrations in a very complete form, but there are descriptive references in many old histories and magazines. The pictorial illustrations give us views of every one of the churches which have passed away; alas! not very exact in several cases, and with the usual differences of proportion to be found in most English topographical prints more or less, one view giving a very different form, let me say, to the windows or doors, a different design to the window tracery, and such like. Still, there is sufficient to show what the general designs were, and a critical eye will speedily detect what appears to be in good proportion, and what is distorted. The views by R. West and W. H. Toms, engraved about 1740 by the latter of these two artists, are by far the best. Then there are separate views of several of the removed buildings in the early volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as well as some now scarce tracts treating of separate churches. As to the descriptive evidences, it may be of interest to say that there are very ample and complete notices of each of these churches in a valuable little treatise on London generally, and particularly on its churches. This is, "The New View of London, or an ample Account of that City," London, 1708—a work which really should be better known than it appears to be, and which is certainly seldom referred to. It contains brief notices of each of the London churches, of its foundation, design, and capacity; of its monuments, services, and in some cases, of interesting points of ritual and church furniture.

It may be well to pass these churches rebuilt since the Great Fire briefly in review, and to afford an idea of the scope of the "New View of London," let us extract in detail the notice of one of these buildings, as a sample of the remainder. I have taken the description of Allhallows-on-the-Wall, since it is short, and since it may be compared with one of Toms's views.

"I. Allhallows-on-the-Wall. This church is so called as being dedicated to All Saints, and situated on the north side of London, a little easterly from Bethlem Hospital, and is in the ward of Broad Street, but the parish is in the wards of Broad Street, Bishopsgate, and Lime Street. When it was first built I find not, but £220 was laid out on it in the year 1627.

"II. It is of the Gothic and Tuscan orders, and not having been consumed by the late Fire, is not so beautiful as those that are wholly new erected.

"III. The church being pretty old, and not large, the wainscot is not so considerable as some others, but it is well paved, and at the vv. end is a small gallery (whose front is adorned with shields and their compartments), elevated on small columns of the Tuscan order, which was new beautified in the year 1699, at the charge of the parish. At the altar, the Ten Com-

[1] This subject is curiously illustrated by Professor Willis' parallel of St. Augustine's (the first Saxon) cathedral of Canterbury, which, he shows, was similar to the original Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome; and he points out the resemblance of the apse of the presbytery as being alike in each case. Reference to the compass brings out the remarkable fact that while that at Canterbury pointed east, as it does still, that of St. Peter's pointed west, as it does also in the present church. We may conjecture, with much probability, that the arrangement at Canterbury existed in the old Roman-British Church, as in the two others which Augustine found there on his arrival, and retained. In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, it was suggested that the non-orientation of the churches of Rome was to enable them to be erected over the graves of the martyrs. But a grave is a spot of small size, and surely a church could have been built over it with its axis east and west, as well as in any other direction. The remark brings out the difference between the churches of the two cities. In densely crowded London the rule of orientation has been attended to. In Rome, which is hardly likely to have been so populous after the fourth century, it seems never to have been a rule at all. Also in Italy generally.—E. P. L. B.

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mandments, Lord's Prayer, and Creed, are done in black, with Moses on the north, and Aaron on the south side of the Decalogue, finely painted, all under a Cornish, in the middle whereof are the Queen's arms, carved and put up at the charge of the parishioners, and the whole new beautified, in the year 1703. And a little sly. [southerly] from this altar-piece is a piece of antiquity, being the Commandments done in an old character, with glass before them, in a triangular frame, nearly five foot high.

"IV. On the north side of the church is a large table of the benefactors to the poor, well done in gold upon black. Mr. Cromshaw gave £50; Dr. Lewis, the late Rector, £40; and there are 24 others, many of whom gave near the last-mentioned sum. And close by this table is a very large piece of painting upon Cloth in a strong frame, the Effigies of Queen Elizabeth lying on her Tomb with the Ensigns of Royalty and two golden Lyons, one at her Head, the other at her Feet, which piece was there placed in Memory of that Queen, as being (when alive) a nursing Mother to the Protestant churches.

"Upon which piece are these lines:—

'Read but her Reign, The Princess might have been
For Wisdom, call'd Nicaulis, Sheba's Queen.
Against Spain's Holofernes, Judith she,
Dauntless gain'd many a glorious Victory,
Not Deborah did her in Fame excel,
She was a Mother to our Israel;
An Esther, who her Person did engage.
To Save her People from the Publick Rage;
Chaste Patroness of true Religion,
In court a saint, in Field an Amazon;
Glorious in Life, deplored in her Death,
She was unparallel'd Elizabeth.

		Yea.	Mo.	Days.
Born anno 1534	Reigned	44	4	17.
Crowned anno 1558	Dyed anno 1602.			

"V. The altitude of this church is about 21 foot; its length, 80; and breadth, 26. And the height of the tower is about 50 foot, wherein are 4 bells to ring a peal, besides a small one, which is used to ringing the People to Prayers, and therefore called the Saint's bell."

It goes on to give the name of the (then) incumbent, the tithes, the name of the then lecturer, stating that here are prayers every Wednesday, Friday, and holy day at eleven o'clock. It gives the composition of the vestry, mentions the names of the streets, alleys, and courts, and concludes by stating that the number of houses is 300.

St. Alphege was a church of poor design. The old steeple remains, and by the removal of the surrounding buildings it was recently visible. There are also an archway and some fragments of walls remaining.

St. Andrew, Holborn, still preserves its old western tower, heightened by Sir Christopher Wren. There is a plain perpendicular window in its west front, and a plainer doorway below.

The tower of the rebuilt Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less still remains, with some good internal arches.

St. Botolph, Aldersgate, is shown in one of Toms's views. The present tasteless building, now the ugliest church in London, since St. Martin Outwich has been pulled down, contains no portion of the picturesque but plain country church shown in the view referred to.

St. Botolph, Aldgate, had a good embattled fifteenth-century tower, with some picturesque buildings before it. It is shown by a scarce print in the Crace collection, as well as in that of Mr. Gardner, and in some others.

St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, is well described in the "New View of London."

St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, having been removed only about fifty years ago, there are several engravings extant, showing the old building, with its tower at the north-west corner, its curious clock, &c. There is also a book of views showing the interior, and all the monuments. Being taken down to widen Fleet Street, its foundations do not appear to have been removed, for I saw them a few months ago only, just under the modern paving, when some repairs to the road were being effected.

St. Katharine, Coleman, was a very plain church, mostly of brick, with simple patterns. It is shown in Toms's series of views.

St. Olave, Southwark, is included in this survey, since some of the houses of the parish were on Old London Bridge. I know of no record of the old building, except that in the "New View," but there is a very good view by Toms.

St. Martin Outwich is shown by several old views, as well as by Wilkinson's pamphlet, which contains plans and views. It was a picturesque but plain and irregular building. In

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its rebuilt form, it had nothing whatever to recommend it, being probably the most miserable design for a church possible to be produced. The demolition of this building revealed the existence of a single Perpendicular window, of good design, on the south side. This remained visible for many months, and was only removed on the erection of the secular buildings on the site. The old monuments are now in St. Helen's Church.

St. Peter-le-Poor is well illustrated by old views and plans. It was not unlike, in the irregularity of its plan and design, the preceding church.

Holy Trinity, Minories, was always a small plain church, now rebuilt in a poor, tasteless manner.

Of the two churches which escaped the Fire, but since removed, it will suffice to say that St. James's, Duke's Place, was a very plain building of brick, with four wooden pillars internally; and of Allhallows, Staining, the curious tower still survives, thanks to the care of the Clothworkers' Company.

Old London, prior to the Great Fire, must have had a picturesque aspect, with its forest of towers and spires, not clustering around the massive central tower of the cathedral, but following the indications already recited, thickest to the east of the cathedral, right and left, so to speak, of the northern end of Old London Bridge. Old views of London—Hollar's, and one or two others—afford some indications of the designs of these perished churches. Thus we know that St. Mary-le-Bow had a steeple of open arches, something like the present steeple of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East; that St. Laurence Pounteney had a lofty wooden spire, and such like. An inquiry, has, however, never yet been made as to whether or not any fragments of the buildings which have passed away still remain to our time. This inquiry I now propose to begin, and with it to conclude this paper. I cannot say that it can be considered at all as a complete one, yet since there is no other such record known to me, it will have the merit, at least, of some originality. Here let me indulge in the lament that the principles of church reparation which many of us are striving to enunciate—that is, to preserve as much as possible of every old church requiring repair, and to destroy nothing—were unknown to the builders who set to work after the Great Fire; would that it were thoroughly known even to the men of our own day. Were this so, we should not have to lament the loss of several interesting works, and the mutilation of others at the present time.

The builders after 1666 found several of the ancient churches with their towers and walls standing. Their rubble facings did not accord with the well-wrought Portland stone, then considered to be the correct style of building, and either a clean sweep was made, or the old walls were cased, in every instance the whole of the old materials being re-used as backing to the new walls, and hardly any attempt was made to preserve the monuments. We can show that this was as stated by the recent results of the demolition of some of these churches, which will be recorded further on.

There are remains of ancient work in the following churches, or there were so until the recent period of the removal of the buildings:—

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. There is a plain western tower, the walls of which are for a great portion those of the old building. The old masonry is visible on the north side. Above, the wall has been faced with Portland stone.

St. Vedast, *alias* Foster. On the south side there are bases, and a good portion of two or three of the buttresses still remaining, as well as the connecting portions of the south wall. There are bold fifteenth-century plinth mouldings carried along, and mitred around the buttresses, while the wall is original to a fairly good height, some of it without any casing. The old steeple remained after the Fire until 1694, when it had to be rebuilt. St. Vedast was Bishop of Arras at the end of the sixth century. His death is recorded as having taken place A.D. 399. There is no sufficient recorded reason for the "*alias* Foster" after the name of this church, but in the register of Canterbury already referred to the name Amand occurs.

St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey. The whole of the south wall of this church is original. Before the formation of the Metropolitan Railway it was very distinct, being formed of squared Reigate stone, and having the remains of a moulded string course high up just below the parapet. The portion exposed has, since the formation of the railway, been cased with modern ashlar with false windows. There were no signs of any windows along its whole extent, showing that old buildings had come close up to it.

St. Stephen, Walbrook. The south wall of this church is very similar, with the peculiarity that at the south-east end there were remains of a domestic building, one of the windows of which had its iron saddle bars remaining. More to the west were remains of another cross wall, with a fifteenth-century doorway. To the east of the east end, going east and west, there is a wall of finely-squared masonry, going down to a great depth, entirely buried beneath the accumulated earth.

St. Mary Aldermary. The great bulk of the side walls of this fine church are ancient, as

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well as nearly the whole of the finer tower. This tower was finished in 1629, having been founded 120 years before by Sir Henry Keble. Robert Pierson gave 200 marks on condition that it should be built to follow the ancient pattern. The cost was £1,000. We are told by Newcourt that this "steeple, notwithstanding the church was burnt in the late dreadful fire, is still standing firm and good." Indeed, it may safely be said that the side walls of the church itself, as well as the tower, as we now see them, are practically the same as before the fire. The tracery of the windows was renewed after that event, and doubtless altered more or less, but the openings are almost entirely original. At the recent "restoration" of the church the ancient nature of the walling was very apparent. The walls of the vestry on the north side are also original, as well as its window, then laid open for the first time, perhaps, since the fire; but all has now been scraped, and the marks of the original surface obliterated. The tower, being a new one, was therefore in sound condition to resist the great fire.

St. Alban, Wood Street, is another church which is almost the same as before the great fire. Its walls are, for the most part, original; the tracery even of one or two of the windows is also original, notably the north window of the tower at the ground level, where even the old saddle and stancheon-bars remain. It is expressly stated in the continuation of "Stow's History" that the walls were merely repaired. Would that we could still see in this church of most ancient foundation some of the curious capitals and Roman brick which Stow himself speaks of. The rebuilding, however, which he mentioned as being about to take place, did happen, and the remains of the church anterior to the great fire referred to are of that structure, erected in the seventeenth century. Here was another new church to meet the ravages of the fire.

St. Mary-at-Hill possessed a large quantity of ancient work until a comparatively recent period. There were many old buttresses and some fairly good Perpendicular windows; but these have fallen, so far as outside observation goes, before the hand of recent builders.

St. Dunstan-in-the-East preserved almost the whole of the ancient side walls until the rebuilding in 1816. There is a view in Smith's "Antiquities of London" showing a portion of these, and, notably, a window with geometrical tracery of about 1260. The present east window is said to have been copied from an ancient one.

St. Christopher-le-Stocks was almost entirely the ancient church repaired only after the fire. Old views show it with a Gothic tower with pinnacles, with poor inserted windows. It was removed to enlarge the Bank of England.

St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange had a curious octagonal turret on the north side, rising above the height of the north aisle. This, and a large mass of the walling, was original work. This church was removed about forty years ago.

The south wall of St. Benet, Gracechurch, was that of the original church. It existed until quite recently, after the removal of the church a few years ago. Indeed a portion of it may still be seen doing duty as a party-wall between the block of shops erected on its site, and the vacant site of the shop to the south, recently removed. A large boulder over three feet in length is built into this old piece of wall.

The east wall of St. Magnus, London Bridge, is original, and it used to extend above the height of the present north aisle, where the old masonry was visible, but it was cemented over a few years ago. The tablet to Myles Coverdale is upon a portion of this wall.

When St. Michael, Queenhithe, was removed a few years ago, it was found that the whole of the bases of the walls were original; a part of the old wall, indeed, was always visible on the north side. The mode adopted by the Mediæval builders to raise their fabrics through the accumulated earth of centuries to the then level was very apparent. The foundations had been carried down to the solid earth, and this necessitated the building of thick solid walls up to the level required. These for the most part, remain, having been utilised for the new clergy-house, &c., erected on the site.

The pulling to pieces of the beautiful steeple of St. Antholin's Church, a very characteristic work of Sir Christopher Wren, so ruthlessly and needlessly done a few short years ago, made it apparent that the great bulk of the walling had been formed of the former church demolished by the fire. There were evidences of fine work,—masses of neatly wrought freestone, fragments of carving, and the like, the former in great abundance. These were of fifteenth century date, doubtless fragments of the church rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The destruction of the fine steeple will be a subject of regret for all time. The evils of disturbing an ancient burial-place were grievously shown in this case. After careful search had been made and every interment removed, as was supposed, five or six shells were hardly sufficient to contain other bones which were found by the excavators when the present shops were erected on the site; most of these bones were blackened by age. It was a wretched sight!

The foundations of St. Benet Fink, under the modern paving, are almost entirely those of the old church. They are just to the west of Peabody's statue.

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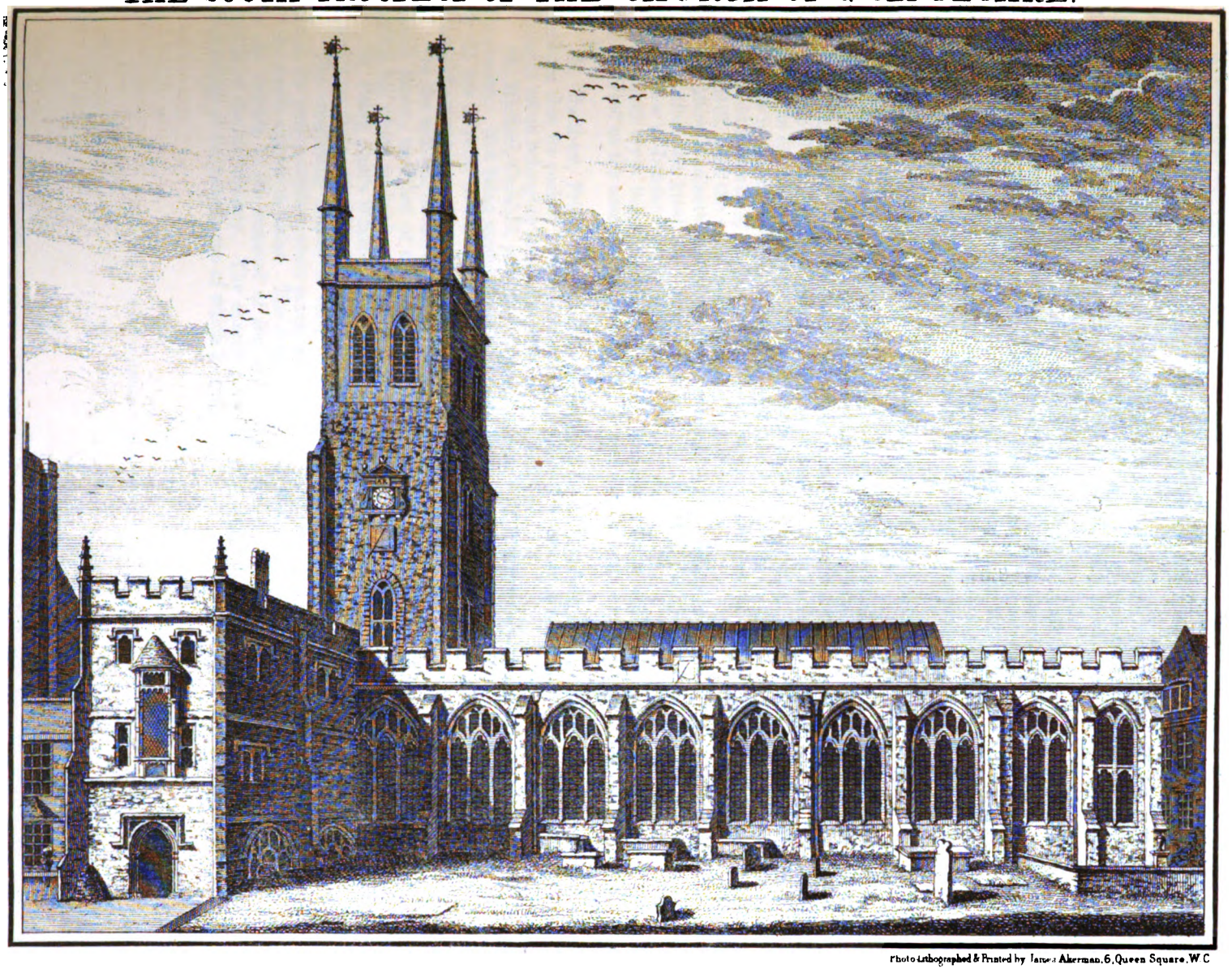
THE SOUTH PROSPECT OF THE CHURCH OF S^T SEPULCHRE.



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There is an interesting paper by Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., in a recent volume of the *Journal* of the London and Middlesex Society, on the discovery of a large portion of the south aisle of the nave of Christchurch, Newgate Street. This was burned in 1666, and never rebuilt, the present church being only the choir of the old one. Mr. Price has also read a paper on the results of the excavations on the site of St. Dionis Backchurch, subsequently to the removal of that building. The little crypt discovered by Mr. Street, R.A., many years ago, was hermetically sealed at the closing of the graveyards, but doubtless reopened at the demolition. Mr. Price's paper is not yet published.

The old foundations of St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street, were recently cut through by the underground railway extension. Some old fragments of monumental work were found some years ago in making a sewer close to the site of St. John, Zachary, and were deposited in the churchyard, but they are not now visible.

St. Laurence Pountney. A large mass of the walling of the north side of this church still remains incorporated in the houses forming the south side of the churchyard.

St. Leonard, Eastcheap. The site of this church was completely excavated a few months ago, and it now hangs in air, the level of the railway being many feet below it. Only a small piece of the old burial ground remains. The foundations showed a long chancel and a nave, the latter having masonry of great antiquity on its north side, made up with fragments of Roman brickwork.

St. Martin, Ludgate. Much of the old masonry of this church is incorporated in the buildings to the east of it.

St. Martin Orgars. The old tower of this church remained until about 1850, when it was removed to make way for the present rectory-house. It was a plain low structure of fifteenth century date, having angle buttresses and poor detail. It was built of chalk walling, and the marks of the Great Fire were very visible on its demolition, which I witnessed.

The fine old Norman crypt below St. Mary-le-Bow, the oldest piece of Norman work in any church in the city, needs only passing reference here for the completeness of this list.

The old east wall of St. Mary Mounthaw formed the wall of the burial-ground in Labour-in-Vain Hill, until the whole neighbourhood was remodelled.

St. Mary Woolnoth was one of the churches like St. Christopher-le-Stock, which were only repaired after the great fire. It was removed to make way for the present building. The "New View of London" gives fair details.

A small crypt belonging to St. Magdalen, Monument Yard, was found a few months ago, and reported at the time in the newspapers. It was covered over, unfortunately, before I could see it.

St. Matthew, Friday Street, just demolished, was a brick building. There was much evidence that its ancient predecessor was also of brick. The removal showed a large mass of wrought stone belonging to the fifteenth century windows.

St. Michael, Cornhill, preserved its ancient steeple for a long period after the rebuilding of the church. Not being strong enough, however, for the fine peal of bells, having been weakened by the fire of 1666, it was rebuilt by Sir C. Wren as we now see it. The design is preserved in some old engravings.

On the removal of Gerard's Hall crypt, it was apparent that the south wall of St. Mildred, Bread Street, was that of the ancient building. There was a private door of approach, now walled up, which probably still remains.

St. Peter, Paul's Wharf. A mass of the ancient walling of this church was to be seen recently on the north side of the little burial-ground which forms its site in Thames Street.

The concluding church to refer to is that of St. Sepulchre, which preserves its ancient tower, its pretty south-western porch and the parvise over, as well as the mass of old walling of the north and south aisles. The design of the old windows has recently been brought back to the church by the removal of the plain, large, semi-circular openings, introduced in the middle of the last century. The church presents again much the same aspect that is shown in engravings of the period, one of which I exhibit.

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TENBY AND ST. DAVID'S.

By REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

He who hath not seen Tenby, hath not seen the Sorrento of Southern Wales.

We place you at Tenby, not alone for the loveliness of its scenery, or convenience as a starting point towards S. David's, but that from hence we may better follow the footsteps of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis, who, born under the wing of Tenby, at Manorbeir Castle, in after days became the Historian of Wales and Ireland, the Secretary of Kings, the Archdeacon, and companion of Archbishop Baldwin in preaching the Crusade, and who, it is said, sleeps in the southern aisle of the Presbytery of S. David's Cathedral. We are in Little England, beyond Wales; also, beyond railway, not but that a rail drags its slow length from Carmarthen to Milford, but that the district of S. David's from Haverfordwest to Fishguard is bereft of the modern convenience of transit—of celerity also.

We shall need no excuse for touching on the novelties of this remarkable and little travelled region. Little England beyond railways. It is full of historic interest, as is its coast-line, of grandeur and beauty.

With the Silures, the native inhabitants of South Wales, dark skinned—not tall, but wild, intractable and brave, the last battle for British independence was fought. Tacitus tells, that Ostorius Scapula after the conquest of North Wales, marching south with like design, was met by the Silurian tribes under Caractacus, who after a noble defence, was defeated and made prisoner. The exact spot cannot be fixed, where Silurian bravery yielded to a Roman captivity and celebrity the noblest of British chieftains. In after days the same warlike spirit was curbed by Henry II., who built on the marches, garrisoned castles, and planted colonies of Walloon immigrants, as at Clun, N. W. Shropshire, where the lichen-covered keep stands, and the old churchyard holds on its monuments more Walloon names than British.

At Tenby was another of these colonies, which grew and flourished; but the blood of immigrant and native rarely mingled, the swarthiness of the native descent is still distinct as from the fairer skin and taller presence of the Fleming. Tenby became famous not only for its woollen manufacture, but for its fisheries. On its rocky promontory stood not long since, a fishers' chapel, founded centuries ago by one who cared for its sea toilers.

From the head of this rock, spreads out a view of sea and land unrivalled in beauty and extent by any other on British or Irish coasts, except perhaps Clew Bay. On the near left are the rocky walls of the bay, tree-fringed, and crowned by quaint houses, with yet some round Flemish chimneys, and the walls of the old castle. Across, unrolls the long panorama of Carmarthen Bay and the Glamorgan coast, set in the dark misty frame of the mountains over Llandovery. The distant turrets of Kidwelly shine white against the indigo, alternating with many a tender tint. Yonder a soft cloud, rising from some home of industry, sweeps slowly on, headland succeeds to headland, until the Rock of Worms Heads terminates the line. These tints and shadows, hills, valleys, mountains, the nearer upland with its yellow farms, the distant, scarcely recognisable town, the still and "painted ships," the red-sailed fishers, set all in the calm of an azure sea, seen on an autumn afternoon, through a shimmering golden haze—or before sunrise in early dawn, when yonder coast is indistinct, and the red rocks are shadowy, and the sea is purple; and over all is stillness, unbroken but by wave lappings on the wrinkled sand, and the strangely sounding fishers' call, and above, blazes the belted planet, silvering with effulgent beams, the broken lines of restless currents. He who has thus seen Tenby—who hath drunk the inspiration of the hour, will lose never the vision of its beauty, the face of a fair rival to scenes if more classic—not more lovely.

The church certainly deserves the investigation of both ecclesiologist and antiquary. It is not the primal church, but belongs I believe, to the 14th century—spacious and very interesting. On entering, the eye seeks the compartmental roof, enriched with quaint bosses, rising from corbels as quaint. Yet mostly attracted by the chancel, its elevation, its religious light from "storied panes," and the noble flight of eleven steps, by which the sanctuary is reached. On the walls of the church, as beneath its roof, are many historic monuments. The altar-tomb of the Whites, once merchant princes in Tenby, and benefactors also, stands to the right of the altar steps, in a line with the sanctuary. The brothers lie there, sculptured in the apparel and caps of their order, girded with the guipure, then so fashionable, *cir.* A.D.

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1400. Another effigy attracts: an emaciated figure—a memento mori of Tully, Bishop of S. David's.

Haverfordwest, the real starting-point for S. David's, need not long detain us. It has the air of a frontier town—the remains of Stephen's once formidable fortress—steep zig-zag streets, and narrow ways, and Flemish memories, and churches locked and chained, &c. Old Lambarde writes: "Theese Flemynges weare not welcome to the Welshmen; but, for all that, they pyked out a lyvinge amongst them, and weare, as it should seme, the first that exercised the misterie of draping within that quarter."

But Haverfordwest was also the starting-point of Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus towards S. David's. No doubt they rested in the now ruined house of Black Canons, to the left, as the Castle is to the right. Here the Archbishop preached the Crusade to flocking multitudes. The sermon, Giraldus tells us, being followed by a miracle of restored sight to a Welshwoman, through application of a particle of the sod upon which the Archbishop had stood. It may be well to add a very condensed notice of the illustrious Archdeacon, not of S. David's, however, but of Brecon. He was born at Manorbeir, as already stated, in the year 1146, of the noble family of de Barri, Lord of Manorbeir, son of William de Barri, and Angharad, daughter of Gerald de Windsor, and Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales. The unity, greatness, and valour of this family, made it an object of jealousy with Henry I. Hence, when the young Giraldus displayed an extraordinary aptitude for negotiation and administration, the King never advanced him to ecclesiastical dignity, nor beyond the office of personal Secretary in the Irish War. In 1186 he wrote his celebrated "Topography of Ireland," which records the Conquest, and the extraordinary exploits of his own family, and also his own sayings and doings. This book, in three parts, he afterwards read at Oxford, as he tells us, "with great applause." In the latter part of the year 1187 came the news of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. The zeal of Western Europe, fanned by religious excitement, began preparations for the immediate recovery of the Holy City. Henry II., prudent as he was, could not avoid seemingly to encourage the proposed Crusade. Archbishop Baldwin being appointed to kindle the enthusiasm of Wales, Giraldus accompanied him by command of the King. No doubt this appointment was a stroke of policy—Giraldus the Welshman, the acknowledged champion of the independence of the ancient British Church in Wales, against the pretensions of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. When Richard I. left England for Palestine, Giraldus became associated with the Bishop of Ely in the administration of the kingdom. Hoping for the Bishopric of S. David's, and in that hope refusing Llandaff and Bangor, his hope was continually frustrated by the jealousy of successive monarchs. On the vacancy of the see, in 1215, he had a chance of obtaining the Bishopric. Some members of the chapter appear to have been favourable to his election, but the choice fell on Torwerth, a man of purely Welsh extraction. After which time we hear little or nothing of him, and the illustrious Archdeacon appears to have died about the year 1223.

The road from Haverford to S. David's is but 16 miles, but there are 17 hills, and some very long, as well as steep. The present road is not altogether, though partly so, the track followed by the Archbishop, which at first inclined a little more inland, and then struck down to the coast of S. Bride's Bay. For six miles of hills, the scenery is very tame; then a turn on the road brings you on the summit of a long and very steep descent, at the foot of which are the celebrated Niewgal sand, and its long pebbly beach. Now, far to the right, rises purpled Ramsey Island and sharp hills, and the red cliffs of Solva edge the immense expanse of S. Bride's Bay, opposing the billows of the Atlantic. To the east, over the moor, splendid and fragrant with gorse and heather, lifts the grey keep of Roche Castle, destroyed in the 17th century wars, but marked as another of the bridle fortresses against Welsh turbulence. A sharp descent, a long climb, to look down on Solva, of all towns the most extraordinary, piled and built in a creek or fissure of the adamantine coast. It is enterprising, perhaps locally influential, and has its newspaper. A few dreary miles and then S. David's—the old Menevia, and termination of the Via Julia. Giraldus says: "We were well lodged at S. David's by Peter, Bishop of the See, a liberal man." But, remember! the guests were an Archbishop and his Archdeacon! Nevertheless, Giraldus further describes his surroundings: "Remotissimus, terra saxosa, sterilis, et infecunda; nec silvis vestita, nec fluminibus distincta, nec pratis ornata, &c."

This wild district—the western promontory of Britain—resembles that of France in its rich abundance of cromlechs, menhirs, and earthworks. On the ridge, north-east of S. David's Head, at Long House are splendid remains; the capstone of the latter being 16 feet 3 inches, by 19 feet 9 inches, and of enormous thickness, resting on three of six uprights, 5 feet 5 inches, the enclosed chambers being open to the north—total height with the cap being 9 feet 3 inches. There are cairns on the hills of Ramsey, earthworks on Caerbury, a rocking-stone at Caer Llidi. Browne Wallis, says: "About a quarter of a mile hence is the famous shaking

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stone. Twenty yoke of oxen cannot move, but nevertheless, a child of eight years can shake it." On the road to Fishguard is a menhir, 5 feet 6 inches high by 4 feet 6 inches thick. The famous S. David's stone, the supposed landmark of Rhys ap Tudor, has disappeared. The land on which it was set up bore the name of Tir y Pireeinion, or Pilgrim's Land.

Camps, called raths, as in Ireland, are found on the shores of St. Bride's Bay, and across the peninsula near Fishguard.

Traces exist of the Via Julia, running from Aqua Solis to Menevia. Mr. Fenton fixed the site of the station "Ad Higesimum," near Haverfordwest. A branch road runs also along the crest of the Presellan hills, connecting Loventium with Menapin.

There is also the famous dyke, Ffos y Mynech—Monk's Dyke, from the Irish Sea to St. Bride's Bay, enclosing a tract of about four miles. It has been called a road, described as a fortification, as a line of defence, and bore a name still more ancient, "King William's Way."

It was to this remote and sterile district, S. David removed the Archiepiscopal See, from Caerleon, on the Usk, the Roman fortress, and afterwards the seat of the Western Archbishopric, with its seven suffragans attached. Dubritius, consecrated A.D. 519, in the infirmity of age, resigned his rule to S. David, afterwards the patron saint of Wales. The cause of this translation of the see was really a necessity. The Saxons had conquered England, and made constant attacks on the frontiers, especially aiming at the centres of religious life, as at Hexham and St. Wilfrid: hence the necessity for maintaining the organization of the Church, by retreating to a distant and most difficult position. In Menevia this centre of the Ancient British Church found for awhile the repose of security.

The first church was erected in the Valley of Roses—Giraldus says, "say rather of marble; for there is much of one, none of the other." This church, of which no record exists, was pillaged by Danes and Norwegians, and at last destroyed by fire. The present structure, apparently standing on the original lines, was commenced by Bishop de Leia, *cir.* A.D. 1180. There is nothing in the town of S. David's to attract, save a street cross on its original Calvary, pointing now, as of old time, the way to the noble embattled gateway by which the descent into the cathedral close of 39 steps is reached. The cathedral, with the ruins of a college founded by Bishop Adam Houghton, John Duke of Lancaster, and Blanche his wife, and the magnificent Episcopal palace built by Bishop Gower, appearing to the right, on the margin of the little river Alan. The depressed site of the fabric certainly detracts from its dignity, for from the street, the pinnacles of the massive grey central tower appear of no great elevation, but the prolongation of the building beyond the termination of the true Presbytery, by Bishop Vaughan, and the Lady chapels, excite both curiosity and interest. The two chapels beyond the choir are also of later date than Bishop Leia's church. The measurements of the cathedral as it stands, are:—length east to west, 290 feet; the nave, 124 feet; the choir and space beyond, 80 feet; transepts, 120 feet; breadth of nave and aisles, 76 feet; height of the roof, 46 feet; of the tower, 127 feet. I have mentioned the supposed lack of dignity, resulting from a depressed site. It is forgotten in the solemn repose of the scene, the grey presence of twelve centuries. For, these rocks, this streamlet, and old foundations, were objects familiar to S. David, the friend of S. Patrick, the great light and champion of the ancient British Church. Here, through the long slow procession of years, in times of peace, in times of assault, have intercession and praise been wafted to Almighty God; the cross, the centre and strength of its defenders and martyrs. This is sacred ground, sacred as the altar of S. Wilfrid, beneath Hexham Abbey Church; or the chapel of S. Madern, on the Cornish upland, through whose baptistery, flow still the living waters, sacred as Iona's wave-echoing sanctuaries, each a centre-spring of our common Christianity, each the scene of the most precious self-sacrifice, of purest devotion. Thus we enter the awe-striking Temple, built of a purple stone hewn from quarries in a rock which lines a neighbouring creek—the effect is of a building seen through dim religious light. Its exceeding repose, its crowding associations, its empurpled twilight, the sculptured tombs surrounding, many bearing the likenesses of Bishops who hence guided and ruled, and here lived and died, the dignity and beauty of its architecture, the lingering echoes of the footsteps of ages, above all, the sanctity of consecration for the worship of the scattered people of these wild hills, shut out from the world, its vices and frivolities, in trembling unity bow the heart to God, before whose altar have bended the knees of twenty-three generations.

The period of the rebuilding is remarkable, as that of the union of the Norman and Romanesque with the Gothic or pointed arch—the period when true artistic and religious art began to live. Canterbury, St. Cross, Glastonbury, are marks of this period of transition, to blossom afterwards into the loveliness of Gothic perfection of arch and moulding, of capital and tracery. The refinement, truth, and beauty of the carvings in S. David's are very remarkable, as though the sculptor, filled with artistic fire and reverential love, was set, in this

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remote and difficult region, to display a standard of excellence, a devotion of his powers to the glory of God. Standing at the west door, the aisles are seen separated from the nave, by fine groups of Norman columns bearing incised capitals, the groups alternately round and octagonal, having quadrilateral shafts, true to the cardinal points, attached. The arches are of very great width, but the massiveness precludes any sense of lightness. From this great bulk, and attached columns, Sir Gilbert Scott supposed an original intention of vaulting with stone both nave and aisles. This design, however, was never carried out. Above the arches of the nave are double round-headed and decidedly Romanesque windows, deeply recessed, and surrounded by late and exquisitely designed Norman mouldings. Mouldings of the same character surround other of the cathedral windows. I have said the plan for stone vaulting was never carried out. The original roof was replaced about the beginning of the 15th century by a flat roof of oak, richly adorned with pendants and panels. The windows of both aisles, and transepts also, suffered change. Bishop Gower, in the 14th century, endeavouring to assimilate the varied styles in his cathedral, introduced Decorated designs. Sir G. Scott found most of these windows a wreck, but rebuilt them on the original lines.

The eye now travelling along the somewhat rising pavement, eastward, is arrested by the first screen or rood-loft, of stone, massive, and approached from the nave by four steps. Beneath its canopy, with other prelates, sleeps Gower, that "reveller in masonic art." Above and far beyond, shine through the purple gloom, high in the eastern wall, the four Early English lancets,[1] once supplanted by a Perpendicular window head, but discovered and reinserted by Sir G. Scott. The mouldings and other stone-work, as at S. Alban's, had been built up in walls of the Tudor period, when a low roof was substituted for the high pitched one, the trace of which remains on the eastern wall of the central tower.

Through the round-headed gateway of the screen, and within the second screen, is seen before the altar, in shadow, the tomb of the Earl of Richmond, Edmund Tudor, father of Henry VII., and above its level sparkle mosaics, filling the three great eastern lancets, originally open, but now blocked by Bishop Vaughan's Chapel. Passing the Decorated screen, the recipient of so many changes of artistic idea, the choir with its restored wood carvings is seen as an almost square, little more than the area of the lantern of the tower above. Four open bays on either hand run up to the eastern wall—spanning on the right, ancient episcopal tombs—on the left the substructure of S. David's shrine. Immediately before us is the Tudor tomb, with its inscription, "Under this marble stone, here enclosed, resteth the bones of that noble Lord, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, father and brother of kings," &c., and beyond, the altar with surmounting mosaics. In the course of restoration, an exceedingly curious discovery was made in the eastern end of the church, where a walled window below the sill of the central lancet in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel became visible. On opening it, a deep recess was found in the thickness of the wall, at the back of which are ornamental crosses of an earlier period, the interval between the arms being pierced through into the interior, opening just behind the high altar, as if to allow a person kneeling in the recess to participate in the service going on at the high altar within. Scarcely possible is it to realize the state of neglect, dilapidation and ruin into which the building generally had been suffered to lapse. Aisles, with their precious relics, roofless; chapels distorted and degraded, boards painted uniform brown, with black painted arches, dirt, high pews; here and there the head of a bodiless cherub, and the central tower fissured and twisted, with intervals so large "that a cat could pass through them";[2] with walls as at Chichester, filled with rubble, which on one occasion during the restoration, "ran out in a stream," exciting the greatest alarm, and requiring the quickest promptitude and nerve to prevent collapse. These beautiful south-eastern bays of the Presbytery were walled up, the aisles beyond stood roofless—and the range of episcopal monuments left exposed to destruction, amongst them and nearest the angle of the eastern with southern wall, under a low arch, the supposed tomb and effigy of Giraldus Cambrensis. It is difficult, for records are sparse, to recall the glory of those days, when the shrine of S. David's was one of world-wide reputation. Hither came William I., Henry II., Edward I. and his queen. Giraldus, however, writes only of the high altar, nothing of the shrine. Drawing a comparison between Canterbury and S. David's, he says, "On one side you will see royal favour, affluence of riches, numerous and opulent suffragan bishops, and abundance of learned men; on the other side a deficiency of all these things, and a total want of justice." These may be the words of a man with a grievance; but one might suppose some notice of the shrine would have found place had it then been the rich magnet for pilgrims and their offerings. That kings had knelt there goes for truth, inasmuch as the coast was the embarkation point for Ireland. "I will

[1] "The four lancets seem to be later than Bishop de Leia's time, but before Gower's. The present ceiling being Tudor is later than Gower." Mem. by Dean Allen.

[2] Sir Gilbert Scott.

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summon hither all the ships in my realm, and make them a bridge to attack that country," said William II. "Did the king," enquired Murchard, Prince of Leinster, "did the king add to this mighty threat—if God please?" Stripped of glory, riches, and decoration, the whole remains of the celebrated shrine are found in a wall between two pillars of the presbytery, the third bay from the eastern end of the church, with two square-headed recesses, three quatrefoils, and below three other round or obtuse-headed recesses, by tradition, the receptacles of pilgrims' offerings, or probably depositories for sacred relics. The front towards the choir was of Transition date, and had resting on three round-headed arches a table, with above four quatrefoils chamfered inwards. The two outer quatrefoils are blocked, the inner have apertures just large enough to admit a hand, and communicate with little lockers within, of course for offerings. Above is a triplet of arches backed by ashlar, resting on cylindrical shafts recently restored—the original bases and caps remaining *in situ*. These arches contained images and frescoes of S. Patrick, S. David, S. Denis or Caradoc, surmounted as also the rood screen, by a wooden canopy or parapet. The remains of S. David were first laid in the same grave with his confessor, S. Justinian, but translated and placed in a portable shrine. This on one occasion was stolen and plundered, but recovered. William of Malmesbury asserts that the relics came into possession of the relic-loving monks of Glastonbury, but it was not so. The relics were here in 1173, and so also was Henry II. A century later and the more magnificent shrine was built by Bishop Carew; the portable shrine, however, contained still the relics of S. David. Since, by an extent of bishops' lands (1326), the burgesses of S. David's were required to follow when the bishop went forth to war with the shrine one day's journey; and Bishop Nicholls required the chantry priests to carry the shrine in procession, so on the table or feretrum (used for a standing shrine, as S. Cuthbert's, Durham) probably the portable shrine of S. David was placed. In the north transept is an object very similar, enclosed by woodwork, corresponding with the stalls—a stone table, with two quatrefoils surmounting, chamfered inwardly, with a round arch above, in which are two round holes, set in squares—possibly a shrine of S. Andrew. Time passes quickly. I may tire you. We can hardly leave without observing the tombs surrounding us. In the nave, between the second and third piers from the east lies an effigy of Bishop Morgan (1504), in Eucharistic vestments; the head supported on a pillow by two angels, at his feet a group of the Resurrection, copied (in treatment) from 13th century; another such is in the vestry of Ripon Cathedral.

The effigy of a priest, with dog at his feet; on two slabs a cross fleury.

Before the steps of the dais, or floor of rood loft, lie the Prebendaries, William Wilcocke (1502), and Richard Rayader (1523).

Bishop Gower. In a decorated chamber within the southern limit of the rood loft, this great builder and benefactor sleeps. He is sculptured as in Eucharistic vestments, the mitre on his head, the pastoral staff beside him, and the arm raised in benediction. Angels support the head, a lion couching at the feet; below, on the south slab, are eight apostles; above are, in elegant profusion, the deep waved lines, the vine leaves, the four-petaled flower and pellets characteristic of the Bishop's taste and time.

Bishop Vaughan lies under the fan vaulting, and before the altar of his own chapel, "Bishop Vaughan lies buried here." It may be sufficient to note that Bishop Vaughan's Chapel is intact, but the Ladye Chapel beyond is roofless and dilapidated. The springer of its vaulted ceiling alone remains. A cross aisle, serving as an antechapel to the Ladye Chapel, is entered both north and south by a couple of beautiful Early English arches.

The ruinous state of the tower compelled the rebuilding of the western piers. This could not be effected without the removal of several Episcopal tombs. The removal and restoration from and to their place was in all cases carefully carried out, the sacred dust within touched and preserved by reverent hands. But many interesting relics were removed and are preserved in a case within the north transept.

1. A silvered Lateen chalice. 1280. Bishop du Carew.
2. A silvered Lateen chalice. 1293. Bishop Beck.
3. A paten, engraved *in limine*. 1293. Bishop Beck.
4. A raven proper appears the central ornament of this pastoral staff. It would be interesting to determine if Carew be a territorial name or North Irish; if the former, did an alliance by marriage exist with the renowned family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who bore on their shield a chevron between three ravens proper?
5. Head of pastoral staff. Bishop Carew. 1280.
6. Staff of Bishop Gervase. 1229.
7. Staff of Thomas Beck. 1293.
8. Head of staff of Bishop Gower. 1347. Altogether remarkable, of gilt metal, here and there tinged by green oxide of copper. The end of the ornamental curve appears to have become disorganized by the damps of the grave; the shaft is ornamented on either side by nine

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flanges, which spring from a hemisphere intended, by a screw, to be joined within another and the mainshaft of the staff. Bishop Gower was a genius, and the staff may be an original conception.

9. A pectoral crucifix of silver.

10. A figure of S. John, holding in the left hand a clasped book (Bible), the right being raised in attitude of speaking. The figure is on a round expanded plinth, rising from an ornamented and curved arm with foliaged branches, probably a portion of a processional cross, intended probably for an altar socket.[1] The metal of the staves, together with the enriched bands of the staves, is chiefly copper gilded.

The staff of Bishop Gower is peculiar in its simplicity. The earliest (1229) floriated with leafage, oak leaves, and acorns. The centre of Bishop Carew's, a raven with expanded wings. A third, Bishop Beck's, an elegant interweaving of leaves, stems, and pines, the bands of the staff bearing apparently the crest of the Bishop, a dog passant; if not so, then a hart, badge of Edward IV.

The carvings on the Misereres in the choir are singularly interesting, as testifying to the rancour between the regular and secular clergy. The reverend brethren are represented as suffering in various forms from the effects of good feeding. The cowled fox occurs more than once, "Cucullus non facit monachum." A fox thus cowled is seated, offering to a goose with a human head, a small round thing, a wafer perhaps; there is a flagon partly hid behind the fox. Your memories will supply instances similar in other cathedrals. Here, however, the antagonism has crept on to the elbows of the stalls, ornamented by a jester's cap, or monk's cowl. The Bishop's throne was built by Bishop Morgan, and is a striking object, but would scarcely bear investigation, having suffered frequent alterations and additions, so that now Decorated and Perpendicular architecture are together piled, until Sir Gilbert Scott, however, remodelled and restored its canopy. It contains three seats, one on either side of the Bishop for his superior officers—Chancellor and Archdeacon. Another very remarkable feature of this part of the Cathedral is the second screen—the first being in the original, the work of Bishop Leia, and covering the resting-places of Gower, Beck, and other prelates. The second, of wood, extends across the choir, from the piers westerly of the altar, dividing the presbytery from the choir proper, of 14th century work, and supplants an older structure. Such screens are rare; one existed in Malmesbury Abbey, others are noted as having existed, but this still remains. The lower portion is solid, with wide central doorway, the upper consists of a series of pointed arches, one or two retaining reticulated tracery. The bells were formerly rung from the choir. There were but three, and one of those cracked. The very ancient choir clock was there in Elizabethan days, and had been again and again noted for its notes of agony and sounds of pain when in act of striking—a perpetual penitent with everlasting moan. Of the bells, one said: "It puzzles whether they sound for joy or sorrow." Of the clock there is this entry: "1565. Two shillings to Richard Smythe for moving ye clocke, and bringing ye same to his place." Treasurer Clavering (1705) writes: "it in good order." He, however, may not have been musical.

You are aware of the high value of heraldic achievements in sometimes determining the chronology of a building, and the connection of landed families and benefactors with it. Indeed, S. David's, like S. Alban's, is beset with heraldic lore. I select a few from the many. The eastern chapels, presbytery and nave, have all their lettered panels. In Bishop Vaughan's Chapel appear the arms of Bishop Vaughan and of Henry VII.; his father's tomb, you remember, is not far off. In the antechapel to the Ladye Chapel are the arms of Archbishop Chicheley, Bishop Vaughan, and Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G. In the presbytery: the Hart Argent of Edward IV.; the Boar of Richard III.; the Dragon Gules of Henry VII,; the great families of Beauchamp, Howard, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the Earl of Pembroke, Earls of Powys, the ancient arms of Scotland—connected with the Huntingdon family—and others.

To sum up, Bishop de Leia built, in 1180, on the old foundations, not, however, fulfilling the present lines of the church. The tower was lower and insecurely built, and fell eastward in the 13th century (1220). The transepts were probably rebuilt at this time. The Ladye and Bishop Vaughan's Chapels were later additions. The western piers of the present tower are of De Leia's work, and the western wall; the eastern have been rebuilt, so that in the fall the tower must have been rent from top to bottom; and for economy the standing portion was utilized little doubt, but the reparation extended the work of the church eastward. About 1248 the Chapel of S. Thomas of Canterbury, in the northern transept, was added; and above it, still later, the Chapter House. About 1300 the Ladye Chapel was erected by Bishop Martin, and the 15th century roof, massive, flat, panelled, and exquisite in detail, placed on the above. The finely enriched roof has been as finely restored in the time of Bishop Gower

[1] Memo. by Dean Allen, "Probably a portion of a processional cross."

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(1328 to 1347). The greatest and most magnificent builder—the Wolsey of S. David's—followed. The church underwent a general remodelling; the tower was raised; the magnificent and adjoining palace built; and possibly that of Lamphey near Pembroke also; and De Leia's rood screen reconstructed, and no doubt the windows of the aisles remodelled, with those of the transept south. The church then had reached the pinnacle of its glory. Like other mortal things, each year became a step downwards to dissolution, until about 1850-60 the state of the tower, roofs, and walls, was such as to excite wonder that a westerly hurricane had not overthrown them. The restoration, nay, the preservation of the Cathedral, is due to the genius of Sir Gilbert Scott, his work having been continued with loving solicitude and most satisfactory success, by the present Dean. Certainly, the name of Dean Allen will find place with the memories of the worthies of the Cathedral. Dugdale says: "It hath yielded the Church, three saints; to the realm of England, three Lord Chancellors and one Lord Privy Seal; to Oxford, one Lord Chancellor; and one name to the roll of martyrs—Robert Farrer." John Thoresby, Chancellor; Chicheley, Archbishop; John Ketterick, Bishop; William Lindwood, Privy Seal; Milbourn, Bishop; William Laud, Archbishop; Thomas Watson, Bishop; George Bull, Bishop; and with these a name illustrious, learned, and noble, the late Dr. Connop Thirlwall.

There is much, very much, of interest left unwrit. I trust this unfilled sketch of one of our most ancient cathedrals may not prove uninstructive or uninteresting.

STRAY NOTES ON SOME LONDON CHURCHES ERECTED SINCE THE REFORMATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE OF THE REVIVAL.

By T. FRANCIS BUMPUS.

I NEED hardly remind you that our ecclesiastical architecture, after passing through those various styles which excite our admiration the more we study them, lost its purity with the commencement of the Wars of the Roses; yet, from that period the work of adding to, and embellishing our cathedrals, churches, and conventual buildings, was continued with unabated vigour up to the year 1540, when it received a sudden and decided check, from which it has only recovered within the last sixty years.

Of early post-Reformation Churches London possesses but three specimens: S. Catherine Cree Church, in Leadenhall Street, and the Chapels of Lincoln's Inn, and the Charterhouse, all the work of Inigo Jones, and exhibiting that quaint mixture of Grecian and Gothic detail, which is the leading characteristic of many of those Laudian Churches scattered here and there throughout the country, of which we possess so grand a specimen in S. John's, Leeds.

Then came the Great Fire of 1666, and consequently the erection—from the designs of one master hand, Wren—of 52 new churches, to replace those destroyed.

Sad to relate, the number of City churches has now been reduced to 39—a diminution due in a great measure to that spirit of utilitarian iconoclasm which has been so terribly rife in our midst during the past ten years. Gone for ever are the beautiful steeples of S. Antholin, Watling Street; S. Michael, Queenhithe; and S. Dionis Backchurch. The tower and vestibule of Allhallows, Thames Street; and the skilfully designed churches of Allhallows, Bread Street, and S. Benet, Gracechurch Street, have been swept away.

In an artistic point of view Sir Christopher Wren's churches are simply unique; no city in the world can show such an assemblage of towers and spires grouped around the magnificent dome of our great Cathedral of S. Paul, all designed by one master hand, so skilfully treated, and so picturesque from every point of view, as to afford unending delight. In an historical and ecclesiological point of view the loss of these City churches is irreparable, for they

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form a distinct link in the church architecture of our country. There is nothing abroad in the least degree answering to them. Most important of all, in a religious aspect, the demolition of Wren's, or of any other churches, must be most painful to the Churchman. Who does not recoil with horror at the thought of God's House being levelled with the dust? Yet here are structures in which week by week the incense of prayer and praise has ascended to the Throne of the Most High, and where the highest act of Christian worship—the Eucharist—has been celebrated, swept off the face of the earth, and their sites devoted to shops, warehouses, and what not—an idea most repugnant. The general plea urged by their destructionists is, that the City churches are thinly attended. In very many instances the congregations attending City churches are far, very far, in excess of those attending newly-built suburban churches, towards whose erection the destruction of Wren's are supposed to contribute. There is one grand remedy against this crying evil of City church demolition, and that is, for the Rector and his congregation to make their house of prayer a centre of good and useful work. This can be done, and has been done in many ways; notably by bright hearty services and impressive ritual, by keeping the churches open some part of the day for prayer and meditation, and in a lesser degree, for inspection, so that those hitherto unacquainted with the beauties which lie hidden in them may have an opportunity for studying and appreciating the wonderful genius of Wren.[1] Were these simple rules adopted in every case, we should probably hear next to nothing of City church demolition.

With the churches of Sir C. Wren, we may class those erected in London during the early part of the 18th century, of which we have such fine examples as: S. Mary Woolnoth; Christ Church, Spitalfields; S. George-in-the-East; S. Anne Limehouse; and S. George, Bloomsbury, by Hawksmoor; S. Mary-le-Strand and S. Martin-in-the-Fields, by Gibbs; Flitcroft's elegant S. Giles-in-the-Fields; and the grandiose S. George, Hanover Square, and S. Luke, Old Street, by James. Solidity of construction is the leading characteristic of these churches, which, in spite of some architectural solecisms and defective arrangements, are most worthy of being dedicated to the service of the Most High.

The London churches erected during the middle and latter part of the same century are decidedly inferior to the above-mentioned group, being for the most part heavy brick structures utterly wanting that beautiful symbolism which is the leading feature of the works of Wren, Gibbs, and Flitcroft. Yet several of these churches possess spires of no ordinary merit; of these S. Mary, Islington, S. Leonard, Shoreditch, S. James, Clerkenwell, and S. Botolph, Aldgate, may be cited as specimens.

Equally uninteresting, but far more unsightly, are the early nineteenth-century churches of the Metropolis—square galleried conventicles, with perhaps a shallow recess at the upper end for the altar—structures in which we fail to discover a single element of refined taste, while of symbolic allusion there is not a trace. One of these churches, S. Thomas, Clapton, was transformed by the skill of Mr. Burges, ten years ago, into a remarkably fine basilica, admirably adapted to the services of our Church. In achieving this, Mr. Burges has furnished us with an admirable example of what the refitter can do when he sets to work boldly on the most unpromising block.

In the reign of George IV. £1,000,000 was voted by Parliament for church building, and then arose in the outskirts of the Metropolis—from the designs of Bedford, Inwood, Porden, Smirke, Soane, and others—churches aiming at pure Hellenism in style, but strangely unsuited to the purposes of Christian worship, and to the climate of our land. Of these, S. Pancras, Euston Road, is the most widely known specimen, and with its really noble Ionic portico, and its caryatides, goes further to reproduce a Grecian temple than any building we possess.

It was about this time (1820), that Gothic, having lain dormant for more than two centuries began to revive. But it must be confessed, that, in spite of the enormous sums of money expended on their erection, these early revival Gothic churches, failed utterly to reproduce the details, much less the spirit of Mediæval work. Of these, S. Luke, Chelsea, finished in 1824, from the designs of Savage, may be taken as one of the largest and costliest specimens—a huge Third-Pointed structure with a lofty western tower and a clerestoried nave and aisles. Not only on account of its being the first revived Gothic church erected in London, is S. Luke's, Chelsea, noteworthy, but also for its vaulted roof; which, when we remember the miserable makeshifts by which this especial feature was too frequently travestied, has more than an ordinary interest. Four years later, Barry finished three Perpendicular churches in the parish of Islington. These at the time doubtless passed for very satisfactory specimens of Gothic; at any rate, they were

[1] As a remarkable instance of what may be done to utilize a City church, it may not be invidious to mention S. Nicholas Cole Abbey, of which our Chairman (Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth) is Rector. On his appointment to the cure, in 1883, he found a congregation averaging about a dozen each Sunday; it is now amply sufficient to fill the spacious church.

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substantial, and liberal in their cost, and far superior to those miserable structures which under the title of "Cheap Churches" began to arise around London between 1830 and 1840, and in which all architectural detail and finish was ground down to the very dust, to meet an idolized tariff of so many shillings per sitting.

Perhaps the two best churches erected in London between 1830 and 1840, are S. Dunstan-in-the-West, by Shaw; and the R. C. Chapel of our Lady, St. John's Wood, by Scoles. The former has a graceful octagonal lantern of a type founded on the ones existing at All Saints, York, Boston, and Fotheringay. Scoles' church is a small Early English building, recalling the Lady Chapel at Salisbury, and perhaps in a greater degree the choir of the Temple Church.

Happily for our Ecclesiastical architecture, this terrible flood of pseudo-Gothicism was not destined to be of long duration. The formation in 1839 of the Cambridge Camden, and Oxford Architectural societies, the subsequent publication of the "Ecclesiologist," ably seconded by the writings of Buckler, Petit, Parker, Pugin, Sharpe, and others, led the way to that glorious revival of the true principles of church architecture of which at the present day we are reaping so abundant a harvest.

Foremost among the London churches, manifesting a development of those true principles, stands S. Giles, Camberwell, began in 1841, and finished in 1844, from the designs of Sir G. G. Scott, even at that time one of the most accomplished architects of the day. With the exception perhaps of the two Birmingham churches, by Carpenter, S. Saviour, Leeds, and a church at Llangarwen, in Cardiganshire, no church erected at the time was more orthodox in its arrangement than S. Giles, Camberwell. That such a structure attracted much notice on its completion it is needless to say, while it impressed all who examined it with the conviction that its architect was destined to occupy no mean place in his profession. In style, it is Early Middle Pointed, and in plan cruciform. Externally, its chief feature is the nobly proportioned central tower, surmounted by a spire, which even now is unsurpassed for elegance and grace. Internally, Camberwell Church, despite the galleries, introduced by an unfortunate necessity, is extremely solemn, while the noble tower arches, and deep stalled chancel, are quite unsurpassed by any contemporary work of the kind.

Four years later, Scott completed his first strictly London church—S. Matthew, City Road—a small late First Pointed structure, consisting of an aisled nave, a chancel, and at the east end of the south aisle a steeple, based upon a study of that at Sutton S. Mary, Lincolnshire. Like that of S. Giles, Camberwell, the interior of S. Matthew, City Road, is extremely religious and solemn. At the east end is a beautiful quintuplet of lancets, filled with stained glass, by O'Connor (1866)—not of the highest order, to be sure, but devotional in its treatment. These eastern lancets in S. Matthew, City Road, are said to be copies of those existing in the old priory church of Chetwode, near Scott's home, at Gawcott in Buckinghamshire. "I was never more astonished," relates Sir Gilbert in his Recollections, "than when I first saw Chetwode Church. It is a fragment of an old monastic church, and its east window consists of five noble lancets with externally bold but plain detail. Never having before seen such windows I was greatly perplexed, and failing to get the key, and being reduced to peeping through the key-hole of the door, I was astonished and puzzled to find that the east windows had shafts with foliaged caps, a thing I had never seen and could not understand. I remember continuing all day in a state of morbid excitement on the subject, and having no access to architectural books, it was long ere I solved the mystery."

Besides that of S. Matthew, the year 1848 witnessed the completion from the designs of Mr. E. C. Hakewill, of one of the largest and most sumptuous churches erected in England since the Reformation—the parish church of S. John of Jerusalem, South Hackney, built mainly through the exertions of its rector, the Rev. H. H. Norris, who did not long survive its completion. It is a large cruciform structure having a nave of six bays, transepts, and short hexagonally apsidal chancel, all carried out in late First-Pointed. At the west end, is a very well-proportioned tower, which, together with the spire, is an almost absolute copy of that at S. Mary, Stamford. The lowest stage of the tower has a very grandiose portal with a double opening, but the interior of the church to which it forms so grand an approach is hardly worthy of it. South Hackney Church is really very lofty and very long, but both these features are minimised by the extravagant breadth of the interior, while the narrow spacing of the nave arcade, the awkward treatment of the roof at the crux, and the bare expanse of wall in either transept are sad drawbacks to this otherwise noble church. There are, however, some excellent points; of singular beauty is the inner plane of tracery to the clerestory, and the arcading in the apse, features manifestly taken from Stone Church, near Dartford; the carving of the pier capitals and elsewhere is decidedly better in design than execution, and considerably in advance of its age, while of the painted glass by Wailes, which fills the incipiently traceried lancets of the apse, it is not too much to say, that for the time it was the best produced, and well deserves inspection by those interested in the progress stained glass has made since the Revival.

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The church of S. Andrew, Wells Street, finished about this time, from the designs of Mr. Dawkes, presents us with an admirable instance of what an architect can do when he has to deal with an awkward site. In this case Mr. Dawkes had at his disposal a broad plot of ground lying between houses; taking as his model one of those large Third Pointed churches, in which cities like Norwich, Bristol, and York are so rich, he erected upon it a church with a broad but lofty clerestoried nave and chancel under one continuous roof, very wide aisles and a steeple engaged at the extreme north-west angle. In style S. Andrew, Wells Street, is Early Perpendicular, and perhaps the best church erected at the time in that style; while ritually considered, it was a great gain to art, and with its free and open seats, raised and stalled chancel, its double daily service, and correct ritual, was considered a model church until the erection, a few years later, of S. Barnabas, Pimlico, and latterly of All Saints, Margaret Street. During the last twenty years, under the auspices of its late energetic incumbent, the Rev. Benjamin Webb, the interior of S. Andrew, Wells Street, has undergone great embellishment, notably by the erection of a most magnificent reredos, extending up on either side the east window, designed by Mr. Street, and carved by Redfern. All the windows are now filled with painted glass. The three western ones, by Clayton and Bell, are of rare excellence. The east window, designed by Pugin, and placed here shortly after the consecration of the church, was the work of Hardman, and perhaps in some degree caught the tone of old glass. Indeed, S. Andrew, Wells Street, is so rich in various kinds of ecclesiastical art that nothing less than a whole paper could do them justice; but I must not quit the description of the church without mentioning the delicate paintings on the gallery fronts, the recessed tomb of the church's second incumbent, the Rev. Jas. Murray, at the east end of the south aisle; Laver and Barraud's silvery stained window, close to it; the low chancel screen with its elaborate cresting; and costly plate, altar frontals and other accessories, in which, perhaps, no other London church is so rich.

Among the churches erected in London during the ten years of the Revival, between 1840 and 1850, the large and costly Roman Catholic churches at Lambeth, and in Farm Street Mews, must not be forgotten. The former, Pugin's only London church, is, as far as its nave goes, a reproduction, with some modifications, of the once glorious Dutch Church in Austin Friars. Owing in a great measure to the incomplete state of the tower, S. George, Lambeth, is heavy and disappointing; nor can the interior of the nave be pronounced thoroughly satisfactory; but the choir, with its sumptuous fittings, its noble nine-light window, a Radix Jesse, by Wailes; and, beyond all this, its dignified rood-screen, is incomparably the most solemn and devotional piece of architecture raised at the time.

The Farm Street church, finished from the designs of Scoles, in 1849, is, like S. George, Late Decorated in style. It is curious to note that in these, and other Roman Catholic churches erected a few years later, by Wardell, at Clapham, Greenwich, and in the Commercial Road, the architects should have fixed upon the Late Middle-Pointed style, apparently disdaining the representation of either an immature or declining form of art, but fixing always on the fully developed Gothic just at the turning point of its career. In plan the Farm Street church differs greatly from S. George, Lambeth; here, instead of a nave with aisles, under separate gables, we have a very lofty clerestoried nave, having on its south side two aisles, and on its north only a very small portion of an aisle three bays in length. It is perhaps to be regretted that the architect did not make a continuous north aisle, albeit the view across the double one on the south side is of extreme beauty, recalling very vividly one of those Flamboyant churches in which Belgium is so rich. There is no choir-screen in this church, consequently the unbroken view from the west door to the east end, with its elaborate reredos, designed by Pugin, and flamboyantly traceried east window, by Wailes, is of unusual grandeur. A very beautiful feature is the Chapel of the Sacred Heart at the end of the main south aisle, added in 1856, from the designs of Mr. Clutton, and illustrating that period of Early French Gothic, of which he was at the time so able an exponent.

While on the subject of Roman Catholic churches, mention might be made of S. John, Duncan Terrace, an earlier work of Scoles, and, it must be confessed, not a very successful attempt at Romanesque, but remarkable for Armitage's fine frescoes in the apse and side chapel of S. Francis, representing respectively *Christ enthroned among the Apostles*, and *S. Francis of Assisi receiving the approval of Pope Innocent III. to the Rule of the Order of Franciscans.* In designing this church Scoles was severely censured by Pugin, who, in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture," published a view of the old parish church of Islington, which he declared, not without some show of reason, ought to have formed the model for S. John's; but then he did not sufficiently consider the *nature* of the site.

The year 1850 witnessed the completion of two very stately churches, S. Barnabas, Pimlico, and S. Stephen, Westminster, each the result of individual munificence, each illustrating a distinct period of English architecture, each correct in arrangement, and evincing a decided

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advance in the true principles of ecclesiastical art. S. Barnabas, Pimlico, the work of Mr. Cundy, was confessed, on its completion, to be a model of excellence; indeed, it was the most sumptuous and correctly fitted church erected in England since the Reformation. Raised at a time when any advance towards an improved ritual was regarded with the utmost horror, the church and its fittings formed the subject of much litigation; riots ensued, and for some time the church was in danger of being sacked by mobs who, Sunday after Sunday, assembled to hoot and groan and interrupt the services to a degree that had it not been for the intrepidity of the officiating clergy, they would have entirley set aside the right to undisturbed worship. It is not a large church, but every detail evinces careful study; indeed to look really well, it ought to be placed far from the contamination of smoke, bricks, and mortar, being an absolute copy of a First-Pointed country church. Externally, the simple broach spire is a very pleasing feature, and the collegiate buildings on the north and south side give perhaps a more town-like character to the design. There are not many London churches whose interiors may be called really pictorial; but this of S. Barnabas, seen under certain conditions of sunset, is of extreme beauty. The sun streaming through the rich stained windows on to the mellow stonework of the piers and walls, leaving the eastern part of the church in comparative darkness, renders the scene strikingly impressive.

Less ritually, but perhaps more architecturally, correct than St. Barnabas, is S. Stephen, Rochester Row, built at the sole cost of Baroness Burdett Coutts from the designs of Mr. Ferrey, and consecrated only a few days later than S. Barnabas. It is Late Middle-Pointed, and has an aisled and clerestoried nave and chancel. The tower, which rises at the east end of the north aisle, has a very lofty spire, perhaps rather too *élancée* for the style of the building it surmounts, and not pleasing viewed from a distance. But the bad impression vanishes on approaching the church, the perspective tending to diminish the acuteness of the spire, and also to equalize the two heights.

Another example of individual munificence now claims our attention, not a very great distance from S. Stephen, viz., the Church of the Holy Trinity, Bessboro' Gardens.[1] The earliest London church of its architect, Mr. J. L. Pearson, Holy Trinity Church, Bessboro' Gardens, is a remarkably beautiful and correct reproduction of a pure Middle-Pointed English church, and indeed it was invariably considered by Sir G. G. Scott, to be the best of its time erected after the ancient models. Viewed from the Vauxhall Bridge Road, the central tower and spire, rising from the neat compact plan, are invested with a charm and dignity which few architects of the time succeeded in attaining.

The fine Early Middle-Pointed Church of S. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, partially completed in 1852, from the designs of Carpenter, whose untimely death, three years later, deprived the Church of England of one of her most promising architects, presents us with a remarkably good specimen of a town church, erected on the *motif* of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars. For thirty years it remained imcomplete, lacking a north aisle; this has recently been added, as a memorial to the church's revered co-founder, the Rev. E. A. Stuart, but the tower and spire, which will form the crowning feature of the building, are as yet wanting. The interior is simple, but obtains its impressive effect from the noble sentiment which must have pervaded the mind of its designer; and with its light and graceful arcades, deep chancels broad aisles and unencumbered area, it is the model of a well arranged town church. There is an unusual quantity of painted glass by various artists, and general speaking, very devotional in its character. Perhaps the most interesting are the west and east windows. The former, an early work of Mr. Clayton, forms a memorial to the architect; while the latter, a noble one of seven lights, is by Hardman, from the designs of Pugin, who considered it one of the most successful painted windows since the Revival.

Of Mr. Butterfield's first London church—S. Matthias, Stoke Newington—it is not too much to say that for grandeur of proportion and originality of outline, it stands unrivalled among the modern churches of the metropolis, and may fairly be called the first of a series of designs by Mr. Butterfield, each of which, is a grand endeavour to throw aside the trammels of conventionalism; not to create an entirely new style but to develope the resources of Middle-Pointed, which in the hands of his various contemporaries was becoming coldly stereotyped or rampantly extravagant. Built of the commonest materials—brick with a little stone for the dressings—it forms a striking contrast to its elaborate contemporary—All Saints, Margaret Street; yet the general effect is of the greatest dignity, and far more satisfactory than that of other churches erected with more costly materials. The great external feature of S. Matthias is its tower, of a type known as "Saddleback," frequently met with in northern countries of the Continent, especially in Normandy, but rarely in England. There is, however, a very noticeable old example of a saddleback tower in the village church of Tinwell, Rutlandshire.

[1] Built and endowed at the sole cost of the late Archdeacon Bentinck.

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So satisfied was Mr. Butterfield with the effect produced by this gabled tower at Stoke Newington, that he was induced to try it again a few years later, at S. Alban, Holborn, and latterly at S. John, Hammersmith. Besides Mr. Butterfield, several other architects have tried the resources of this peculiar type of steeple; notably Mr. Clutton, at S. John, Limehouse; Mr. Peacock, at S. Jude, Gray's Inn Road; Mr. Blomfield, at his small school church in Bedfordbury, and Mr. Christian, at S. Stephen, Spitalfields; while at S. Luke, Kentish Town, Mr. Champneys has given us a singularly unique and beautiful saddleback, cruciform in shape, and modelled on the tower of Paderborn Cathedral in North Germany.

But to return to S. Matthias. Besides the tower, there are several external features evoking more than ordinary attention. Perhaps the most remarkable is the bold manner in which the architect has continued his nave aisles alongside of the tower, which I should have stated forms the chancel on the ground plan, and beyond which is a short sanctuary, having a five-light east window of noble dimensions. Another peculiar feature exists at the west end, where the window, in lieu of a centre light, has a massive buttress carried up it. Mr. Butterfield's *motif* for this very characteristic bit seems to have been the east end of Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxfordshire. Upon entering S. Matthias, its great height compared with its width is most striking, completely embodying the idea dominant in its conception of a town church; while the finely proportioned nave arcade and lofty clerestory; the noble tower arches spanning the church transversely; its well raised, stalled and screened chancel, and beyond all this the dim vaulted sanctuary, are the elements mainly conducive to this result.

Perhaps one of the finest internal features of S. Matthias, is the nave roof, of a simple cradle type, strongly calling to mind that of Ely Cathedral, before Mr. Le Strange undertook its painting. It is curious to note how conspicuous is the absence of elaborate decoration in S. Matthias; carved ornament exists only in the capitals of the corbels supporting the tower arches, in the dripstone of the east window and in the sedilia; if not absolutely refined, it is extremely bold and spirited. Mr. Butterfield's treatment of the arches opening from the chancel into its aisles is very masterly—the mouldings, instead of being brought down upon capitals, die into the pier on either side, thus producing an effect of great boldness. Equally vigorous in its conception is the roof of the sanctuary—barrel-shaped and vaulted with red and yellow brick, the groining ribs dying off into the wall.

The fittings in S. Matthias, it must be confessed, are hardly worthy of the building. The woodwork is very heavy, and in some respects resembles that dry quasi-Gothic school of carpentry, which flourished in the earlier days of the Revival; but a closer inspection will dispel the idea. It should be mentioned that the chancel screen—erected from the designs of Mr. Brooks, as a memorial to the church's co-founder, R. Brett—is a much later addition, and although out of character with the church is extremely beautiful. The panels in the base are relieved by delicate paintings of the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, by Mr. Westlake. Screens of a similar character exist in Mr. Brooks' churches of the Annunciation, Chislehurst, and S. Andrew, Plaistow.

Of the stained glass in S. Matthias, little need be said. That in the east window, by Wailes, is very good for the period of its execution, more than thirty years ago, and very devotional in its treatment; but by far the best painted glass in this church exists at the west end, the large central window, by O'Connor, ranking among the finest produced since the Revival.

It may not be uninteresting to state that for many years S. Matthias, Stoke Newington, was one of the leading Catholic churches of North London, and from it may be said to have had their origin those noble churches in Haggerston and Shoreditch, which many of us had the privilege of visiting a year or two ago under the guidance of their accomplished architect.

A striking contrast to the severely dignified S. Matthias is offered by the parish church of S. Mary, Stoke Newington, one of the noblest conceptions of its architect, Sir G. G. Scott, and exhibiting both in plan and detail a decided tendency towards those foreign forms from which the majority of his works erected between 1860 and 1870 are not wholly free. Here we have a western tower, a lofty but unclerestoried nave, with large three-light windows under gables evidently modelled on that noble Dominican church at Ghent, which existed until a comparatively recent period. In his almost contemporary churches of S. Paul, Dundee, and S. Andrew, Westminster, both of which bear a very striking resemblance to S. Mary, Sir G. G. Scott employed the same type of nave. Boldly, but not deeply projecting transepts, a short aisled and clerestoried chancel, and a polygonal apse, complete the plan. There is a very noble porch in the second bay of the nave, and the face of the north transept has a five-light window of grand dimensions. Equally beautiful are the windows in the apse, each being of two lights, with a six-foiled circle, while their arches are characterized by that peculiar curve met with in the Early Middle-Pointed French churches, notably at S. Denis, and nearer home in our own Westminster Abbey. Viewed from the

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north-east, there is something almost minster-like in the exterior of S. Mary, Stoke Newington. Much yet remains to be done to complete the church externally, as designed by the architect; the steeple only rises a little above the nave roof at present,[1] while huge blocks of stone await the carver's chisel.

Internally, the great beauty of proportion, elegance of detail, and extreme magnitude of S. Mary's, place it as the most noble and imposing of the modern churches in the kingdom. Few churches have so graceful and open a nave, while the chancel, although not so ritually complete as we should wish, is inferior to none in richness of decoration. In the nave, approached through a tower arch of great grandeur, the arcade assumes a much more commanding altitude than in the churches previously described, owing to the absence of clerestory. Here the piers are very lofty, cylindrical, with capitals, whose carved foliage, both in design and execution, reaches a degree of excellence hitherto rarely approached in modern work. Perhaps the most striking feature in S. Mary's, Stoke Newington, is the manner in which the architect has minimized its cruciform appearance, chiefly by carrying the arch opening into either transept along in the same line with the nave arcades; the superimposed space between these arches and the transept roofs is filled with light wooden tracery, precedent for which exists in a somewhat rude form at Tideswell in Derbyshire. The entrance to the chancel is spanned by a very fine stone arch of the same height as the nave; here, it is true, we miss a screen and parcloses, but this defect is amply compensated for by the profusion of beautiful stone carving, as an illustration of which special mention should be made of the corbelled figures of angels terminating each dripstone, and of the careful selection of foliaged ornament. The coupling of the piers supporting the chancel arcades is a singularly beautiful feature, though quite un-English; equally so is the rich treatment of the arch-soffits, where, within panels, are carved figures of angels in various attitudes of adoration. The pulpit, reredos, and font, are of the richest possible description, but the stained glass is unfortunately not of that quality one would naturally expect to find in a church of such grandeur. With the exception of a few, the painted windows in S. Mary's are eminently unsatisfactory; no fixed design has been followed, various artists have been employed, and the effect, as is usual under such circumstances, is unsatisfactory. The stained glass in the apse, Clayton and Bell's work, is good as far as the drawing is concerned, but the colouring is in many places harsh and crude; the effect of the three centre windows, seen from the west door, is, however, very good. But lovers of real stained glass will turn to the small trefoiled lancets in the transepts' clerestory, for this is the style of glass Sir G. G. Scott himself superintended, and which he would like to have seen adopted throughout the church.

Such is a brief sketch of these two Stoke Newington churches, probably two of the noblest raised since the Revival, of which each illustrates a distinct phase. They are curiously unlike, and critics will take their sides according to their predilections. Perhaps the balance should be slightly inclined in favour of S. Matthias, as exhibiting greater originality of treatment, but lovers of a more foreign type of Gothic will give the preference to S. Mary.

The May of 1859 was graced by the consecration of All Saints, Margaret Street, beyond dispute the most gorgeous church erected in England since the Reformation, one in which ecclesiological teaching has been most studiously followed, every part of it having been executed in accordance with Mediæval precedent and symbolism, while at the same time it exhibits all that vigour and originality of treatment inseparably connected with every work undertaken by its architect—Mr. Butterfield. The view which is presented to the visitor on entering, is without doubt most impressive. The church is not absolutely large, but its great height, 75 feet, the majesty of the chancel arch, the deep dim chancel, with its frescoed east end, the magnificent flood of light poured in through the great west window, the soberer light produced by the stained glass in the side windows, and the abundant use of marbles and alabaster, all combine to produce an impression fully sustaining the reputation of such a church. Indeed it is some time before one is capable of turning to examine the details of the building.

A church so well-known as All Saints, Margaret Street, needs little description. It may not, however, be generally known that the erection of such a church as this was a day-dream of the Cambridge Camden Society from the first. On the removal of the Society to London, about 1846, the idea grew, and as the parties interested in the old Margaret Chapel entertained an idea of rebuilding their church, the schemes were blended into one. The choice of site, over which considerations of sentiment were allowed to prevail, was unfortunate, but the church on its completion gave great satisfaction to all parties concerned, and until the erection of others equally correct and sumptuous, was looked upon as a model church.

There are several other churches erected in London during these very interesting ten years of

[1] The completion of the tower and spire of this church, long delayed, has recently been taken in hand under the superintendence of Mr. G. G. Scott, Jun.

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the Revival, whose features I should like to descant upon, but time presses. Yet it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning Brandon's glorious Catholic Apostolic Cathedral in Gordon Square, which with its nave possessing triforium and clerestory, transepts, central unfinished tower, vaulted choir, and projecting eastern chapel, goes further to reproduce a mediæval minster than any modern church we possess. To this period belongs Sir G. G. Scott's Church of S. Andrew, Westminster, doubtless a trial of skill prior to erecting S. Mary, Stoke Newington, and which is considered one of his best specimens of a parish church. Mr. John Oldrid Scott, in his recent report on S. Andrew, Westminster, says, "I am much impressed by its noble design. I know of no church built by my father, more striking in its internal effect."

All this time a very remarkable church was rising at Notting Hill, from the designs of Mr. White, viz., All Saints—and one whose history is somewhat curious. Begun in 1852, this structure in the first instance owed its erection to the munificence of the late Dr. Walker, of S. Columb Major, in Cornwall, after which church All Saints, Notting Hill, is in some respects modelled. Unpleasant circumstances which cannot be here entered into, arose, and for nearly seven years after the completion of the main fabric, the church remained well nigh a ruin. At the expiration of that period the fabric passed into other hands—unfortunately not those of an architect; works were resumed, and the church consecrated April 9th, 1861. The existing structure is however only a tithe of a magnificent pile of buildings which were to have resembled a conventual establishment; a cloister was to have adjoined the church on its north side, as the fenestration of that aisle testifies. As it stands, the church of All Saints, Notting Hill, consists of a nave four bays in length, with western tower, porch and short transepts gabling out of the nave roof; a chancel with north and south aisles, and a sanctuary. Stone, judiciously banded with red, is the material, and the style, purest Middle-Pointed.

There are, however, several features in All Saints, Notting Hill, which distinguish it from other churches built at the same time. Instance may be made of the clerestory, where the windows in lieu of being ordinary bar-traceried ones are composed of four plate-traceried lancets; while the tower—one of the noblest modern towers in London, albeit unfinished—recalls to those conversant with the ecclesiology of Belgium, that at S. Bavon, Ghent. Although not large, Mr. White has contrived to secure for the interior of All Saints, Notting Hill, an appearance of great size; with a bold eclecticism he has carried his nave arcade right across the transept, filling in the superimposed space with a stone arcading, forming a continuation of the clerestory—an arrangement frequently met with in the works of mediæval Italian architects, and of which a good example exists at Lucca. About the fittings in this church, unfortunately left to the supervision of a civil engineer, the less said the better, but the highest praise must be awarded to the reredos sculptured by Earp, and very similar to the one executed by him for Mr. Street at All Saints, Clifton, and to the painted glass by Gibbs, in the great east window, which at the time of its insertion called forth the admiration of the most eminent art critics of the day.

The study of foreign Gothic, due to causes which cannot be entered upon here, had sensibly affected our national architecture when Sir G. G. Scott drew the plans for his churches of S. Andrew, Westminster, and S. Mary, Stoke Newington; although these two stately buildings are not distinctly English in their character, there is nothing in either of them suggesting a thorough conversion on the part of their architect to the principles of continental Gothic. But in his church of S. James-the-Less, Westminster, begun in 1859, and finished in 1861, Mr. Street revolted completely from English precedent, and gave us a church most decidedly Southern, and which, both in plan and style, is modelled upon one of those early Italian Gothic churches so vividly described in his "Brick and Marble Architecture in the Middle Ages." It is needless to say, that, such a church as S. James-the-Less, Westminster, attracted much attention on its completion; the materials with which it was constructed, its style, plan and external appearance were quite novelties; on the whole it formed a most striking contrast to the somewhat slavish imitations of old English churches in its immediate neighbourhood.

Undoubtedly, the most striking external feature of S. James-the-Less, Westminster, and the one upon which Mr. Street seems to have lavished all his skill is the tower, which standing apart from the church, but connected with it by a low arcaded porch, is an almost absolute copy of a north Italian Campanile. It is the misfortune of more than one noble London church to be concealed by masses of bricks and mortar; for this there is no help; the poorest neighbourhoods require the churches most; but this tower of S. James, rising above the commonplace houses like a lily among weeds, is a thing, once seen, never to be forgotten. The interior of S. James-the-Less, Westminster is in point of magnificence of decoration inferior only to All Saints, Margaret Street. In either church, its architect was cramped for room in carrying out his plans. In All Saints, Mr. Butterfield as usual strove after height, but in S. James, Mr. Street insisted upon breadth as the quality mainly necessary. Despite the injuries

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inflicted upon the interior of S. James by gas, smoke, and other London disagreeables, it must be regarded as a masterstroke of art. The nave piers—short and stout, with a stone banding, are of polished granite, and have their capitals boldly carved by Forsyth, illustrating the parables and miracles of our Lord. The fenestration of the clerestory is somewhat peculiar; for the easternmost window on either side, instead of being like the others, in form of a tripled lancet, is a large one of three lights, and placed within a gable which springing from the eave line gives externally the idea of a transept; most probably it was made so in order to throw a stronger light upon Mr. Watts' fresco of the Doom, which adds such dignity to the lofty wall-space above the chancel arch. The chancel, terminating in a vaulted apse, a feature never really satisfactory unless groined, is one of the happiest conceptions of its architect; while the aisles, which, being transversely gabled, have a transeptal character, afford unusually beautiful perspective views from various angles of the chancel. All the *instrumenta* in S. James, Westminster, are of the most massive description, and special praise must be awarded to the pulpit, rich in sculpture from the chisel of Mr. Forsyth.

Conspicuous among the architects who have sturdily resisted the influence of French and Italian Gothic, stands Mr. Butterfield, who, in his noble church of S. Alban, Holborn, finished in 1863, has presented us with another specimen of that bold and vigorous type of Middle-Pointed, employed by him at S. Matthias, Stoke Newington, and All Saints, Margaret Street. Of the exterior, which a short time since was exposed to full view by the demolition of the houses in Gray's Inn Lane, I think little need be said, since it is so well known to us, but pass on at once to the interior, remarkable for its union of height with breadth, and forming a kind of *via media* between the severely dignified interior of S. Matthias, Stoke Newington, and the gorgeous one of All Saints, Margaret Street. But the great beauty of S. Alban, Holborn, is its nave arcade; the proportions of the pillars are admirable, while the arches are genuine specimens of Early Decorated work. In the clerestory, between the nave arches, and above the chancel arch, the varied brickwork is treated with consummate skill; perhaps on the completion of the church the effect of this brickwork was somewhat glaring, but three and twenty years of London smoke have contributed to tone down the colours, which at present are singularly harmonious. There are several features in S. Alban, Holborn, extremely characteristic of its architect, notably the square east end, which, as at All Saints, Margaret Street, Mr. Butterfield was unable to pierce with a window, owing to the contiguity of houses—a defect which Mr. Le Strange and Mr. Preedy completely neutralized by that magnificent series of paintings on water glass which harmonize so perfectly with the surrounding work.

Another peculiar feature of Mr. Butterfield's churches is the unbenched bay at the west end of the nave. It is the invariable rule of that architect to place his porch or porches at the extreme west end of his aisles; the consequence of this is that a species of constructional narthex is obtained, a feature not only to be commended on utilitarian, but also on æsthetic grounds.

It is interesting to note what changes may take place in the spirit of an architect's designs within a short period of time. The numerous admirers of Mr. Pearson's pure English cruciform church of the Holy Trinity, Bessboro' Gardens, little thought what an entire revolution was to be effected in the character of his work, yet the church of S. Peter, Vauxhall, begun just ten years after the completion of Holy Trinity, plainly indicates what influence the study of Continental Gothic had on the mind of its architect. This is the more noteworthy, for since that time Mr. Pearson, in common with several other architects, has returned to more strictly English types. Raised at a time when the rage for Foreign Gothic was at its height, S. Peter, Vauxhall, attracted much notice on its completion, not on account of its style alone, but for the consistent vaulting of its interior in stone and brick, at that time a novelty in ecclesiastical design, forty years having elapsed since the erection of S. Luke, Chelsea, the earliest church of the Revival, vaulted throughout in a *bonâ fide* manner. The exterior of S. Peter, Vauxhall, is at present unfinished, lacking a steeple, but the church depends mainly for its effect upon the noble simplicity and the care bestowed upon its proportions. On entering, we are arrested by an impressiveness which few London churches of its date succeed in producing; from the west door to the altar the view is unbroken, and the eye is charmed with the fine vista terminating in the groined apse, based, there is some reason to believe, upon a study of that at Lausanne Cathedral. Here it is that we perceive the triumph of the architect's skill. The clerestory is lighted by a series of lancets filled with rich stained glass, by Lavers and Barraud; immediately below these is a small arcade of a somewhat Lombardic character, open, through which the small triforium windows peer in a very felicitous manner; then under this triforial arcade we have a series of fresco paintings, so arranged that the central subject, the Crucifixion, occurs immediately above the reredos, which stands in the chord of the apse, and consists of a wide-spanned and trefoiled arch beneath a gable, inlaid with mosaic-work and varied marbles.

In his more recent contributions to the ecclesiology of London, S. Augustine, Kilburn, and

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S. John, Red Lion Square, Mr. Pearson has had recourse to that type of Pointed architecture which attained its highest grace in England during the earlier part of the thirteenth century. Although retaining in some respects a national character, these two churches are at the same time types of a wide departure from strict mediæval precedent, and of a kind which can only be referred to the last few years of the present century.

S. Augustine, Kilburn, has been recently so minutely examined by members of the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society that to descant upon its merits would be a work of supererogation. But I cannot refrain from mentioning the painted glass in the triplet of lancets lighting the east end, which, at first sight, might be taken for a veritable specimen of Early Pointed glass, such as exists in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, or abroad in the cathedrals of Bourges, Chartres, and Notre Dame, Paris. Messrs. Clayton and Bell may, in this instance, be fairly said to have surpassed themselves.

In S. John, Red Lion Square, Mr. Pearson has combined great vigour and originality with a vast amount of skill in adapting a church to a site offering difficulties almost unprecedented in the history of London church building. Perhaps this irregularity of plan is a matter of rejoicing, since it enabled the architect to have recourse to some originality of construction, to say nothing of the picturesque views which force themselves upon the visitor to this noble church at every turn. The extreme breadth of its nave must strike the most casual observer immediately upon entering. When the fifth bay is added, the effect of this nave will, of its kind, be quite unsurpassed; at present it is too short for its enormous breadth. At the east end of the nave three arches open into the chancel and its aisles, and it is here that the magnificence of the scheme is fully realized. A nave and chancel of the same enormous span would have been well nigh immeasurable by the eye, and in a great measure thrown away; but here the lofty chancel arch, opening into the deep narrow chancel, with the acutely-pointed arch on either side of it, surmounted by a triforium and clerestory, impart an extraordinary impression of size to the interior, making it look much larger than it really is. Mr. Pearson's *motif* for this treatment seems to have been the Cathedral of Gerona, in Spain. The quintuplet of lancets at the east end strongly recalls Worcester.

Throughout both these churches the detail is as profuse as it is skilfully executed; of especial loveliness is that of the great porch at S. Augustine, Kilburn, and that of the chancel in S. John, Red Lion Square; indeed, it may not be inaptly compared with some of the best thirteenth-century work.

About twenty-four years ago, Mr. Brooks was called in to superintend the re-arrangement of S. Mary, Haggerston, a church built in 1829, by Nash, in the Gothic of that period. It must have required no little boldness on the part of an architect to have grappled with such a monster. Mr. Brooks, however, dared to do so, and the result was that S. Mary, Haggerston, from being one of the coldest and dreariest interiors in the metropolis became, in his skilful hands, one of the most solemn and devotional. Time will not permit me to enter into a detailed account of this most interesting work, but obliges me to pass on to the year 1865, which saw the completion of the first of that noble group of churches by Mr. Brooks, the erection of which may fairly be said to have inaugurated a completely new epoch in the history of London church architecture.

The names of these churches, with their situations and dates of completion, are as follows:—S. Michael, Shoreditch, (1865); S. Saviour, Hoxton (1866); S. Chad, Haggerston (1869); and S. Columba, Kingsland Road (1869); with these may be classed S. Andrew, Plaistow (1870).

In all these churches—four of them lying so close together, that from the tower of any one of them, the rest are clearly seen—the same characteristics prevail, viz., the employment of a very vigorous Early-Pointed French, rather than English, style; simplicity of outline; dignified and grand proportions; absence of elaborate detail and stereotyped form. They are in every sense town churches, and not such as would stand equally well in country churchyards. As a rule, these churches of Mr. Brooks appeal to the eye of the artist, rather than to that of the ordinary observer.

I should much like to enter into a detailed account of these noble churches, but as I still have a considerable deal of ground to get over, it behoves me to state their leading features as concisely as possible.

S. Michael's, Shoreditch, is a most stately church, unfortunately so closely hemmed in by houses that, no really good view is obtainable; but the east end, seen from the north, tells to great advantage, as does the grand mass of roof, which here, as well as in all Mr. Brooks' churches, is planned with the greatest and most artistic ability.

In S. Saviour's, Hoxton, the second church of this group, we have a lofty First-Pointed building, yellow brick outside and red within, consisting of a clerestoried nave and chancel, under one continuous roof and terminating in a very bold semi-circular apse. As at

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S. Michael's, Mr. Brooks was cramped for room, but the church towers grandly above the houses, and the fenestration of the west end, by a large plate-traceried rose, is undeniably grand.

S. Chad's, Nicholl Square, Hackney Road, is built of red brick throughout, with, of course, stone for the dressings, and is cruciform in plan with an apsidal chancel, a chancel chapel, also apsidal, on its south side, and a low western lean-to narthex. The four nobly planned roofs of nave, chancel and transepts, meeting at a simple but effective square flêche, impart a minster-like aspect to the pile viewed from the north east; the transepts do not project beyond the aisles, but the fact of their not doing so is no detriment to the general effect.

S. Columba's is, like S. Chad's, cruciform, but of a different type. Here, at the crux, we have a low unfinished tower, capped by a temporary slate spire, and forming the chancel on the ground plan. There is a grand five-bayed nave with a lofty clerestory and short north-western transept; bold eastern transepts and a short square-ended sanctuary, which has an unusually imposing effect viewed from the Kingsland Road. Owing to its great height, length, and unencumbered area, the interior of S. Columba's is remarkably impressive upon entering. At S. Chad's, the nave piers are very short and thick, in proportion to the arches they carry, while those at S. Columba's are of the "compound" type; here, as in other of Mr. Brook's churches, there remains a good deal of carved detail to be executed. The most noteworthy features in S. Columba's are:—The open clerestory arcade above the westernmost bay on the north side, looking into the transept; the bold fenestration of the west end, by a double tier of lancets; the narrow aisles, spanned by half-arches of brick at the interval of each bay; the groined crux and sacrarium, and the dignified flights of steps leading from the chancel to the sanctuary, which is also vaulted.

Of the large number of churches erected in London during this decade of the Revival (viz., from 1860 to 1870) I would especially recommend to your notice a very fine group in the north and north-eastern districts, by Mr. Dollman, of which we have a most sumptuous example in S. Matthew, Upper Clapton, and a plainer one in All Saints, Lower Clapton; the same architect's church of All Saints, Stoke Newington, finished in 1876, may be noticed here, chiefly on account of its reredos, unquestionably one of the finest erected in any London church since the Revival.

Mr. Champney's bold red-brick church of S. Luke, Kentish Town, with its lofty cruciform "saddle back" tower; and Mr. Teulon's sumptuous church of S. Stephen, Hampstead, merit special study, as do Sir G. G. Scott's contemporary works, S. Stephen, Lewisham, and S. Clement, Barnsbury. The former on an English plan, cleverly wedded to foreign detail; the latter, a lofty brick structure, with a picturesque bell-cote on the western gable, of a more strictly English type. Both these churches contain some of Messrs. Clayton and Bell's finest specimens of glass painting. Nor should I omit to mention Mr. White's small, but very clever and vigorous brick church of S. Saviour, Highbury; nor Mr. Peacock's S. Jude, Gray's Inn Road, and S. Stephen, South Kensington, both original, but displaying some eccentricities not always justified by their effect. And, lastly, Mr. Woodyer's very severe Middle-Pointed S. Augustine, Haggerston, deserving of a visit on account of its appropriate and beautiful reredos.

Those who wish to see to what extent Mr. Butterfield values the aid of colour would do well to visit S. Augustine, Queen's Gate, South Kensington, considered by many to be one of the most striking and original churches he has yet designed. The west front of this church is indeed a bold and masterly conception, and may serve to remind those who have visited Flanders of the west front of Notre Dame de Maestricht, or in a more forcible manner of one of those huge quadrangular belfries in the south-west of France, notably at Ville Franche and Montgiscard, near Toulouse. For the benefit of those unacquainted with the examples above quoted, the west front of S. Augustine, Queen's Gate, may be described as follows:—Instead of taking the usual gabled form, it is rectangular, flanked by massive octagonal turrets, surmounted by a gabled bell-cote pierced for two bells, and lighted by two huge lancets, with a lofty traceried two-light window in the centre, below which is a plain but very effective doorway. Its enormous breadth, and great height, 75 feet, are most striking, but the most peculiar feature of the interior is the architect's treatment of the chancel arch, which, like that in nearly all Mr. Butterfield's churches, is pitched low. In this case it is only of the same height as the arcades separating the nave from its aisles, but the superimposed wall space above it, instead of being relieved, as at S. Alban's, and All Saints, Margaret Street, by pattern work, is pierced with a large unglazed window of four compartments, broken up into two smaller windows by a huge cross of bluish-grey stone, which rises to the apex of the window, and thus forms a rood of unconventional character. An old example of this species of treatment occurs at S. Mary, Shrewsbury. In his earlier London churches Mr. Butterfield has employed octangular and clustered piers, but in this example the columns supporting the nave arcade are thick circular ones of Mansfield and white stone arranged in alternate blocks

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with admirable effect. A very unusual feature is the huge quatrefoil of stone introduced into the spandrils of the arcades. For beauty of finish, and dignity, few London churches can vie with that of S. Augustine, Queen's Gate. Here, as in all Mr. Butterfield's churches, Christian sculpture forms no prominent feature, but, at any rate, Christian painting, mural and glass, has lent effectual aid. Any one wishing to judge for himself what has been done for ecclesiastical art in this country during the last ten years, would do well to visit this church.

In 1872, Sir Gilbert Scott witnessed the completion, with the exception of the steeple, of S. Mary Abbots, Kensington. Although hardly lofty enough for a head town church, Kensington Church, in point of size, elaboration of detail, and judicious arrangement, ranks among the finest works of its class. Its style is Transition, between First and Second Pointed —one much affected by Sir Gilbert towards this period of his career—but quite free from that foreign element which characterizes his earlier works at Stoke Newington, Lewisham, Richmond, and elsewhere. The fact was Sir G. G. Scott, unlike Mr. Butterfield, never settled down into a method, so that in his many works we are in possession of most interesting experiments from his able hands. Kensington Church abounds in the most exquisite detail, that of the south porch—grandiose enough for a cathedral—being most noteworthy; while internally the inner plan of tracery to the west window imparts an air of great richness and variety to that part of the church, upon which, as a rule, architects do not usually lavish a very great amount of decoration. The spire of S. Mary Abbots, not completed until seven years after the consecration of the Church, is of unusually noble proportions, and seen from certain points bears a resemblance to that at S. Mary, Oxford, though the Kensington spire is earlier in feeling.

Mr. Burges' only London church, S. Faith, Stoke Newington, erected in that early French Gothic style, for which he had an especial predilection, perhaps appeals more to the artist and student than to the superficial observer. It is a huge brick building, consisting of a nave, and chancel, and bold sweeping apse, all under one continuous lofty slate roof, and lighted with huge lancet windows, coupled in the nave, but placed singly in the chancel. The west front of this church, recently completed, is truly grand, and with its flanking turrets, huge rose window and majestic portal can hardly fail to impress the most unobservant. There are, strictly speaking, no aisles, but in the thickness of the wall, on either side a very narrow passage is formed, opening into the body of the church by narrow arcades, on short columns, with capitals at present left *en bloc*. Above the passages is a species of triforium gallery, in some respects similar to that at S. Augustine, Kilburn; some of the lofty windows lighting this part of the church have been filled with tinted glass of a simple but artistic character. The simple coved roof, of a type employed by Mr. Burges in his cathedrals at Brisbane and Cork, is a noble stroke of genius. At present, the interior of S. Faith, Stoke Newington, is somewhat cold; nowhere has sculpture or painted glass been introduced. Mr. Burges left elaborate designs for its decoration, and it is to be hoped they will ere long become an established fact. With fittings adequate to its structural claims, this church might become one of the noblest raised in London since the revival of Pointed architecture; while even in its present aspect the promoters of the scheme in general, and Mr. Brooks in particular, under whose superintendence the extension of the nave westward has been carried out, must be congratulated upon having brought such a work to its present state of architectural completeness.

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THE OLD CHURCH AND THE OLD CHURCHES WITH A WORD ON "RESTORATION."

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

The subject of "Restoration" is not a new one. Others besides myself have often discussed it; but, so long as the mischief against which we protest goes on, we must go on making our complaints heard. If we do not cry out, people will not believe that we are being hurt. But I have a further reason for selecting it for our subject to-night. When I have handled it before, it has always been under conditions which led me to approach it chiefly from the antiquarian side. But now, addressing you as an Ecclesiological Society, I propose to consider the Ecclesiastical side of the matter.

I will ask you in the first place to consider what our old churches are. They are the visible record, or, rather the still living witnesses of the continuous life of the Church of England. The English Church, like the English nation, can trace itself back to more than one source. The popular history books speak as though it all came from the mission of Austin and his Roman monks. And truly that mission had an important share in the work, but, as I take it, theirs was neither the largest nor the hardest share. The Italians were men of education, and their polished manners contrasted with the hardy roughness of the English to whom they were sent. Their sphere was in the courts of princes, and their success generally was the greatest with the ladies of the courts. I do not wish to depreciate their work. It was good and necessary work, and it had its difficulties, and sometimes even its dangers, though you will find that it did not lead many to martyrdom. The real hard work of bringing the English people into the fold of Christ, and thus laying the foundation of the English Church was not done by courtly Italians, but by men perhaps even more wild and rough than those to whom they preached. There was a British Church before the English came here, and there is good reason to believe that it included a large if not the larger part of the civilized Britons. The English invasion gradually drove the Britons and their Church into the nooks and corners of the land, and some of them into Ireland which either then or earlier had its Christianity from Britain. In England itself, too—using the word as meaning the part of our island then occupied by the English—many Britons must have remained. Here and there, as at Anderida, we are expressly told that all the Britons were slain. But this can not have been the case always. The survival of institutions, which must be older than the invasion, proves that some must have been left to carry on the traditions. That they lived as a subject race may be true. But it is more likely that they soon became united with the conquerors. There is nothing to show that they continued Christians, but all knowledge of Christianity can scarcely have died out from amongst them, and their presence as an element in the population, would help to prepare the way for its general reception when the time came.

It was from Ireland directly and through Scotland that the men came who converted the great mass of the English people to Christianity. The Ecclesiastical historians of the time do not give them credit for it. But it should be remembered that the writers were all monks of the Italian mission, and they loved not these wild *Scots* as they called them, who preferred their own traditions, and cared little for those of the Roman Church, which Austin and his followers were introducing here. We read of disputes with these men and of the difficulty of bringing them into what the historians considered proper Ecclesiastical order, but very little of the real work which they did. We may, however, gather something of what it was, even from what they tell us, and a good deal more may be found in the biographies of particular bishops and hermits and others, who were in after time regarded as saints. Strange men they were, wandering about in the earth, difficult to work with, and sometimes extravagantly eccentric in their doings, but filled with zeal for the conversion of souls. They went where no Italian missioner was ever seen, and often were before him, and made the work easy for him in places to which he did come. It should be remembered that there was no difference of doctrine between the rival parties. There is nothing in history to support the claim of some modern Protestants that the *Culdees* were men like-minded with themselves. Their fault in the eyes of the Italians was that they preferred to keep to their own traditions instead of accepting the foreign ones which were offered to them, but these were matters of discipline and usage only, and did not touch any point of faith. We read of their obstinacy as to the form of the tonsure, and the time of keeping Easter; and the importance given to such comparatively small matters shows that in great

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ones both parties were agreed. We hear of no difference as to the Incarnation or the Sacrifice of the Mass. There was contention sometimes as to jurisdiction, but each side knew that both were servants of the same Master and were working for the same end.

The contest ended at the Synod of Whitby, in 664, when the Roman customs were accepted by the Scottish party, except by a few, who thereupon gave up their charges here and left. From this time we may date the existence of our national Church. Before that there had been a number of separate and sometimes rival missions, but thenceforward there is one English Church centuries before the English nation became politically one.

Although the Italian party carried the points for which they specially contended at Whitby, we must not suppose that the Scottish had not a large influence in the moulding of the English Church. That it had so is certain. To it no doubt we owe that continual assertion of the independence of the English Church, and that impatience of foreign interference, which culminated in the sixteenth century in the final rejection of all the Roman claims. To it also we owe certain peculiarities which to this day mark our English church buildings from those of our continental neighbours. The square east end is still, I am glad to say, the rule with us, notwithstanding the efforts of a few unwise architects—and, I may add, parsons—for whom plain English is not good enough, and who copy foreign works, apparently for no better reason than that they are foreign. This square end is an inheritance from the ancient British Church passed on to us by the Scottish missioners. And there are other things to follow which in detail would make the subject of another lecture. I have done it elsewhere, and now refer to it only to show that an English parish church, though all that meets the eye may be of comparatively recent date, has in it traditions, which stretch into a past so remote, that even the imagination can not follow it out to the beginning.

It is twelve centuries since the Synod of Whitby, and during all that time there have been English churches which have been continually altered and improved, and also sometimes injured, to suit the needs and ideas of each succeeding age. Small churches have grown into large ones, and parts have been rebuilt, perhaps several times, so that nothing of the original, or even of that which next succeeded it, may now remain to be seen. But the church is the same. It has always been there and always been used. And the fact that men have always altered it when they thought fit to do so, has made it the record of its own existence. I have in another place tried to show what the usual course of growth of a parish church was, and that it was in most cases the same. We cannot stay to discuss that in detail to-night. It is sufficient for us to note that every turn in the Church's history has left its mark on the fabrics. When men loved the Church then her buildings were adorned in glorious beauty. And when again, as in the middle of the seventeenth century, the power came to men who hated her, and would have destroyed her if they could, then they brake down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers. When the Church was the Church of the people, we find the people giving freely of their substance to make it beautiful. When again the selfishness of the few had narrowed the Church into something little better than a respectable sect, it is recorded by rate-paid work done, not for the worship of the Creator, but for the comfort of the creature. All this is written in the fabrics, in some cases truly more fully than in others, but every genuine old church has something to tell, and some carry the record back very far indeed. For instance the church at Brixworth was we know built within twenty years of the Whitby synod, and its main walls are still of that time. Thus it may be said to have seen the whole life of the English Church from the beginning.[1]

Now then is this history to stop, or to go on? Some men—and amongst them are some of my very good friends—are so disgusted with the ignorant destruction which is being perpetrated before their eyes, that they cry "Stop! you are tearing up your title deeds. Every one of these old churches is a precious document, which if once destroyed can never be replaced. Leave it alone, change nothing, and do nothing, except to protect that which is injured from yet further injury." Now I like these men, they love the old buildings and try to read their stories; and I agree with them all through, so far as regards works whose life is past, such as ruined castles, and abbeys, and monuments, such as tombs, whose only function is existence, and which have no practical use. Let such I say be carefully preserved, but no more. But as a Churchman, I contend that my Church is still alive, and that, just as her history was recorded in her buildings in past time, so it must be now and in time future. And both as a Churchman and as an antiquary I reject the advice which has been given to abandon the old buildings, and build new ones suited to our present wants. As a Churchman, it is no small thing to me that I can worship where my fathers have done for perhaps more than a thousand years. The Catholic Church is eternal, and needs not the help of historical

[1] The record here, which was one of the most interesting in the world, has been irreparably injured by a barbarous "restoration," the ignorant perpetrator of which has done his utmost to erase all the history later than the tenth century.

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monuments, but that does not make the human interest and value of such monuments any the less. And as an antiquary, I contend that there is no surer way of bringing about the destruction of a building than to leave it unused. So long as it has a use, whatever it may be, it is somebody's interest to keep it in repair, and after some sort of fashion that will be done. But if abandoned, it will be neglected till it becomes ruinous, and at last it will either fall to pieces, or will be pulled down because it is dangerous. If you wish to save a building you must keep it in use.

Another party, which includes some names we gladly hold in honour, says that old churches are to be "restored," which they tell us means that that they are to be put back into their *original condition*. But what is the *original condition* of a building which men have used and altered for I do not know how many centuries? Probably in most cases it was a dry stone hut or a wooden shanty.

The fact is that our early Gothic revivers knew very little about old churches. They studied their parts, and could tell a thirteenth-century lancet from a Perpendicular window of the fifteenth century. But they knew nothing of the growth of the church, and of how it came to have the shape they found it in; they imagined that each church was of some one period, nearly always far more recent than that of its first foundation, and they thought it to be their duty to bring it back into the condition in which it was at that period. The result, indeed, was to produce something quite different from anything that ever was there before; but your restorer rarely sees beyond mouldings, and if only all are of the right "period" he is content. Just visit in your imagination any church which has been "beautifully restored"—each of you are pretty sure to have one in his own neighbourhood—and see how the "restorer" works.

The bulk of the walls is, we will suppose, of the favourite thirteenth century, which fixes its "period." The chancel was remodelled in the fourteenth century, and the east window was Flowing Decorated of four lights, but below it might be seen the cills of the original three lancets. With such evidence, of course, the end must be "restored," and if any doubts about it crept in they were entirely removed by the discovery of two or three stones of the "Early English" jambs in the wall upon taking out the fourteenth-century window. The window nearest the altar on the south side of the chancel and that similarly placed in the south aisle of the nave were each of two lights, the former Decorated and the other Perpendicular, both inserted to give more light to the altars near them, and there was a similar insertion towards the west of the north wall; all these were clearly "innovations on the original design," and, as the architect pointed out, the tracery was somewhat out of repair, and there could be no doubt that there were lancets in these places, so the lancets were "restored." The like happened to a broad lancet near the south door which had been divided by a mullion and had tracery inserted in the head. Most of these windows retained fragments of painted glass of their respective dates, a good deal of that in the tracery being *in situ*. A few of the larger pieces are inserted in the window of the new vestry, and some in the fan light over the rectory front door; the others were not worth preserving and nobody knows what has become of them.

There was a difficulty about the west tower; it is in the early "Perpendicular" style and "quite out of keeping with the rest of the building"; but, unfortunately, funds were not forthcoming to rebuild it, so it was allowed to remain under a sort of protest. The clerestory of the nave was even later than the tower, "quite debased" in fact; besides which there was the weathering, which showed that there was once a high-pitched roof instead of a flat lead one. There could, therefore, be no hesitation about the removal of the clerestory; and the sale of the old lead nearly paid for a new stained deal roof of trussed rafters covered with neat Staffordshire tiles. The removal of the clerestory and the glazing of the restored lancet windows with "cathedral glass of assorted tints," has thrown a faint green light over the interior, thought by some to foster devotion, but a little too suggestive of the Brighton Aquarium.

Before the "restoration" the furniture of the church was of the most incongruous description. The pews were most irregular and of many dates, some Late Perpendicular, some "Jacobean," and so on, to modern times. These have given place to neat uniform open benches of varnished pine. There was a large pulpit, dated 1632, with a sounding board of the same date. This has given place to a more appropriate structure of Caen stone with pillars of Cornish serpentine. In the chancel arch stood an old rood screen, very late and out of repair. As it was out of keeping with the church and blocked out the view of the restored chancel, it was taken away and parts of it may now be seen made into a cupboard in the vestry. The font was a very shabby affair and quite without interest. It was nothing but a badly shaped stone cylinder and very much battered. Antiquaries said it was of the early Norman times. So it has been neatly re-worked to a true shape, and has had two bands of zig-zag ornament cut round it; and it is now a very handsome example of that period. There was a heavy "Corinthian" reredos in oak with wall linings and altar rail to correspond put up in

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1698. It was commonly said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and the carving, of which there was a good deal, to have been by Grinling Gibbons. But it was a great disfigurement to the church, and the builder, whose contract required him to remove all superfluous materials, took it away to his yard, and is believed to have sold it soon afterwards to the travelling agent of a dealer in Wardour Street. A suitable reredos of Caen stone with the apocalyptic beasts in Venetian mosaic within quatrefoil panels now adorns the east end. There were two ancient effigies, but so broken as not to be thought worth preserving. They are now on a rockery in the rectory garden. The other monuments were all of the "Pagan" sort, and were of course removed. A neat tile floor replaces the old one, which was made up almost entirely of gravestones, many of which were broken and very shabby. A vestry and organ-chamber have been built on the south side of the chancel, and proper attention has been given to warming and lighting, and the "restored" church is what the newspapers call "one of the handsomest in the county." But somehow, in spite of its merits, it is found to be a very dull affair and we soon have had enough of it. The fact is that its history has all gone and it has become a new building. The church may be more useful than it was, and even possibly more beautiful, but it is no longer as it used to be—the living witness, and it may be the only witness, of the prosperity and adversity, the joys and the sorrows, the faith and the passions which have affected the men of that parish for many past centuries. The loss of such a witness is as grievous as it is irrevocable, although at present comparatively few seem to feel it. Men generally appreciate their loss where an ancient parish church has been replaced by one of the miserable edifices of the latter Georgian period. Unless I am greatly mistaken some of our "conservatively" restored buildings will, before long, excite feelings of the same sort.

There are of course various degrees of "restorers." Some are learned and some are ignorant. But for downright mischief none equals the man who thoroughly knows what he is doing. Ignorant surveyors and blundering amateurs may destroy, but they cannot deceive. Sir Edmund Beckett has torn whole chapters out of the history of St. Alban's Abbey, but no one who knows anything about architecture could ever mistake the barbarisms which he has put into their places for anything but what they are. Whereas your learned architect will not only destroy, but will fill up the blanks he has made with imitations of old so cunning, that when the newness has gone they will deceive the very elect.

I have said that churches are to have their history carried on as need is by new work. But that what is called "restoration" is their ruin. What then shall we teach men to do? We should remember that men "restore" with the very best intentions. "Restoration" itself is a chapter in the history of the building, and not a small one, for it is that which tells us of the great awakening of the Catholic Church in our time. Parsons and churchwardens restore their churches because they think it the right thing to do. Let us try and teach them a more excellent way.

The first lesson is that their duty towards an old church is not to "restore" but to "preserve" it. And this will generally best be done by showing them how it came to be what it is; how it grew from a perhaps much smaller building till it came to be what they now see; how each successive addition and alteration had a distinct use and meaning, and, however the pedantical advocate of "period" may jeer at it as disfigurement or an innovation, is generally an improvement to the building.

Next show them that the building being many centuries old the marks of age which it bears upon it are not defects but honourable scars. Taking only the æsthetic view, the appearance of venerable age is far more pleasing than that of smart and shiny newness which the average "restorer" would put in its place. Defects which affect the soundness of the fabric must be made good; for both the present and the future use of the church require that it shall be kept in a state of sound repair. The maintenance or recovery of robust health are very different from a false and superficial affectation of youth. Judicious and necessary repairs will neither lessen nor falsify the church's record. But repairs which aim at bringing it back to the state which somebody thinks it was in at some particular date in its past, are neither judicious nor necessary. As changes of old always had a distinct end in view, either practical or æsthetic, so should it be with ours. We do no harm in *adding* whatever our convenience or our present sense of ecclesiastical decency may call for, provided that it be good of its sort, and make no pretension to be otherwise than what it is. And ancient objects of furniture whose use still remains may, and ought to, be repaired if they need it. An old font for example may properly receive a new lining or cover. But objects whose use is obsolete—an Easter sepulchre for instance—should never be touched except to preserve them from further harm than has already befallen them. The like, too, of tombs and monuments which have no practical use. These things belong to the past. Their record is done, and to "restore" them will only obscure or falsify it, and can not add to the convenience, and will certainly take off from the interest and value of the building.

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Our forefathers had not learnt the historical value of buildings, and seldom hesitated to pull down older work to make way for that of their own time, which they believed to be better. We, however, who have learnt it, must be careful in adding our chapter not to erase former ones. Many works of the eighteenth century, and, perhaps, more of the nineteenth, both disfigure the churches and interfere with their proper use, but I would not have the record of even these entirely done away. Side-galleries and box-pews are degradations which we may be well rid of. But the fact that such things have been is not without its interest in the history of the church; although its nearness to our own time makes it seem the less important to us. A hundred years hence it will be difficult for men to understand how vast is the change which is being made in the second half of this century. And they, who now press forward the improved state of things, will do well to leave some evidence of what they have effected, even if they can regard it only as a trophy of victory.

But I believe that at no date has everything been absolutely bad. In the seventeenth century, and later still, our churches received much, which served well both for their use and ornament, yet for years our "restorers" have been destroying these things, often putting very mean substitutes in their places, and for no better reason than that they are not "Gothic." Now, it cannot be too often repeated that it is not the architectural style of a thing, but its fitness to its place and purpose by which it should be judged. And, at any rate, a carved oak pulpit or screen of the time of Charles I. is in every sense nearer to the work of the middle ages than is a trumpery Caen stone or varnished pine affair of the time of Queen Victoria, however "Gothic" it may be.

Some men, too, have destroyed things for polemical reasons, which we will not discuss now. But I would hint that a man may renounce Lord Penzance and all his works without taking away the board upon which his forefathers, of the time of Charles II. or Queen Anne, painted the Royal Arms as a witness to their loyalty to the Constitution; and so too of some things in the opposite direction.

Men must also be taught not to despise fragments. Many a scrap, which of itself seems almost worthless, is most important to the history of the building to which it belongs, and the more precious as a fragment because it may be all that is left of an otherwise lost chapter.

I will only say a little about modern architecture, so far as it affects old buildings. One of the charges we bring against the "restorers" is that they deliberately strive to make their modern alterations such as will pass for old work; thus, so far as in them lies, they falsify the record of the old building by mixing it up with false old. Some of the more learned pride themselves on reproducing, not merely the old style, but minute local varieties of style. Now, the effect of all this is not to raise the new work to the dignity of the old, as they seem to think, but to lower the old to that of the new. It has ceased to be old, and become a nineteenth-century copy of old, none the less modern because, worked up with the rest there are parts which really are what the whole pretends to be.

If, whilst preserving the past history, we are to carry it on to our time, whatever we do must show itself plainly to be of our time. The old builders in like case had no difficulty, for, as they worked in a traditional and always-changing style, their work dates itself. But the old tradition has long been dead, and we have not yet succeeded in making a new one. I believe that it will come in the end, and that even now we are unconsciously working towards it. But, meanwhile, each architect must choose a style for his own use. He cannot invent one. No single mind ever did that, or ever will; and the frightful productions of the few misguided ones who have tried to do so in our time may serve as scarecrows to warn off others. A new style must grow out of what has been before, as all the old ones have done. Originality, when we find it, has not come of seeking, but the artist, having new thoughts to express, has moulded his style into such form as will express them. And so it may be now, if instead of troubling ourselves about pedantical correctness, and seeking excitement by trying first one style and then another, each man will select one which seems to him best fitted for modern purposes, and will then use it to express his own ideas just as he uses his mother tongue, neither violating recognised rules of grammar on one hand, nor, on the other, hesitating to introduce a new word or phrase where such is necessary to express his thought.

Whatever new work we do in old churches must, as things now are, be in a style which we have learned by the study of old churches. Local varieties of style, too, deserve attention, for they generally have been influenced by the nature of the local materials. Let us use the old freely as a guide, but never reproduce it, and especially not copy in an old building details from its old parts, as has nearly always been done by the "restorers."

Keeping all this in our mind, let us put into our churches exactly what our needs or our devotion call for. The age in which we live is one of the most important in the life of the English Church, and the genuine record of it should equal in interest that of any past time. Let us write it boldly and legibly, but not in palimpsest.

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THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE AND CHAPEL, CROYDON.

By H. ROUMIEU GOUGH, F.R.I.B.A.[1]

From Doomsday-Book we learn that the Manor of Croydon belonged to the See of Canterbury in the time of Lanfranc, but there is, I believe, no documentary evidence to prove when a manor-house was first erected, though it is certain that this occurred between the time of Lanfranc and that of Archbishop Peckham (1278), a period of over 200 years. The history of the manor during this time appears to be lost, but registers show that at all events it was a place of importance in Peckham's time, and that he made it his principal residence. That his predecessor, Kilwardby, was once there appears by a Mandate of his issued from Croydon in September, 1273. From this time forward to the Great Rebellion it continued one of the most important among the numerous habitations of the various occupants of the See of Canterbury. Peckham's successors, Winchelsey (1294), and Reynolds (1313), both used it as an occasional residence. The Registers of Archbishops Mepeham, Stratford, and Bradwardine, are lost. Islip (1349) does not appear to have resided here, and his successors, Langham (1366), Wittlesey (1367), and Sudbury (1375), are merely mentioned as being here occasionally. On May 4th, 1382, Archbishop Courtney received his Pall with great solemnities in the Great Hall, and often resided here, as also Arundel (1396). This Prelate appears to have built the Guard Chamber, so often referred to by Ducarel in his manuscript history[2], and in which he says that this Archbishop's arms, impaled with those of the See of Canterbury, were on the north corbel, and by themselves on the south corbel. Archbishop Chichele (1414) often resided here, as also his successor Stafford, who either rebuilt, or greatly altered, the Hall, which is still adorned with his arms and those of his family. Most of the Acts of Archbishop Kemp (1452) are dated from here and Lambeth. Bourchier (1454) and Morton (1486) also made the Palace a residence, though Dene (1501) does not appear to have done so. Cranmer (1533), however, spent much of his time here, and the consecration of two Bishops, viz., John Taylor to the See of Lincoln, on June 26th, 1552, and John Harley to that of Hereford, May 26th, 1553, took place in the Chapel. In 1555 an Act of Cardinal Pole is dated from Croydon. The great Archbishop Parker (1559) very often resided here; and on July 14th, 1573, and seven following days, entertained in great state Queen Elizabeth and her retinue, comprising very many of the principal nobles of the kingdom. Grindall (1575) appears to have occasionally resided here, and in his time the consecration of three Bishops took place in the Chapel, viz., in 1579, 1580, and 1581. Archbishop Whitgift (1583), of whom we shall hear more presently from Mr. Kershaw, often resided here. Of the Acts of his successor, Bancroft (1604), none appear to be dated from Croydon. Archbishop Abbot (1610) made it one of his principal residences. It was he who refused to obey the King's command that the "Book of Sports" should be read in the Church, and although he had many enemies anxious to bring him into disfavour, the King declined to take any notice of his offence. The great Archbishop Laud (1633) improved the Palace and Chapel, and in the records of his infamous trial one of the charges against him seems to have been that he restored a representation of the crucifixion in a stained glass window. The account states that: "Browne, his joyner, being examined at the Lord's Barre, against his will, confessed, upon his oath, that in the Chapell at Croydon there was an old broken crucifix in the window, which he, by the Archbishop's direction, caused to be repaired and made compleate, which picture was then remaining very lately; for which work Master Pryn found the glazier's bill discharged by the Archbishop himself, among other of his papers." He also put up an organ in the Chapel, as appears by his will, a copy of which is preserved in the manuscript at Lambeth. This will, dated January 13th, 1643, was not proved till January 8th, 1661. In it there is this: "Item, to Mr. Cobb, my organ that is at Croydon."

In the confusion and anarchy succeeding this noble prelate's cruel martyrdom, this Palace, with the estate about it, was wrested from the See of Canterbury, and offered for sale, with the intention, it would seem, that the buildings should be taken down, a survey[3] for

[1] Read at Croydon, May 19th, 1883.

[2] I am indebted to my friend Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw, F.S.A., who most kindly placed before me Ducarel's manuscript account, written in 1755, and preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, together with some interesting notes of his own, prepared some time since.

[3] At the end of this survey there is this remarkable clause: "That all charters, deeds, evidences, or writings, anyway touching or concerning the same, are to be excepted." Probably these were wilfully destroyed at the Great Rebellion, and this will account for the paucity of the history of the buildings. Even Camden merely mentions: "That Croydon is particularly famous for a Palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury, where it hath been now a long time."

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the purpose being made on the 17th March, 1646, in which the materials were valued at £1,200. Up to this time the Palace and everything belonging to it had been leased, by the ruling powers, to the Earl of Nottingham, after which it fell to Sir Wm. Brereton, Colonel, and General of the Cheshire forces, who desecrated the Chapel by converting it into a kitchen, and so it probably remained till the Restoration in 1660, when Archbishop Juxon repaired and fitted it up in decent manner, his arms appearing in several parts of it, and in the Guard Chamber. His successor, Sheldon (1663), retired here after the Great Plague, during which he had nobly remained at Lambeth, and by his charity had preserved many who would otherwise have perished. He also did much to improve the buildings; and died here, November 9th, 1677. His successors, Sancroft and Tillotson, probably did not reside here. Archbishop Tenison (1694) had a great regard for Croydon, but it is not certain that he at any time resided here, though he founded a school in the town. Wake (1715) repaired the buildings, and rebuilt the great gallery next to the gardens, and resided for a portion of several years. Potter (1736) was seldom here; but the next, Archbishop Herring (1747), spent £6,000 in repairs and laying out the gardens here and at Lambeth.

In Archbishop Cornwallis's time (1768-83) the house became utterly ruinous and unfit for habitation, and an Act of Parliament was obtained, investing the property in trustees with power to sell, when a new residence, that at Addington Park, was purchased.

The old Palace with its outbuildings, have for a long time past been used for the purposes of linen-bleaching works.

Before leaving this Chapel, I may mention that there were formerly two, if not three Chapels attached to the Palace, the present one being upon the site of that known as the principal one. Ducarel says that "in the ante-chapel is a pulpit of the Renaissance style, bearing the arms of Archbishop Laud," and that "the carvings of the ends also display the same arms, as well as those of Juxon." Attention may also be called to the cross and cross-keys in coloured brickwork on the exterior of the Chapel.

I propose that we should now inspect the great Hall.

This I have already stated was probably rebuilt by Archbishop Stafford (*Temp. Hen. VI.*), though the porch appears older. The roof of the Hall is of very fine timber construction, equal in beauty and somewhat resembling that of Christ Church, Oxford: the pendants are good, and the corbels are carved with angels' heads, and armorial bearings. The arms of Stafford occupied a conspicuous position at the east end, and the same, joined to those of the See of Canterbury, were placed on the south side. On the north-east and south sides were the arms of Humfrey, Earl of Stafford, father of the Archbishop. In the middle of the Hall, there was, not long since, says Ducarel, a fire-place, and over it a lantern, as in some of the old colleges of our two Universities. At the upper end, there was in 1755 a very remarkable coat of arms, viz., those of King Edward the Confessor, impaled with those of France and England, the arms of King Edward being:—azure, a cross fleury between five martlets, or, impaled with the arms of France, viz.—azure, three *fleurs-de-lys*, or, quartered with those of England, viz.—three lions as borne by Kings Henry V. and VI., and supported by angels,[1] and another angel under, holding a label with this inscription: *Dne Salvum fac Regem.* Ducarel suggests the following as a probable explanation of this curious coat of arms:—1st. That the Hall was entirely repaired if not rebuilt by Archbishop Stafford; and, 2nd, That in the year 1444, King Henry VI. wrote a letter to the convocation of the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, then assembled in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London; wherein he thus speaks of King Edward the Confessor, "And forasmuch as among all other saints, we trust that the blessed and glorious Confessor Edward is a special patron and protection of us, and of our Royaulme, whereof he sometime bare the Coronne, whoos day of translation is kept as now double feest in Holy Church only, we for the more laud and praising of God, worship of the said glorious saint, and for th'encrece of more devocion amongs Christen peeple, pray and exhorte you to decre and ordeyne by th' aurthortie of the said convocacion, that the said day of St. Edward be kept and observed perpetuelly hereafter as double feest and holyday throughout your Province, wherein ye shall do unto God right acceptable service, and to us right singular plaiser. Given under our Signet at our Castel of Wyndesore, the 15th day of October."

This being agreed to by the Convocation, Archbishop Stafford wrote to all the Bishops of his Province, that the said feast should henceforth for ever be observed in their Dioceses as a double feast and holiday. "I am therefore inclined to think (continues Ducarel) that these arms of King Henry VI., thus impaled with those of King Edward the Confessor were placed here by Archbishop Stafford soon after this decree of the Convocation was made, and as a compliment to his Sovereign, who had been the author of it."

An effort is being made, which I feel sure you will all sympathize with, viz., to purchase what remains of these old buildings so full of historical associations, and preserve them

[1] In the Foundation Charter of Eton College, the arms of Henry VI. are supported by two angels.

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from further ruin and destruction, and as a memorial to the late Archbishop Tait, convert the fine Hall and other buildings to some public use, as a free library or museum, and to restore the Chapel to the sacred purposes for which it was intended. This effort, whilst doing great credit to the town of Croydon, in which it originated, has not, I regret to say, hitherto met with the support which so worthy an object deserves, though with patience and perseverance, I venture to hope that those who have the scheme at heart may see their desires accomplished.

MEDIÆVAL STAINED GLASS.

BY ARTHUR TAYLOR.

PRIOR to the Christian era, glass appears to have been confined to the manufacture of vessels, ornaments, mosaics, and imitation gems. Remains of window-glass, however, are said to have been found at Pompeii, and even at various Roman stations in this country. Lactantius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, refers to the use of glass for windows[1]; and Prudentius, a little later, speaks of the beautiful colours of the glass in the Basilica of St. Paul, at Rome. Glass for church windows was introduced by St. Benedict Biscop, at Wearmouth, in 675, as recorded by the Venerable Bede, in his life of this saint. Leo III., who was raised to the Papacy at the end of the 8th century, is said to have adorned the windows of the Lateran with coloured glass. It is supposed that glass painting was known at the end of the 10th century, as the process is described in "Diversarum Artium Schedula," written by Theophilus. The oldest examples, the dates of which are clearly ascertained, are at St. Denis, and are supposed to be the work of Abbot Suger, about the middle of the 12th century, and it is probable nothing earlier than this now exists in England.

Before, however, I proceed to give an outline of the history of glass painting in this country, it will be well to give a short account of the various processes of manufacture, and of the different kinds of glass employed, avoiding all unnecessary technical details. After many (so-called) improvements, we are now working very much on the old lines (that is as to the process; but not necessarily in the drawing, &c.). There are several different kinds of glass. *Sheet glass* was much used formerly, but little used now, except occasionally for faces. *Rolled glass* was invented or improved by Mr. Hartly, of Sunderland. It is lustrous, and cannot be seen through, except when one is close to it. It is used mostly in light tints, or tones of white, pale yellow, buff, grey, and green, known as *cathedral* tints. Then there is *antique glass*, to imitate ancient examples of irregular thickness, wavy, or full of bubbles. It is superior to sheet glass, because light passes through sheet glass uninterruptedly, whereas through antique glass it is refracted, giving beauty and brilliancy. The air bubbles act as prisms, refracting the light. Old glass is full of little spots or holes, which are caused by disintegration due to age, and which give it lustre. The process of dirtying glass does not produce the full effect of antique, as it only does half the work. Those glasses which are coloured throughout the sheet are called *pot metals*, because they are coloured by mixing the oxides of various metals with the glass while it is in the glass-pot. *Flashed* or *coated glass* is that which is not coloured throughout its substance, but is simply coated on its surface. Many colours can be made either pot-metal or flashed; but ruby is always flashed because of its opacity.

A few words may here be added on the process of manufacture. The glass is gathered when warm on a blowpipe, and is blown into a cylindrical form. The elongated ends are taken off, leaving a perfect cylinder. Having been cut down on one side, it is put into the furnace, when it falls out flat. In making *flashed glass* the workman takes on the blowpipe first a piece of, say, ruby glass, and then on the outside of this a quantity of white glass. He thus gets a cylinder of white covered with a thin film of ruby. Among the oxides which produce colours in glass are suboxide of copper, which makes ruby; oxide of gold, which gives us pink ruby, protoxide of copper, which yields green; oxide of cobalt, employed for blue.

So much for the material, and I now propose to describe roughly the process of constructing stained-glass windows. The question arises here—ought we, in speaking of coloured glass, to say "stained" or "painted"? Almost every work includes both methods, and, therefore, both are, strictly speaking, correct.

Stained or painted glass is divided into three kinds: *mosaic*, *mosaic-enamel*, and *enamel*.

[1] "Per fenestram lucente vitro."

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Mosaic was anciently the principal style, and is also that most in favour now. The leads form the principal outlines, and divide the different colours, the subordinate outlines and shadows being painted in brown vitreous pigment. This pigment is afterwards fired into the glass in a kiln. The different colours entirely consist of pieces of pot-metal glass, with one exception—viz., *yellow stain*, composed principally of silver, which can be painted on the glass with a brush. This differs entirely from the pigments referred to above, as they are opaque, and contain a certain amount of fusible glass or flux, and adhere only to the surface of the glass, while a stain penetrates the material, and in some cases is quite transparent. The next style of work is *enamel*, which is a later style than mosaic. It is a system of painting on white glass with enamel colours which are mixed with flux and burned into the glass. The process is somewhat similar to oil-painting, and is most suited for very small work, where leads would create a difficulty. The third and last kind is *mosaic-enamel*, a combination of the two other methods. It gives the fullest field for the exercise of all branches of the art, but is open to certain serious objections.

In constructing a window, the process adopted is to draw the design on a cartoon of the actual size of the glass. A plan of the lead lines is made on calico, the artists selects the colours, and the glazier cuts the glass. The painter then traces the outlines of the subject and the glass is put into the kiln and fired for the first time. After firing the pieces of glass are fixed with beeswax upon an easel (*i.e.*, a sheet of plate glass in a frame) and the painter puts in the shadows of his picture, and applies the yellow stain where necessary. The colours, or rather the brown or black pigments used for tracing and shading, are composed of various oxides of iron mixed with flux. After the painting is finished the glass is fired for the second time: then the pieces are laid out on the calico plan mentioned above and leaded together. The whole is afterwards cemented with a mixture of plaster of Paris and oil.

Having dealt with these technical details, we will now pass on to take an historical view of the subject, and in doing so we shall deal mainly with English work, with occasional references to foreign. Dividing our subject according to the usual chronological divisions of architecture, we note first that there is a little Late Norman glass left; but it is similar to Early English, so that it may be included in the consideration of this style.

Early English glass may be divided into two classes—*pictorial* and *pattern*. Pictorial glass is almost always richly coloured throughout, and consists of three kinds: *medallion*, *figure-and-canopy* and *Jesse*. Medallion glass has a number of panels containing pictures. These usually form a series, illustrating a history or symbolizing a doctrine. In the lowest panels are sometimes figures of donors or members of guilds, engaged in their trades. The pictures are small, but confusion is avoided by colouring the backgrounds deep, and the figures, foliage, &c., lighter. These medallions are generally placed in windows on the ground level. When used in circular windows, having mullions, the eye generally contains a picture; and circular panels, each containing a head or a picture with coloured or white ornament, fill the radiating lights. In France, a starlike effect was produced by filling the radiating lights with branches of light foliage diverging from the centre on a dark ground.

The second type of Early English windows consists of *figure-and-canopy* windows, usually found in the clerestory or the ends of aisles. In these a figure is placed under a low-crowned canopy within a border, or two or more are placed one above the other. The figure is usually rich, and on a coloured ground; the canopies are small and coloured. Sometimes we find a figure on a coloured or white ground without a canopy. We may see gigantic figures of St. Christopher (in some cases about thirty feet high) in the churches of France and Germany. Most of those in France were destroyed in the latter part of the last century, and few are left.

The third class, or *Jesse* windows, typify the genealogy of Christ. The main stem is usually almost hidden by figures, and the branches form a series of oval panels, in which figures are placed. We occasionally find figures outside the panels with feet resting on the foliage, and sometimes in place of figures there are scenes relating to our Lord's life. These *Jesse* windows are generally at the end of a building, and confined to single lancet.

White *pattern* windows are rather later than coloured windows. They consist of either quarries or geometrical panels filled with scrollwork in outline, having in the borders little pieces of colour for enrichment.

In the Early English works the glass is thick, rich, and strong in effect; the rubies are streaky and varied, the blues like sapphires, the whites of a sea-green tint, and the flesh glass is generally salmon-pink. The tracing lines are bold, often as thick, and sometimes thicker than the leads. The backgrounds are flat. There is much high light, and the shadows are produced by smears. A brown tint is sometimes used for hair and beards, and the letters and diapers (the latter being but rarely introduced) are picked out of a smear ground. The letters (which are Lombardic) are sometimes leaded in. The figures are tall and slender. The drapery is full of small folds, and is sometimes drawn tight to the body. The hands and feet are stiff (the extremities being shown like combs and rakes); the faces are forcible, and the general effect is powerful, striking, and

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solemn. The drapery in male figures reaches to the ankles, or consists of a tunic, confined at the waist and reaching to the knees. In female figures the dress just reaches the ground. Episcopal personages wear a flat mitre and simple crook. The nimbus is generally coloured. The foliage is very conventional: in the earlier work it is like the ancient honeysuckle, but in later examples it is similar to Early English stone-carving. In the pictures of this period we find few figures, and the landscape and buildings are meagre; the animals, &c., are coloured for effect, and not naturally; the drapery of small figures is usually coloured pale gold, blue, buff-pink, or green, and the canopies are variously coloured. In white pattern or *grisaille* work, the devices are rendered more distinct by having their background covered with a cross-hatching of thin lines. This is a very characteristic feature of Early English pattern work.

The Decorated period lasted about 100 years, from the latter part of the thirteenth to the latter part of the fourteenth century. The principal differences from the preceding style are that natural foliage (drawn from the maple, oak, &c.) gradually superseded conventional, and came into pretty general use at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Cross-hatching was rarely adopted. Yellow stain, introduced about the beginning of the fourteenth century, corrected the cold effect, and reduced the mosaic-like appearance of the glass. The drawing was slighter, and the general arrangement very varied. The most usual arrangement consisted of white patterns, or white patterns with coloured pictures. In the white patterns were scrolls of natural foliage running through geometrical bands and fillets, which did not confine them. The borders consisted of blocks of colour, with white and stained patterns. In pictorial Decorated glass the subjects were frequently placed under low-crowned canopies, forming a belt of colour, with white patterns above and below. Sometimes there were two tiers of subjects. A shield of arms or coloured ornament usually filled the centres of white panels. If two tiers of subjects were employed, the tracery was generally coloured; if there was only one tier the tracery was white. In another arrangement, the lights were entirely filled with simple pictorial panels, or single figures, or subjects under low canopies, close together. The effect then is similar to Early English. The great feature of the Decorated style is the contrast of white and colour. Where figures and canopies are employed, we often see a small space at the base of the light filled with patterns, or a picture (sometimes a portrait of the donor and his family). Occasionally we see canopies with large figures, and panels with small subjects alternately. In cases where there are single figures under canopies, the canopies usually have tall spires and pinnacles. The *Jesse* windows in the fourteenth century style are usually fine. They have oval panels formed by branches of a vine, each containing a figure on a coloured ground, this ground being usually different in colour to the ground outside the panel. Wheel windows generally have a separate pattern surrounded with a border in each light. There is no positive rule for the disposition of windows in a building; but the figure and canopy treatment is more frequently found at the ends of a building, and pattern windows with belts of canopy in the aisles. The general method of treatment is similar to Early English, but modified in the details. In the Decorated period the colours tended to greater lightness, and the white was fainter and warmer; the figures were similar to earlier ones, but better drawn, the heads being much superior in draughtsmanship to the hands or feet. The flesh was sometimes pink, but often white, and stain was employed for the hair. The robes were more ample; prophets' and saints' hair and beards were shown in wavy locks; and the hair of female figures was long and in smooth locks, while angels had short thick curls. The armour was then changed from mail to plate. The nimbus sometimes was decorated, and a name ran round it. The canopies had flat fronts, gables, crockets, high spires, and pinnacles, the details resembling architecture of the time. These were mainly in white and gold, but colour was now and then introduced. The clerestory windows sometimes had leaded geometrical patterns (mostly white) and no painting. Diapers, picked out of a smear ground, became common, and constituted a novelty in the representation of heraldry.

We now pass on to the consideration of the glass of the Perpendicular period. This style lasted about 150 years—from 1380 to 1530, and was most vigorous during the 15th century. The principal changes were the introduction of stipple-shading and broad effects of drapery. The colour was less and was paler, and much white and stain were employed. The effect was less rich and vigorous than before, but was more silvery and refined. Perspective was now introduced, both in subjects and canopies. Diapers were traced on the white drapery. The principal arrangement was a figure and canopy filling the entire light; but here and there we meet with a small subject placed at the base. Colour was used in background of both the figure and canopy, and in the drapery. The canopy was all white and yellow stain, thus differing strongly from glass of the Decorated period. The ornament formed a framework of white and stain, round the coloured portion, and the tracery generally contained angels with canopies. In some figure windows, canopies were entirely dipensed with, and the figure stood

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upon a bracket with simply quarries as a background. In late 15th century work, one subject frequently ran through several lights of a window, in many cases without a canopy or ornamental surrounding. In Jesse windows of this period, the vine generally sprang from the recumbent figure of a man; the foliage being mostly white and stain. The pattern windows as a rule were composed of quarries, with shields or emblems, surrounded by wreaths of foliage, introduced at intervals; in some cases diagonal scrolls with texts ran across the quarries. In Germany, "roundels," familiarly known as "bull's-eyes," were much used in place of quarries, and a gem-like effect was produced by filling some of the interstices with little bits of colour. It may be well to draw attention to a few distinguishing features of the style. The white was thinner and yellower. The foilage used in the ornamental part of the work was conventional, and introduced a number of wavy and irregular lines, thus presenting a very marked contrast to the sweeping curves of the early conventional work. Various patterns resembling a star were much used on quarries. The canopies and bases were distinguished by multiplication of their details, a large number of small spires and pinnacles being introduced. Heraldic achievements generally included mitre, coronet, or helmet with crest, and frequently supporters. The figures were still conventional in drawing, but the draughtsmanship was greatly improved and much more attention to detail is visible in the faces, hands, and feet.

A few words must be devoted to the Cinque-Cento or Renaissance glass. This flourished during the first half of the 16th century; thus the earlier specimens were contemporary with late Perpendicular. This style was somewhat similar to the last in method. The figures were drawn naturally, and were richly coloured, as in paintings of the period. The shading was deepened in the drapery, and the canopies became Classical, similar to Raffaelle's decorative work, deeply shaded under the arches. The skies were light and the backgrounds much developed and very pictorial.

The decline and fall of the art in England took place about the middle of the 16th century, and was extremely rapid. As glass painting had grown and flourished in conjunction with Gothic architecture, so on the advent of the Renaissance the true spirit of the art seems to have been gradually lost. Towards the middle of the century glass painters began to sacrifice every other consideration in their endeavours to produce fine *pictorial* effects. In the composition of subjects, little regard was paid to the form of the stonework. The practice of introducing large masses of shadow and of deepening them in places almost to opacity, became general; a false principle when working on a transparent material like glass. Thus many of the late works, though fine as pictures, do not enhance the general effect of a building as they should. When we compare them with the rich and solemn tone of the Early English and Decorated windows, or with the silvery glass of the 15th century, the shortcomings of the late productions are very apparent.

In the early days of the 19th century revival, the principal faults lay in the rank colour of the glass then employed, and the poorness of its substance, which deprived it of that lustre which has so fine an effect in old glass, and which is also found in modern windows executed since the manufacture of *antique* glass has been perfected. The custom prevailed also of copying the early draughtsmanship in figure work; the usual result being that while the bad drawing was followed, the quaint but forcible spirit of the old work was lost.

The present tendency of the art seems to indicate a return to sounder principles, by acknowledging that we may learn much from old glass of all periods, and act judiciously upon the knowledge gained, instead of attempting servile copies of a particular style. Thus, by aiming at the correct draughtsmanship of later work and the lovely effects of colour in the earlier styles, windows may be produced which shall be interesting as pictures, and at the same time give that impressive effect to interiors which stained glass alone can produce.

Before concluding this paper, one or two representative and easily accessible examples of each style may be quoted. In Salisbury Cathedral there are some fine Early English white pattern windows. The Five Sisters at York are of about the same period. In the eastern part of Canterbury Cathedral are the remains of some rich glass, probably dating from the early part of the 13th century. Of Decorated work, the great west window at York is a magnificent example; the nave aisles also contain a great deal of work of that period. The east window of Gloucester Cathedral is of late Decorated style (though in Perpendicular stonework). Merton Chapel, Oxford, affords some fine specimens of Decorated white pattern. The remains of Perpendicular work are naturally much more numerous than the earlier styles. The ante-chapel at New College, Oxford, has some very fine glass, dating from the end of the 14th century. The east window of York Minster, and most of the glass in the choir belong to the early part of the 15th century. Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, contains an extensive and very well preserved series of late Perpendicular windows. Of Cinque-Cento glass, a fine example exists in the east window of S. Margaret's, Westminster; and those interested in old glass will scarcely need to be reminded of the extensive series of windows in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.

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CHALDON CHURCH, SURREY.[1]

By WILLIAM BOLTON.

The parish of Chaldon—there is no village—though only 18 miles from London as the crow flies, is to this day as rural as it was many centuries ago. The chalk on which it lies is here about eight miles across, and the district is full of variety. Deep valleys, intersected by footpaths and without roads, run among the hills, often opening so suddenly upon the wayfarer as to cause surprise. Eastward and westward these valleys are wanting, and the chalk there is, for the most part, without much depression or break. From the condition of all the chalk districts a few centuries back, there is little doubt that this part of Surrey must have been a pastoral region, and its inhabitants, for the most part, shepherds. All this, however, has been long changed, and most of the land is under the plough. To these shepherd swains for 600 years—think of it!—the present Chaldon bell has weekly or daily knolled. Over the snow in the long dark winters; over the cowslip meadows at Easter, calling them to pay their dues; over the ripe fields at Lammastide this faithful Chaldon bell has called its simple people to prayer, and tolled for their burial. More than twenty generations of them lie in the quiet little churchyard around us. So remote and still were these Surrey hill churches, that as lately as A.D. 1834 the neighbouring church of Chelsham was one night robbed of its bell, and the criminals were never traced. So lately as 1861, another neighbouring parish had eight inhabited houses only; and even now, in 1885, with the single exception of Caterham, all the hill parishes of this district—viz., Farley, Sanderstead, Coulsdon, Warlingham, Woldingham, Tatsfield, Chelsham, Woodmansterne, Chipstead, and this Chaldon have retained their rural character "far from the madding crowd." Chaldon parish at the present time contains only 185 inhabitants.

The dedication of this church was long supposed to have been lost, until it was noted that in the will of Isabel de Couvert, early in the 15th century, she desired her body might be laid by that of her husband in the Church of "St. Peter and St. Paul" at Chalvedon. This old way of spelling the name discards the otherwise obvious conclusion one might arrive at, viz., that Chaldon meant the "Chalk Hill." It is now supposed to mean the "Hill of Calves." The adjoining manor house, now a farm, known as Chaldon Court, may occupy the site of the castle or mansion of the De Couverts.

Until the year 1871 no one seems to have cared much about this little remote church. Previous to that date, its area was a wilderness of high unpainted pews. When these were cleared away, and the whitewash, which thickly covered walls and pillars, was removed, the very remarkable fresco occupying the whole of the west wall was brought to light, the discovery of which made, all at once, this little hill church famous.[2]

My province is to speak more particularly of the architecture; and first of all, let me call attention to the very singular proportions of this church. The nave is one of the shortest in England, being only 27 feet in length, while the height to the pitch of the roof is equal to the length. Approached from any direction, but more especially from the south-east, the building has a Continental look. It resembles an enlarged toy, so to speak; but it is nevertheless complete in all its parts. Two chancels, each under a separate gable roof, the high-pitched roof of the nave, far above, and the pretty little S.W. tower and spire, combine to form an uncommon grouping and present a pleasant picture. The ground plan is simple—a nave with aisles, a main and a south chancel, and a rather large porch, with a tower at the west end of the south aisle. From a study of the building I am inclined to think the church was originally a Norman rectangular building—the present nave, in fact, without the aisles. In the west gable an original narrow Norman window remains. We know that Early Norman churches generally had high walls and small high lights—examples of which may be seen at Fryerning, Essex, and at Offham, in Kent. But if this conjecture be correct, the Norman church at Chaldon could not have remained long intact, for we have an undoubted Early English south aisle with a western lancet, and another lancet at the south-east. The arcades dividing nave and aisles are Early English also. These consist of two arches springing from central round

[1] Read on Saturday, June 6th, 1885, at Chaldon.
[2] The fresco had been previously explained by Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A.

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pillars. It is worth calling attention to a few variations in these. The arcade on the south is the earlier—it has something of the Transition character about it; on the north side the mouldings are deeper, and the base moulding will hold water, a certain indication of its date, early in the 13th century. The south chancel is of this date also, with Decorated additions. The arch opening from it to the aisle is low and narrow, with flat piers and soffits. The arch opening from it into the main chancel is Decorated, chamfered off from the wall. The main chancel is Perpendicular; but on the north side in the angle is a trace of an Early English wall-arcade, the remainder of which was cut away to admit a tomb, to be presently mentioned. The chancel arch is Perpendicular. The piscina here is square, and occupies the unusual position of being in the east wall. The south chancel has a mutilated drain in the south wall, and at the east end of the north aisle against the respond, is a third piscina, showing that this aisle always terminated at this point.

Chaldon Church, like most of those in the chalk, is of flint. Within it, however, we see a good deal of local stone, a soft chalk stone, which retains its whiteness. Until 1871 this church had a rather remarkable feature, which I well remember, viz., a long, low, stone seat within the church, along the wall of the south aisle, now unfortunately removed. The upper part of the tower and the shingled spire date from 1843 only. It contains the famous bell, the oldest by far in this part of the country, and which Stahlschmidt, in his book on "Surrey Bells," pronounces to be contemporary with the church—Norman, or very Early English. The bell is about 2 feet high by about 20 inches in diameter, and is inscribed in early characters, "Capana Beati Pauli." The windows of the church, besides those already referred to, and the south window, which is Perpendicular, of three lights, are Decorated. Those at the east end of the aisles, of two lights, have good flowing tracery, with sharp cusps. In the south chancel are some fragments of old quarry glass. The south doorway is Perpendicular, but very plain. An original doorway on the north side opens into a modern vestry. There appears never to have been either a west door or a priests' door. It is not easy to put a date to the font, a plain square bowl on a massive octagonal pier. The bowl may be Early English, the pier must be very much later.

There are no tombs of great interest. On the north side of the chancel are some fifteenth-century panels with plain shields. They look like part of an altar-tomb at first, but it is known they are not *in situ*, and perhaps were removed from the De Couvert chapel. The early Elizabethan monument to J. Tomkins, 1562, with some quaint lines, is curious and good.[1] In the pediment the sun appears with a human face. This tomb blocks up the space occupied by the Early English arches mentioned above, which were cut away, all but a fragment, to receive it. On the floor seventeenth-century slabs commemorate "T. Rowne, 1689," and "Wm. Lambert, 1656." On the front panel of the pulpit is cut the name, "Patience Lambert, 1657," probably widow of the W. Lambert just named. This pulpit is, therefore, of Commonwealth date, and somewhat of a rarity. The iron brackets supporting the cushion-board are original, and worthy of notice.

Lastly, I mention the porch. This retains its old wood-and-plaster work and tie-beams. The restoration of its front by the present rector in wood and plaster seems to be correct, as the interior lines are closely followed. Within it is an ancient incised stone tomb of correct shape, but wrongly laid north and south.

There is something in a village church, especially when its surroundings are wholly rural, which has a peculiar charm for the mind, and which it is better to simply feel than try to explain. It has evoked the poet and the saint alike. We venerate an ancient village church, and take pleasure not only in its stones, but even in its dust. Each church is to us a page of Church history, and the stones cry out. Such pictorial teaching as that before us takes us back to the days when the Bible was a sealed book to both priest and people, who learned their faith by visible emblems. Then we come to the days of iconoclastic zeal, when altar and image were overthrown; and then a little later on, to the days of preaching, when, as according to the 83rd Canon, a pulpit was to be set up in every church. Yet we have reason to believe that sincerity inspired all: the men who built Chaldon Church dreamed not of a perishable home less than they who built a minster. For the ancient churches of England we can pardon many of the dark works of Mediæval days. Man's spite, envy, and slander rage elsewhere;

> "But in the sacred walls and bowers of stone,
> Naught do their votaries feel but spells which are their own."

[1] "Good reader, warne all men and women while they be here to be ever good to the poor and needy. The poor ever in this worlde shall ye have. God grant us sumwat in store for to save. The cry of the poor is extreme and very sore. God grant us to be good evermore in this whereyn our rase, and to be with Christ in tyme and spase." There is a rude attempt at a rhyme here, if anyone can scan it.

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SYMBOLISM IN ECCLESIOLOGY.

By B. EDMUND FERREY, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

It is scarcely necessary to make any apology for my treating of the subject about which I have elected to address you this evening, though it is one which has been enlarged upon again and again by many devout and learned men. For the field is so vast, that it can be ploughed by many a one in different furrows while traversing but little of the same ground.

This indeed constitutes one of the great charms of this most interesting study—its immensity of extent—its acres barely trodden. On my own part, I pretend to no special knowledge of "symbolism in ecclesiology," though it has attracted me for many years, and consequently, I have, from time to time, in various travels and in the course of my reading, jotted down memoranda with such thoughts as have occurred to me at the moment. These I have endeavoured to put into shape to the best of my ability, though I fear in somewhat of a disjointed manner. But I hope they may at any rate have the merit of being, as far as is possible with such a subject, original observations. So I trust any shortcomings on my part may be forgiven by such of my audience as may happen to be more *au fait* with symbolism than I can lay claim to. I must also plead excuse for having had to prepare these observations at a rather short notice.

A great University professor, and one too in holy orders, now no longer on earth, one who was the most eminent authority on the architectural and constructional history of churches, one who might be compared to a Professor Owen when discoursing on architectural stones, singular to say, yet lacked this faculty—he was a sceptic as regards the existence of symbolism in the *fabrics* of our ancient churches. But happily a large proportion of mankind, and many of those whom God has endowed with the subtlest gifts of mind, have been firm believers in our subject. However, I do not think it necessary, in speaking to the members of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, to further defend my theme. I will take it for granted all here are at one with me in this particular respect.

Perhaps, before proceeding further, it will be well to try and define the term "symbolism." According to Nuttall's Walker's Dictionary, "symbol" means an abstract, a type. Under the heading "type" the same authority explains this word as meaning an emblem. The latter is defined as meaning a representation. The words "symbol" and "emblem" are of course not interchangeable, as, for instance, it would not be correct to call the *Emblems* of the four Evangelists symbols. I mention this at the commencement of my paper, because in the course of this disquisition I may possibly wander from the consideration of symbols into that of emblems, or *vice versâ*, as the border-line between them is sometimes rather difficult to define.

À propos of the contempt some people evince for what they call the "fancifulness and nonsensicality" of symbolism, I am reminded of a little story, the absolute veracity of which I am in a position to vouch for. A married lady, whose religious education had evidently been greatly neglected, was speaking to a clergyman, and making light of the symbolism which of course so much pervades our Liturgy. "*She* could not understand it—did not believe in it, or see the use of symbols. It was all nonsense." "Indeed," said the divine, "then I would strongly advise *you* to throw away that meaningless bauble you wear on the fourth finger of your left hand, for what is that but a *symbol* of the Holy Estate of Matrimony?"

But to proceed seriously. *We* ought to have been already educated for architectural symbolism by early familiarity with Holy Writ with its oriental imagery of words, so closely akin to more material symbolism, the most striking perhaps being those in the book of the prophet Isaiah. Then in the New Testament, the parables of our blessed Lord are necessarily symbolic; and there is the sublime imagery of that mysterious book, the Revelation of St. John the Divine, containing the wonderful description of the architecture of the Heavenly Jerusalem, symbolism of so material a character, that it has drawn forth the reproach of scoffers for its so-called want of spirituality. Again, in our modern English literature, what exquisite examples of symbolism we have in Adams's "Shadow of the Cross," and in the late Bishop Wilberforce's "Agathos," not to speak of the great array of earlier writers who have been at home in the subject!

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Having led you up to this point, let me touch upon the symbolism displayed in the architecture of the primitive Christian Church, which contains notable examples of the most beautiful and expressive symbols fossilized into architectural use. Our good friend Mr. George H. Birch, well said in a paper he read in this room some years since, "We hear much in these days of simplicity of worship, yet we find the underground sanctuaries (*i.e.*, the catacombs) of the very infancy of the Christian Church adorned with frescoes." Although the symbols of this age of the Catholic Church have been almost exhaustively dwelt upon by various writers, it would be obviously impossible for me to give this part of the subject the go-by when discoursing on "Symbolism in Ecclesiology." So I will very briefly allude to some of the subjects which form the very foundation of much of the artistic ornamentation in our Churches in the present day, most of them being as familiar to us as "household words," whereas, when we arrive at a somewhat later period in the Christian era, we find some of these symbolic figures are not now considered in harmony with our modern notions as regards fitness of things, while others, on the point of doctrine, cannot be adopted in the Anglican communion.

Some of these very early Christian symbols are most interesting—such as the Doves, perched on the edge of a vase of water, a symbol of the soul drinking from the living water. In the Catacombs our Saviour is also sometimes represented as the Angler who draws a fish from the water. Then, again, there is the time-honoured and ever-present representation of our Lord as the Good Shepherd, a type taken of course directly from the New Testament. There is the dove holding the olive-branch, for Noah's dove brought a leaf of the olive tree, in token of the abatement of the flood—hence it became the emblem of peace. Again, the Candelabrum, representing Christ and His Church by the light of his doctrine, with seven branches, referring to the seven Churches of Asia. The representation of the Peacock symbolized the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, and seems to have almost superseded the phœnix rising from its ashes, used by the ancient Egyptians, though the latter still continued to be employed by the early Christians. The wings of angels are often represented as formed of peacock feathers. Perhaps the old idea of the incorruptibility of the flesh of the peacock may have fitly suggested the bird as a symbol of triumph over Death and the Grave. The peacock appears in later ages to have become a type of worldly pride. There is the common saying, "Vain as a peacock." But I think we ecclesiologists prefer to dwell upon the figure in its earlier symbolic aspect.

Perhaps I may here fitly allude to the beautiful symbol of incense, as appertaining in fact to ecclesiology, used in the worship of the Jewish dispensation, and in the primitive Christian Church, as it is mentioned in the earliest liturgies. The sweet incense used by Moses for burning on the golden altar in the Holy Place, was composed of four sweet aromatic spices—stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense, being the symbol of the compound intercession of our great High Priest, whose saints join with Him, *i.e.*, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving (the anti-types of the four component parts of incense) offered up as one holy offering. Another appropriate meaning attached to incense is this, "the unexpressed prayers of the saints," by which is signified that it is impossible for us in the busy world to attend to our duties and be always praying—we may have the will, but not the power. I have heard yet another, *i.e.*, incense symbolizes the mutual intercession by which living and departed are bound together, and comprehends the voiceless prayers of the latter, they being unable to speak. An admirable symbol is that provided in the fifteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel—the vine, as the symbol of Christ and His Church in the aspect of the oneness of the trunk and the branches, setting forth the dependence of the latter on the former.

The Paschal Candlestick on the Gospel side of the choir, of which the early basilican Christian churches of Rome contain notable examples, is a beautiful symbol. Moreover, as works of art and design, these candlesticks are greatly to be admired, being of massive proportions, executed in marble, inlaid with mosaic and having twisted and ornamental stems. They are really monumental, all *en suite* with the *cancelli* and the *ambones* of the choir. The Paschal taper burns throughout Easter at Matins, Evensong, and during the Eucharist. Thence on all Sundays up to the Ascension at the Eucharist only. It well symbolizes our spiritual joy at the Resurrection of the Lord. While speaking about the Paschal taper, I cannot forbear alluding to the curious symbolism of the Judas candle, though this was of much later date, being mediæval. Its meaning is considered rather uncertain. But my late learned friend, the Rev. Precentor Mackenzie Walcott, was of opinion that the Judas candle was a wooden sham, or counterfeit candle, supporting the Paschal one in the seven-branched candelabrum, which stood upright, the others diverging on either side.

One of the most important architectural features in the early basilican churches of Rome is the Arch of Triumph, as it is called, which typifies the passage from Earth to Heaven in Death, and above which is generally some grand subject in mosaic, one of the most frequent, to my recollection, being the Agnus Dei in the centre, with six sheep on either side, representing

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the twelve apostles, or some Apocalyptic subject. The arch is also considered to typify the triumph of our Lord.

One can scarcely be surprised that the early Christians, who formed the model of their Church from what had been originally a secular building, should have retained for a long period representations derived from Paganism. It has been well said that the primitive Church loved to depict her Lord, not as suffering and crucified, but as working miracles and instructing disciples, or enthroned as Conqueror and Judge. In San Vitale, Ravenna, for example, allegories are used to express doctrines. The representation of the sacrifice of Isaac on one side of the Tribune, and on the other Melchisedec blessing bread and wine, have both a relation to the Eucharist. In the Mausoleum of Gallia Placidia, at Ravenna, are representations in mosaic of stags drinking at the stream—an emblem of the conversion of the heathen, or of the aspiration of the soul after God. In the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, the crowns carried by the procession of saints of all degrees, so exquisitely executed in mosaic, of course indicate their martyrdom. At San Vitale, as also in the Baptistery, Ravenna, peacocks are introduced as accessories, signifying by their rainbow hues celestial bliss. In early paintings our Blessed Lord is often represented as seated on a rainbow.

It would be foreign to the purpose of my subject to expatiate upon the enormous amount of symbolism which is to be found in the Bible, and I will, therefore, take but one or two instances—the titles of our Blessed Lord; and will mention a few of the more striking and diversified. Alpha and Omega; The Branch; Consolation of Israel; Day-spring; Good Shepherd; Lamb of God; Lion of the Tribe of Judah; Morning Star; Rock; Root of David; Sun of Righteousness; True Light; True Vine. What a wonderful galaxy have we here!

Again, the reiterated use in Scripture of certain numbers has convinced men that they must have a mystical meaning in reference to some spiritual reality. *Three* was thought by the Jews and other nations to be a specially complete and mystic number, and, of course, may be supposed to point in some way to the doctrine of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Further on I shall have to say a little more about the number three when I come to early Mediæval art.

The number *four* has been considered to refer to four-foldness of action in God's dealings with men. It occurs in several places in the Bible—four Rivers in Paradise, four creatures with four faces, and four wings in the vision of Ezekiel; and in the Jewish Tabernacle and in the Church of Christ this number often occurs.

Five is considered the number of *expiation* and of sacrifice. Witness the five most precious wounds of our Saviour.

Six has been considered to prefigure hopeless toil—six days of labour without a seventh of enjoyment of the fruit.

The mystic number *seven* has been thought to denote completeness of plurality in spiritual things—generally both good and evil—such as seven lambs (Genesis xxi. 28), seven lamps (Exodus xxv. 37), seven sprinklings (Leviticus iv. 6), seven devils (Mark v.), seven spirits and seven seals, trumpets, and plagues, as mentioned in the Apocalypse. It is considered to occur more frequently in the Bible than any other number.

The number *ten* has been thought to refer to completeness of plurality as to outward things, as in tithes, ten virgins, ten talents, ten pieces of silver.

Eleven symbolizes transgression and iniquity, because it oversteps the ten of the Decalogue.

The number *twelve* is also remarkable, and has been supposed to refer to fulness of action in the service of God—twelve stones in the breastplate (Exodus xxviii. 21), twelve gates, twelve tribes, twelve apostles.

Forty, formed of four, multiplied by ten, has been considered to allude to the full period of probation—Moses in the Mount forty days (Exodus xxiv. 18), the wanderings of Israel forty years, our Lord's temptation forty days.

As to the symbolism of metals, I have very little to say. Gold is the symbol of truth, but when made use of in the service of God has been considered the symbol of truth engrafted in the soul of man. Hence it was the first of the things called for by God (Exodus xxv. 3) to be used in making the Jewish Tabernacle in which He would make Himself known. It has been well said that except for some symbolic meaning it would be strange for gold to be mentioned at so early a period as in the description of one of the four rivers of Paradise—*i.e.*, Pison, "And the gold of that land is good" (Genesis ii. 11, 12). And now to go to the other end of the scale. Lead was always used in the Scriptures as a symbol of wickedness. Fortunately for the reputation of the metal in a *material* sense, it has done good service to ecclesiologists *outside* many a noble cathedral and church, preserving the sacred buildings from ruin and decay better than any other metal would have done.

Light—blessed light, like gold, is considered the symbol of Truth. Light is capable of division into seven main colours (three primary and four secondary), which, in perfection, are

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shown in the rainbow. When our Blessed Lord showed Himself to St. John (Revelation x. 1) it is said, "A rainbow was upon His head."

I must pass lightly over the symbolism of colours in ecclesiology. White, by universal consent, has been considered the symbol of holiness, purity, and chastity; purple of dignity and position; green of hope and immortality.

There is necessarily a good deal of symbolic meaning in precious stones, and this seems to have been acknowledged by poets of all ages. Precious stones were used in God's service in the Tabernacle and the Temple. The mention of them in the Apocalypse is familiar to us all.

The symbolism of flowers in respect to ecclesiology is very beautiful, though by some it may be considered rather fanciful. There was peculiar appropriateness in all white flowers in Mediæval times being specially devoted to the Blessed Virgin. At the present day the lily only is associated with St. Mary, but formerly the snowdrop, the cuckoo flower, the white iris, and other flowers of like colour were considered also appropriate. The rose seems to have been a particularly emblematic flower in the Middle Ages, or I might say far earlier—*i.e.*, in Biblical times. The Rose of Sharon, in the Song of Solomon, is, of course, typical of our Blessed Lord, but it is now believed that the flower alluded to is not strictly speaking a rose, but a species of lily. The rose is also an emblem of Our Lady and the badge of Old England, never, I sincerely trust, to be again made into Red and White Roses. Speaking of the rose as conventionally represented in ecclesiastical decorative work, it is remarkable how it varies. Generally there are five petals, but sometimes four.

While on the subject of the rose I cannot forbear for a moment alluding to a charming Mediæval legend about the Rose of Jericho—*i. e*, the rose-plant in Jericho of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. It was believed of this plant that in the flight to Egypt wherever the Holy Family rested a rose sprang up. At the birth of the Saviour it blossomed, and at His Crucifixion it closed, but re-opened wide at Easter-tide. Hence it was called the Resurrection flower.

The sunflower, in these times of the revival of seventeenth-century architecture, decoration, and costume, has come to be much more often grown in gardens, together with some other old-fashioned flowers. But I doubt whether a large proportion of those who take to this gorgeous flower in company with brass knockers, and windows with so many little panes that one mentally wonders what proportion the thick white divisions bear to the glass, and dados—or as some who want to be very antique and very fashionable, prefer to call them, *dodos*—I say I doubt whether these good people can cast their eyes back to the past, and further back beyond the Renaissance to the "Dark Ages," when poor benighted men, in their simplicity, looked upon the stately sunflower not only as one of the gifts of God to brighten us up, but as typifying the Sun of Righteousness on account of its habit of always turning towards the sun.

The passion-flower lives but one day, and is, of course, considered one of the most symbolic of flowers, for every part is said to typify objects connected with our Lord's Passion (as I need scarcely tell you), such as the three nails of the cross, the five wounds of Christ, the crown of thorns. I will not maintain that this beautiful interpretation of Nature's God is absolutely correct; but I do not think that in our matter-of-fact age we should cast aside such symbolism as being only poetical and visionary. Surely such thoughts must lift up many of us in imagination beyond the fogs of London to a far more ethereal height. It is good for the many whose daily business has to be carried on in this great city at the desk or counter to have their reflections drawn away a little from purely mundane matters. The Spaniards have great reverence for the rosemary, the popular idea being that the rosemary puts forth *fresh* flowers every Friday, as if to embalm his holy Body.

The vestments of the officiating priest in the Catholic Church are also very symbolic. The chasuble has been well described as of circular (or perhaps, rather, elliptical) form, one and undivided, aptly in keeping with the Catholic character of the service, which embraces in its prayers and intercessions all the members of the Church of Christ, both those who are alive and those who sleep. Then, again, the stole well expresses the burden and responsibility of the ministerial office. I will not further enlarge on this part of my subject, but it is perfectly clear that all the vestments of the clergy have their special and appropriate meaning.

The symbolism of the Cherubim, which are described first in Holy Scripture as placed at the east of the garden of Eden (Genesis iii. 24), is very beautiful. The word signifies fulness of knowledge or diffusion of wisdom, and hence their rings are described in Ezekiel i. 18 as full of eyes, indicative of their power of insight. The Cherubim are generally included in the nine orders of angels divided into three ternary distributions (hierarchies, or more strictly speaking sub-hierarchies). I need scarcely mention these, which are—(1.) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; (2.) Virtues, Dominations, Powers; (3.) Principalities, Archangels, Angels. But I believe that strictly speaking Cherubim are not Angels. The Seraphim are sometimes considered to be the same as the Cherubim, but it is remarkable that in the Bible they are only *once* mentioned, in the well-known passage of Isaiah vi. 2: "Above it (*i.e.*, the throne) stood

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the Seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." The word Seraphim means inflaming, or heating (because by divine fire and love they, as it were, inflame and kindle others). The scope of every Hierarchy has been described to become like God, and its functions to purify, illuminate, and perfect, performed respectively by the Thrones, Cherubs, and Seraphs.

The Cherubim, after Genesis, are next mentioned in Exodus xxv., as overshadowing the mercy-seat of the ark, but beyond the fact of their having wings no description is given of them. So it has been supposed that the Jews were then well acquainted with their form. The curtains, also, in the Tabernacle were described as being adorned with Cherubim. As regards the Seraphim, it is said that ancient sculpture has been found in Persia which suggests the description of them in Holy Scripture, and figures of winged Bulls have also been discovered, showing how general the idea of the Cherubim was among the ancients. There is a Jewish tradition that the divisions of the quadruple encampment of the Children of Israel had each a standard—one with the lion, one with the eagle, one with the man, and one with the ox. The description of the Cherubim in Ezekiel's magnificent vision closely resembles that of the four Beasts or Living Creatures of the Apocalypse, where they are seen in Heaven. The Lion has been said to represent Rule; the Eagle, Prophecy; the Ox, Patient Labour; the Man, Reasoning Faculties. They are supposed by some to represent the perfected Church because of their song, in which the words occur, "Thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." They are said to be "full of eyes before and behind," which may be said to imply the Church looking forward prophetically, and looking back to her origin. They are also said to be full of eyes within, which may well represent the Church looking within herself for the perfecting of each individual member. You may not endorse this interpretation, but it has, at any rate, the merit of being very beautiful. Of course, as regards the actual form of the Cherubim, our ideas of this mysterious form must necessarily be very conjectural.

The next point in my paper is the Cross, which, with the Crucifix, might form almost a separate subject in itself, sufficient to occupy many evenings here.

The form of the Cross has been sometimes questioned, but surely the expression in the 27th chapter of St. Matthew, verse 37, is all-sufficient: "And set up over his head his accusation written, This is Jesus the King of the Jews." The tradition of its form has, moreover, been wonderfully preserved to us for 1,500 years. Let me protest with all the power that I have against unfloriated or square ends to the arms of the cross. I think the only place where this form should be used is in the ground-plan of churches, certainly not in the *elevation* of crosses, whether on gables, in churchyards, by the way-side, in markets, above the altar, or in sepulchral monuments of any kind whatever. We ought not as *Christians* to put up representations of the cross of *suffering* unless it be in the guise of the Rood complete—that is, the Cross with the Saviour hung on it, and the figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin on either side; or when sculptured in a Reredos or other composition showing forth the Crucifixion. We have, or ought to have, faith and hope in our calling, and therefore should fitly represent the Glorified Cross, whatever material may be used, whether granite, marble, stone, wood, metal, or mosaic. Augustus Welby Pugin was rightly very strong about this; and though he belonged to the Roman communion, the sons of the Church of England may on other grounds exactly take his standpoint in this respect. In Mediæval specimens of crosses I believe there is scarcely an example of the plain, square-ended arms; but, alas! in these times I have too often observed this type of cross in the Cathedrals and Churches of Roman Catholic countries, while our own churchyards and cemeteries abound with them, it being a favourite form with the monumental mason, and also, unfortunately, with many of those who pay for the erection of these memorials. This fact has been particularly brought home to me, as more than once friends have disregarded my advice about putting floriated crosses, and insisted that there were a chastity and a simplicity in the plain Latin cross which they considered appropriate. But rather let *us* follow the "lead" of the grand old Latin hymn:—

> "Faithful cross above all others,
> One and only noble tree;
> None in foliage, none in blossom,
> None in fruit thy peer may be."

I do not consider my theory is impugned if the cross is square-ended, but carved or inlaid with flowers and foliage (as in the beautiful marble cross inlaid with mosaic to the Reredos in the parish Church of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington), though personally I must say that I prefer floriated outline to the arms. In the hymn I have just quoted the word Tree is used, for the idea of the Tree of the Cross is not uncommon in Mediæval representations. But the Jesse Tree, or the mystical vine springing out of the loins of Jesse, is perhaps more common, as the fulfilment of the type of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden.

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In the beautiful stone gable-crosses in our ancient Churches no ornament is more frequent to the ends of the arm, or, I may add, more effective than some adaptation of the conventional heraldic form of the fleur-de-lis, or lily. As this flower, besides being emblematic of the Blessed Virgin, has not unnaturally thus become the emblem of purity, what form can be more appropriate at the crowning points of our Churches, where the cross is placed like a standard lifted up on high, so that all can see it and be reminded that this virtue is eminently founded on the model of Christ? The conventional form of the lily being mainly of three parts, it also thus becomes appropriately symbolic of the doctrine of the Trinity. Those who have designed crosses will also have found that it is most difficult to fashion a floriated end to a cross in any other form than in this fleur-de-lis style.

In the floriated crosses on Mediæval stone coffin-lids what excellent symbolism there is in the representations by which the various trades or professions of those deceased are distinguished by the tools or instruments they used during life—a proper way of dignifying the "sweat of the face" (or "of the brow," as it is continually misquoted), showing how our earthly callings may fitly be associated with heavenly aspirations typified by the flowering cross of Hope and Glory!

Our Lord is sometimes represented on the cross, in Mediæval examples, with a real crown on His head, not a crown of thorns. This is said to be in accordance with a passage in the Bible suppressed by the Jews.

The representations in the Middle Ages of the mysterious doctrine of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, are remarkable, and, to our minds, almost irreverent, though it is clear that there was not the slightest such intention. In the fine old Abbey Church of Tewkesbury there is, however, a very unusual Trinità, if it *is* a Trinità, in one of the chapels on the south side of the choir, executed in a brownish-coloured *tempera*. A young man, bearded, with a nimbus, has the crucifix in front of him, and holds with his hands the end of each arm of the cross. Between his beard and the head of our Lord is the Holy Dove. Behind the crucifix is represented a building of considerable architectural pretensions. Can this be intended to portray the Heavenly Jerusalem? As this subject is a conventional representation of a Trinità, and of course makes no attempt to historically represent the scene of the Crucifixion, the buildings behind cannot be the earthly Jerusalem, which one so often sees forming the background of early pictures. On either side of the Trinità is an adoring angel, holding with the one hand a brasier, and with the other swinging a thurible. The chains of the latter pass quite through the pinnacled buttress which divides the Trinità from the angels. Below the Trinità is a representation of the Resurrection, unfortunately very much injured, only the banner and the head of our Lord now being preserved. At the side of this subject is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. So the whole composition rather resembles that of a predella beneath a triptych, or in the lower part of a painted glass window. Now, whom does the young man holding the crucifix represent? It has been considered that this figure is intended for the Almighty, but erroneously so, in my belief. I cannot call to mind any other such representation of Him in early paintings, as He is therein shown as a venerable old man, with long white beard, "The Ancient of Days," and without a nimbus. I have little doubt but that the "young man" is, in fact, our Blessed Lord in Majesty holding the crucifix in front of Him, as one sometimes sees in ancient paintings.

I can call to mind having seen a Trinità thus represented:—Our Saviour crucified, with cherubs (coloured red) about Him, while over His head was the Holy Dove, and above, the head of the Eternal Father. At Welbourn Church, Lincolnshire, I have read that there remains in one of the gables a mutilated Trinità representing the Almighty holding *between His knees* the figure of the Crucified Son. In one of the pictures in the National Gallery is a similar subject—our Blessed Lord on the cross, with the Almighty, as an old man, behind Him, apparently supporting His head, while above hovers the Holy Dove.

In Mediæval representations of the Crucifixion, a skull is often shown at the base of the cross, emblematic of the skull of Adam. Sometimes the sacred wood is wreathed round with vine-leaves, the symbolism of which is obvious. In other instances, the cross is depicted or sculptured as budding forth. Another, not at all unusual symbolic treatment of the Crucifixion in paintings, is that of angels holding chalices under each of the Saviour's wounds, as in a beautiful picture by Hendrik de Blas (Dutch school of the sixteenth century), in the National Gallery.

The frequent employment of trefoil leaves in the sculpture of the Middle Ages, particularly in the thirteenth century, must surely have had some deep symbolic signification, otherwise there could have been no particular reason why a conventional adaptation of the beautiful natural forms of the wood-sorrel and clover leaves should have been more essayed than so many other equally beautiful leaves. I was particularly struck with this fact when making drawings some years since of the exquisitely-sculptured foliage in the west front of Wells Cathedral, where there is a great variety of carving, though all founded on the symbolic number three. This cannot have been accidental.

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The form of the sacred fish, called the *vesica*, or pointed oval, was extensively used in the earlier periods of Gothic architecture, most commonly in windows. The symbolism of this is well known, so I need not enlarge upon it. The vesica is nearly invariably represented in a vertical position, and certainly, from an artistic stand-point, looks best so. But in a church with which I am acquainted, that of Stockton, Wiltshire, the vesica in the east window, which is of Early English date, and of plate tracery character, is in a horizontal position. It is evident that the chancel has been partly modernized, and my first impression was that this vesica (which is clearly not the ancient one) was a mere modern conceit. But I was informed, on good authority, that this window had been exactly copied from the Mediæval one, which had become dilapidated. My learned clerical friend, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, had been for many years rector of a parish within an easy distance of Stockton, and his opinion was that the vesica was so placed to represent the sacred fish as if swimming. The late Mr. Mackenzie Walcott mentions an example of a vesica, with a horizontal axis, in the conventual buildings of Canterbury, of the Norman period, which he considered unique, just as I did my example at Stockton. I think it possible that the pointed oval form may not always represent the ἰχθύς, but the aureole, or halo of glory, which environed our Saviour when represented in Majesty—the form would be the same.

The baldachino, or canopy, over an altar, is necessarily so placed to symbolize its dignity. The earliest specimen of such a canopy seems to be in the twelfth century. All canopies, in fact, when placed in the interior of a building, whether to the altar, to tombs, or to chantry chapels and shrines, convey the sense of dignity, just as do the stalls in a Cathedral Church, or the canopy to a font or a pulpit (like the magnificent design of our friend Mr. Somers Clarke, at St. Martin's, Brighton). In early Mediæval paintings and pictures the Blessed Virgin is again most frequently represented as seated on a kind of throne, or splendid chair, with a canopy of considerable architectural pretensions, sometimes supported on elegant pillars. You will all remember the great controversy a few years since, when it was proposed to put a baldachin over the altar of St. Barnabas's Church, Pimlico, and the adverse decision as to the legality of such an ornament in an Anglican Church.

The late Mr. Street, the eminent architect, always believed the pavement at St. Mark's, Venice, was *originally* designed in undulating lines, as symbolic of the troubled sea of this world. He did not think that this wavy appearance was due to settlements, or giving way of the piles and foundation, though there undoubtedly have been some disturbances caused by this in the building. The undulation is too frequent and regular to have been due to accidental occurrences not foreseen when St. Mark's was built. Perhaps it would be more correct for me to have described the undulating pavement in the past tense, as I believe, in the recent extensive works of reparation at this famous church, the pavement has been re-set perfectly level. In a letter addressed to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in March, 1880, Mr. Street made this very interesting observation :—"I remember how we are told that when the pavement of St. Sophia, Constantinople, was laid, it was made in the form of a central sea, from which the four rivers of Paradise flowed towards the doors on all sides; and I ask myself, if this symbolism might be avowed in the mother, at Constantinople, might it not still be indulged in in the daughter church at Venice? I look, too, at the architecture of St. Mark's, and I see that there is nowhere in it a hard line. The angles are all rounded, the ceilings are all domes, the very front is planned in a curve, and the dimensions of corresponding parts are almost invariably unequal; and I ask myself why, if there was this love of irregularity, and of curves, everywhere else, the pavement alone should have been level?" All those who have been fortunate enough to have inspected this glorious Church of St. Mark's, will, I am sure, cordially endorse Mr. Street's glowing and true words, words which still live, though their author has gone to his rest. The rounding of all angles, which well suits the mosaic ornamentation, must strike all those who have seen St. Mark's.

There can be no doubt that the great elevation of the floor of the chancel above that of the nave, which occurs in some of our ancient Churches, had the symbolic meaning of dignifying the celebration of the Eucharist. Of course, this elevation towards the eastern end does not prevail in a very large proportion of Churches, for various reasons, often caused by the site. In many old Churches the floors of the nave and chancel are, and originally were, exactly on the same level, and even in some instances the floor of the Church slopes *down* towards the east, though, in my own experience, I have more often noticed it slope upwards towards the east. In these cases there was, of course, some little raising of the altar within the sanctuary limit. And although it was impossible to dignify the chancels by elevating the floor level on three or more steps, the Mediæval architect was fertile of resources, and emphasized it by handsome parcloses, or screens, all round it, where there were chancel-aisles, or by the rood-screen where the chancel was aisleless; or, in some instances, where there was no chancel arch, by making the eastern part of the roof more decorative, perhaps by ceiling it with wood. In several of our great English Churches, such as Wimborne

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Minster, and in some of the fine Cathedrals and Churches in North Italy, the choir pavement is evidently raised in order to get height for a sub-chapel, or crypt. But in one striking instance in North Wales—I mean the simple Parish Church of Llanaber, near Barmouth—the chancel and the altar are raised far more than is ordinary, though there is no appearance of a crypt, nor any reason why the level of the sanctuary should be abnormally high. I may just mention, incidentally, that this small church of thirteenth century date, with its long, narrow lancet windows of severe outline, and with its general dignified proportions, has a really impressive interior; though, as regards actual ornament, I remember but little of it, speaking from a brief inspection I made of the church many years since. But, as sometimes happens, one may be more impressed with something simple, seen but for a very little time, than with something much more elaborate which one makes a lengthened examination of.

Not long since, Archdeacon Farrar, in a sermon delivered in Westminster Abbey, which was afterwards published, entitled "The Teachers of Mankind," enlarges, in the course of it, on the architectural symbolism of this magnificent structure. It can readily be imagined, judging from the character and writings of the Archdeacon, that this is a very congenial subject for his pen, and one in which he is quite at home. He alludes to the deflection of the axis of the choir from that of the nave as symbolizing the head of Christ leaning upon His shoulder in the hour of death. Many here will remember that when the remains of old St. Paul's were unearthed a few years back, it was found that the axis of the choir deflected from that of the nave, but towards the north, instead of, as is most usual, towards the south. Now, it was perfectly well known that the axis of Wren's Cathedral was not the same as that of the Mediæval Church, but the deflection of the choir of the latter was quite an unexpected find. Various other reasons besides that adduced by Archdeacon Farrar have been propounded for the singular deflection of the choir found in so many Mediæval churches, more or less; perhaps the most noticeable being in the Abbey Church at Whitby, now a ruin. In this the deflection is so very great that the most casual of spectators could not help noticing it. Many of you will be acquainted with the Church of St. Germain des Prés, Paris; the axis of its choir is markedly different from that of the nave. I trust that I may not be considered a little inconsistent if, notwithstanding my general advocacy of "symbolism in ecclesiology," I take a firm stand *here*, and say that I believe this peculiarity in the ground plan of a church, which is evidently no accidental blunder, or want of correct setting out, but deliberately designed, was intended to counteract the tunnel-like appearance a cathedral or church of great length would have had with a perfectly straight axis. Now, old St. Paul's had twelve bays to the nave and twelve to the choir, and was nearly six hundred feet long, taking the inside dimensions. Anyone standing at the west end of the nave, were the axis of the building continuous, would see scarcely anything of the easternmost bays of the choir, which, of course, would be immensely fore-shortened. But the slight deflection of the choir of course gave the worshipper a much better view of one side of it, though he lost a little more of the other side. This he could easily see more of by moving up a little further east. We must be careful not to ride the hobby-horse of symbolism too hard, or cause may be given for "the enemy to blaspheme," and say we are too fanciful. Archdeacon Farrar proceeds to speak of the chapels which cluster round the east end as indicating the communion of saints. This is, indeed, a beautiful thought, when it is considered that these chapels surround the spot where the Eucharist is being perpetually celebrated. But is not the wish in this case "father to the thought"? There is the building before us, and this idea nicely fits in. But I much doubt if the original architect even thought of such a thing. He probably counted upon the beautiful architectural effect of this *chevet*, as it is technically called, terminating the east end, with its grand opportunities of picturesque perspectives in clustered piers and groined roof. This is just one example of what I am fain to consider rather far-fetched symbolism. Whereas, in numbers of other arrangements and details of a church, and in its fittings and adjuncts, I am a firm believer in the symbolic intentions of the Mediæval founders. For example, I look at the cruciform plan in that light, and as no mere accident, or striving for architectural effect, though undoubtedly the cross form has an excellent appearance, both externally and internally. The term "nave" is also undoubtedly symbolic of *navis*, or the "Ark of Christ."

Mr. Bodley, the architect, mentioned at the Church Congress meeting, in 1881, that he had seen the inscription, "*Sic Deus dilexit mundum*," under the Rood, at the entrance of a chancel, very appropriate, as representing our Blessed Lord with outstretched arms embracing the whole world, as it has been said. No subject can be more suited to the entrance of the choir or chancel than the great Rood, with or without all the usual attendant figures, though this ornament is not legal in the Church of England. The Rood itself (which is simply the Saxon for cross is, of course, legal, if simply a floriated cross, without the figure of the Crucified Lord upon it. Supposing, however, that the Rood complete stands over the chancel screen, and that above the chancel arch there is a painting or sculpture of a "Majesty," the

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symbolism is excellent, for the faithful then enter the chancel under the Rood, saved by the merits of Him who suffered for our sakes.

When we come to the east end of the chancel (for time will not permit me to enlarge upon the best symbolic ornamentation of the north and south sides of the chancel) the Resurrection, the Ascension, or the Nativity, are most appropriate subjects, assuming that the conventional representation of the Crucifixion, with the Majesty above, is over the Rood screen. But I cannot help thinking it is best not to have any representation of the *Last Supper* at the east end of the chancel, as the commemoration of it is continually taking place at the altar. It also "goes without saying," that if it is considered proper to have the Crucifixion at the entrance of the chancel, no place for it further eastwards can be found.

When there is a chancel screen with gates, it becomes essential for consistency that the chancel aisles, if such exist, should also have screens or grilles. In fact, the one without the other becomes absurd, for it is necessary to guard the chancel precincts. Then the church doors can be left "on the latch," while the communion rail can well be dispensed with, except, perhaps, a short length of it next the walls, for those who need or prefer to have support while kneeling.

What a very fine and completely carried out scheme of architectural symbolism exists in the noble chapel of Keble College, Oxford, with its magnificent series of mosaics! The only thing I regret in it is that the purely Mediæval idea of Heaven and Hell is represented in a manner too material and too crudely conceived to go down in the present day. Such a treatment is apt to appear almost grotesque, exciting derision rather than awe on the part of careless spectators, instead of those higher feelings being encouraged by religious sculpture, painting, mosaic, or painted glass. Here is an entirely new building devoted to the worship of the sons of the English Church, and the subject as represented appears, in my humble judgment, almost an anachronism. It is most difficult for the human imagination to depict the subjects of Heaven and Hell even in the most conventional way, though I cannot but think it not impossible for the devout artist to *suggest* these subjects without attempting the hopeless task of working them out completely. As respects the remainder of the subjects in this glorious Chapel, I have nothing but commendation to offer; for here is ably rendered an interpretation—so far as is possible with our finite understanding—of the grand and mysterious imagery of the Apocalypse.

The ornamentation both in and around the Parish Church at Frome—a church which, though it has a considerable amount of Mediæval work about it, has been most extensively modified and embellished by the exertions of the late Mr. Bennett, the Vicar—is an excellent example of symbolism throughout, thoroughly carried out by degrees during a series of years on a scheme well matured at the first onset. The peculiarities of the site, on an eminence, have been skilfully made the most of in the approaches to the building. At the foot of a flight of steps at the entrance to the churchyard is a well or fountain placed against the hill-side, of some architectural design, though simple and appropriate enough to the situation. It has suitable inscriptions. The steps up to the Church are not arranged in a perfectly straight line, but deviate slightly to suit the conformation of the ground, with landings at intervals. Subjects of beautiful and appropriate sculpture, executed in stone, founded on the Scriptural record, are placed at the side of this impressive flight of steps, which is well called the Way of the Cross. Do not let me be misunderstood—I am not speaking of the *Stations of the Cross*—subjects which, however beautiful they may be, are traditional, and cannot be said to be directly taken from the New Testament. On the Continent, of course, it is very usual for advantage to be taken of the favourable opportunity offered by hill-sides, mountain paths, and elsewhere, to place either way-side chapels, the Crucifix, or the Stations of the Cross, all of which are powerful evidences of religious symbolism, as shown forth by the Church of Rome, which would not be considered by many as suitable to this country.

But I must be now drawing near to the conclusion of my subject, which, as I mentioned at the commencement of this discourse, is practically inexhaustible. There are a few examples of religious symbolism in the Middle Ages to which I must briefly make some allusion. There is, for instance, that beautiful idea by which angels and archangels are represented standing upon wheels, typifying the swiftness with which they obey the Divine command.

I have heard an excellent explanation of the vision of Jacob's ladder, of which there is a well-known representation in stone on the west front of the Abbey Church at Bath. The angels ascending the steps carry prayers with them, while those descending bring down graces. Or, as I have heard it put in a different way, as "embodying the delightful vision of angels ascending a staircase of Heaven, conveying the consoling thought of this intercommunication between Heaven and Earth, of prayers going up to Heaven in an upward stream, and meeting Mercy coming down."

Again, I have somewhere seen an admirable symbol of the Fall of Man—an apple with blighted leaves, and the serpent issuing therefrom. In an early Mediæval picture which I examined

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in the magnificent National Picture Gallery at Madrid, depicting the Temptation of Eve, Satan, although he has the *body* of a serpent, has the *head* of a beautiful woman, while in a painting I have seen elsewhere the serpent has the head of Innocence—that of a pretty child. What a charming piece of symbolism, too, is that of some of the Mediæval paintings of the Blessed Virgin—the empty tomb filled with lilies growing from it, with the group of the holy Apostles around! That favourite subject of religious art in the Middle Ages, "The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin," has been said to be simply symbolic of the heavenly reward to a holy life. A crown of glory is, indeed, a very frequent metaphor, and in the science of heraldry you are all familiar with the representation of the celestial crown.

Bear with me a moment while I mention what appears to me an interesting and original piece of symbolism in modern times, which was carried out, to my knowledge, within the last few years in a new church in Worcestershire. The ideas were those of my clerical friend, an F.S.A. The weather-cock to the vane of the tower, instead of being placed at the top of the vane and gilded, was left with its natural surface of copper, which, of course, soon became green. Then over the cock, connected with it by the thinnest possible rod, so as to give the idea of the cross being suspended in the air, was a very small Maltese cross, gilded. In the interior of this same church the lectern was of solid stone, representing an eagle standing on a bold scarped rock. There was no pulpit, but in lieu of it the figure of an angel, executed in stone, holding a book.

I must now conclude, trusting that there is not one in this room who thinks symbolism in ecclesiology a vain conceit of men, but that, on the contrary, it has quite a *raison d'être* in the beautiful structures in our country which have sprung up not through mere accidental causes, but from a noble influence not of this earth.

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THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

By CHARLES BROWNE, M.A.

There are, I imagine, few, if any, of the remains of antiquity which present to us so many, and, at the same time, such interesting illustrations of the various branches of the study to which this Society is specially devoted—the study of Ecclesiology—as the Catacombs of Rome. For in them we have preserved to us not only the earliest and most interesting examples of Christian sepulchres, and sepulchral monuments, with not unfrequent indications of early sepulchral rites, but there we find also the first structures that were fitted and used exclusively for the purposes of Christian worship in the days of its infancy. There also may be studied the earliest dawn and gradual development of art devoted to ecclesiastical subjects; and there the most instructive instances of ecclesiastical symbolism, showing both the reason for its adoption, and some of the most interesting examples of its treatment; and then, the remarkable circumstance that when, after centuries of oblivion, these monuments of the past were once more brought to light, they were found in the same condition in which they had existed when the use of them was abandoned, probably early in the fourth century, this re-discovery in such remarkable preservation of these early memorials of Christian modes of thought and feeling concerning matters connected with religious worship, has rendered the Catacombs of Rome worthy to be regarded as the very Pompeii of primitive Ecclesiology.

And now, to begin at the beginning, it is desirable to see what the Catacombs are, and what is the meaning and origin of the name. Rome—I speak of its physical condition—rests on a hollow foundation. The soil of the neighbourhood to a very considerable distance consists of a sort of volcanic rock, looking to ungeological eyes very much like baked or petrified mud. Of this rock, which is known by the name of tufa, one sort is very soft, and easily worked, and yields, with little labour, a kind of sand called puzzolana, much valued for building purposes; and accordingly, long before the times of the introduction of Christianity into Rome, considerable excavations had been made for the purpose of obtaining this sand; and as, from some passages in the classical writers, it was known that it was not unusual to cast the bodies of slaves, and felons, and persons who had none to care for them, into the quarries and pits—*arenariæ*, as they were called—thus formed, it was at one time supposed that the Christian cemeteries owed their origin to the same source, and were to be found mingled with the sandpits that had been the receptacles of the bodies of all the outcasts of Roman society. Further and more accurate investigations, however, have proved that the Christian burial-places were always distinct from these dreadful spots; and that, although the pits excavated for the purpose of obtaining the sand were frequently made to serve as an entrance to these subterranean sepulchres, yet that the places actually used for the burial of the dead were dug out with that very object, and were accordingly adapted specially to the purpose to which they were intended to be applied. As to the name "Catacombs," it is very puzzling, both as to its origin and primary meaning. Several ingenious attempts have been made to derive it from entirely Greek sources (such as κατά and κύμβος—"a hollow place"; or κύμβος, used for τύμβος—"a tomb"). But I believe the best guess—where all is guess—is, that it is a barbarous combination of a Greek and a Latin word (the preposition κατά, and the verb *cumbere*, the base of the words *recumbere*, *incumbere*, &c.), and that it was intended to signify a place to lie down, a resting-place. The origin of its application to the subterranean cemeteries of Rome seems to have been this:—One of these places—that now known as the Cemetery of St. Sebastian, amongst other names—was once distinguished as the "Cœmeterium ad Catacumbas," the cemetery at, or of, the resting-place; because, as tradition said, when the disciples had taken up the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, martyred, according to one tradition, with the same sword, at the same spot, to give them burial in a sepulchre befitting their sanctity, the rage of their heathen persecutors, not satiated with their blood, would not permit their sorrowing followers to accomplish their design; and so they were compelled in haste to deposit the bodies in this spot as a temporary resting-place, from whence they were afterwards, in quieter times, removed to the place where now they lie side by side, beneath the high altar of the great Basilica of St. Peter. The name of "Catacombs,"

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thus local at first, afterwards became a common one, to designate the whole system of similar cemeteries, and now is usually applied to any underground vaults or excavations used for the purpose of burial.

The extent of these subterranean galleries in the neighbourhood of Rome is something truly astonishing. Stretching in every direction, with branches and cross-branches intersecting each other, in many places running in stages or tiers of two, three, or even four, one under another, they have been estimated by the most recent explorers as extending, if all their windings were stretched in one straight line, to a distance of not less than 350 miles—a space equal to the whole length of the Italian Peninsula.

The Christians of the first three centuries, as we know, were subject, with intervals more or less protracted of rest, to most violent persecutions, during which, not only were their lives endangered, their property sequestered, and all their rights as citizens ignored and trampled under foot, but, what they regarded with even more horror and consternation than all this, the performance of their sacred rites was liable to be interrupted by the rude hand of violence; and mysteries which none but the baptised Christian might know, exposed to the contempt and scorn and frantic hatred of their bitter foes. To avoid these scenes of violence, and to shelter more their religious services than their own persons from hostile attacks, they early betook themselves to the protection of these subterranean excavations, and doubtless the practice of burying their dead in the same places was both cause and effect of this custom of holding there their solemn rites. *Effect*, because they would naturally desire to place those hallowed remains as far as they could, in safety, and to keep them under their own immediate eyes, and *cause*, because they would love to pour forth their prayers for protection amidst the fiery temptation that surrounded them, and grace to bear them triumphantly through the fight, in full view of those who had passed the same waters of affliction before them, and whose simple monuments reminded them that now at last "deposited in peace they slept well." And so the first three or four centuries of the Christian era till the conversion of Constantine was the time during which the Catacombs were principally filled. Then came the period of rest and peace and triumph of the Church, during the early part of which a few burials still took place in these receptacles, of those who sought to be joined with the saints in their deaths, and even, as specially by Pope St. Damasus, the Catacombs were restored and adorned with various inscriptions and decorations; until at length the irruption of foreign invaders, and the violent convulsions which the Eternal City underwent, caused the very memory of the catacombs to perish, and they were only known as the lurking places of the bat and the owl, the brigand and the outlaw—dangerous and suspected localities—avoided by every honest and well-meaning man. Then came the revival of interest in every branch of art, and science, and antiquities to which the sixteenth century gave birth. The Catacombs, re-discovered by accident, were opened and explored, and from that time till the present the course of discovery has gone on with increasing interest, as successive monuments have been brought to light, and, within the last few years, with such diligence and success that since the time when I myself visited them, now several years ago, and passed some time amidst their interesting scenes, a large number of fresh galleries have been opened and explored, and as well the monuments before known as those more recently discovered have been most carefully studied, so as at length to throw a sufficiently clear light at once upon the Catacombs themselves and the history of those who have constructed them, or have occupied their cavernous recesses.

These subterranean galleries run about eight or ten feet in height, and from four to six feet in width in different directions, and are crossed by others at various intervals, with passages here and there leading to the lower stages, until the whole form a most intricate net-work or labyrinth, to be lost in which would readily prove fatal; and accordingly, in order to prevent such an accident (which is said indeed to have sometimes happened), the side passages have been occasionally walled up. Light and air were admitted by certain holes or shafts at intervals, which were not always the means of safety, as we find that at least on one occasion the enemy having tracked the Christians to their hiding place, poured down upon a large company assembled there round the tomb of a martyr, stones and rubbish through the air-hole, till all were exterminated, and thus the very heathen lent a helping hand to lay a troop of the Noble Army of Martyrs in their favourite sepulchre.

The graves were ranged in tiers, sometimes thickly, sometimes very scatteringly, spread along the surface of the walls, as it were on shelves. I can give you no better idea of them and their position than to say they are like the berths on board a Channel steamer. They are, or at least have been, closed with a thin slab of stone or marble, or sometimes two or three tiles, set in a sort of groove, and fastened with cement, upon which, or on the rock by the side, are marked those inscriptions and emblems which lend a principal feature of interest to the tombs, and which I shall speak of more at length presently.

The graves usually contain one body each. Several, however, are of larger size, and contain two; and such a grave is known as a "bisomum"—a place for two bodies. Sometimes, but

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rarely, three and even four are lying within the same receptacle. They vary in length and size very much, and seem so obviously adapted to the skeletons that are found within, that they are supposed to have been very generally made to measure, so to speak, cut—amidst what fear and trepidation, and yet what thoughts of hope and pious consolation, too!—whilst the body was lying by the side, streaming with the blood that poured from the wounds inflicted by their heathen tormentors.

Before considering in detail what may be found in these passages to interest us, it may be as well just to refer for a moment to the person to whom, or to his fellow-labourers, the saints were indebted for the preparation of their resting-place. There is, amongst other figures delineated on the walls of the Catacombs, one which, probably, many of you will remember, as it is reproduced in Cardinal Wiseman's story of "Fabiola." It is the portrait of Diogenes, the Fossor—that is, the digger, or sexton—who, surrounded with all his implements, looks mildly and complacently on his handiwork, and the numbers whom he has deposited in peace around him. These Fossores were regarded as having, from their employment, something of a sacred character about them; and some have even stated, but it would appear without any sufficient authority, that they constituted one of the minor orders of the Early Church. It is, however, to be borne in mind that all who had any sacred office to execute were of old considered as set apart from profane things for God's service; and usually in some way formally consecrated as his ministers and servants.

One of the first points to which, in traversing these gloomy galleries, our attention would doubtless be directed would be the tombs that contain, or did contain before their bodies were removed, the remains of those holy martyrs who, by their noble endurance, won for us the final triumph of Christianity, and its spread throughout the whole Roman Dominions; that is, the then known world. Now, it is somewhat singular that, although contemporary history, Pagan as well as Christian, is full of accounts of the sufferings of those who when called upon refused to deny their Lord, yet very few of the inscriptions which remain contain any express designation of them as tombs of martyrs, or refer in express terms to their sufferings. One of the few deserving of some attention runs, in English, as follows:—"Alexander is not dead, but lives above the stars, and his body rests in this tomb: he ended life under the Emperor Antoninus, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good: for while on his knees, and about *to sacrifice to the true God*, he was led away to execution. Oh sad times! in which, among sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns we are not safe. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? when they cannot be buried by their friends and relations. At length they sparkle in heaven."

The remainder of the inscription is obscure and its meaning not readily discovered. However, from what remains much may be learned. The constant, overhanging, ever-threatening menace of death that made life itself a torment; the death that came at last, in the very moment when on his knees before God he was pouring forth his soul full of love, and joy, and peace; the malignant hatred of his foes that pursued his mangled corpse even after death, and drove his friends to secure his body by stealth, and commit it to the grave amidst these gloomy caverns where his enemies might not penetrate to disturb it; and then the beaming spirit of love and consolation that breaks forth through and above all, in that triumphant strain, "He is not dead; he lives above the stars; at length he sparkles in heaven!" —all combine to give us a lively picture at once of the sufferings and trials of the Christians of those early days and of the intensity of that faith and hope which enabled them to bear up against the pitiless storm of persecution that raged in all directions around them.

That part of this inscription which speaks of the refusal to their friends of the permission to bury their martyred brethren, supplies us probably with the reason why the inscriptions containing the word martyr, or direct allusions to their mode of death, should be so few. Fear lest, should the enemy break in upon them in their hiding place, even the graves where their departed brethren were laid to rest in peace should be violated, and their sacred ashes scattered to the winds, cast into the sea, and treated with every mark of contumely and indignity that the malice of their tormentors could suggest. This feeling led their friends to mark the martyrs' tombs with signs and tokens which should be well enough known to those who wished to reverence their sacred contents, but appear meaningless and merely idle figures to any foe who by accident should penetrate their subterranean hiding places.

At first, when the Catacombs, after the lapse of several hundred years, were re-opened in the sixteenth century, there was a tendency to consider almost every mark beyond the mere inscription of the name, to be the token of a martyr's tomb. Thus the palm-branch, the symbol of victory; the crown, the token of the heavenly prize, now recognised as marking graves, that are unquestionably those of simple pious Christians, were formerly considered to point out the situation of a Martyr's tomb. Subsequently, upon opening many of the graves, instruments such as saws, and pincers, hooks and such like implements that tallied precisely with those described by the sad witnesses of the martyr's torments as used to inflict their

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sufferings, were found buried with the bodies, or represented on the slabs that closed the graves; and it was somewhat too hastily assumed that all that contained such things, or bore them engraved upon their outer covering, contained the relics of a Christian martyr. Later and fuller investigation proved that this too was not at any rate a universal rule, as similar implements were found, sometimes inside, sometimes engraved on the stones that closed the entrance of tombs which bore their date upon them, and the dates were undeniably those of peaceable times, when Christianity had become the established religion of the Roman Empire, and it was no longer permitted to persecute those who held its creed. Then a violent reaction ensued, and in some of the more recent works upon the subject, signs and symbols, which from quite independent sources we know to have had a Christian meaning, were maintained to be nothing more than emblems of the trade of the person buried there. One token, however, there is still remaining by which the ablest investigators have determined that a martyr's grave may be known. It is a very touching one; and when seen in those dim cavernous passages, with all their solemn and awe-inspiring associations, unspeakably affecting. It consists of a small cup or phial of the blood shed by the saint whose resting place it denotes, gathered by his friends while streaming from his wounds, and stored up there as a testimony against the last great day, when accusers and accused, judge and criminal, shall once more stand face to face—but only their situation reversed—and when the reviled, despised, degraded Christian shall judge the lordly Emperor of Rome.

Nor has even this token been allowed to pass without question: some persons having maintained that the matter with which the cups are found encrusted is only rust, or some other inorganic substance. But the most careful chemical and microscopical analysis of the most eminent scientific men has confirmed the idea that the substance yet found adhering, after the lapse of nearly 2,000 years, to the sides of the vessels, is certainly blood; and as it is proved by an abundance of testimony that at every martyrdom the friends of the sufferer pressed forward, notwithstanding the vigilance and severity of the surrounding guards, to gather up and store away the precious life-stream of the dying saint, it is now considered established that this sign at least, the phial or cup of blood lying within, or sometimes set in the mortar without the tomb, proclaims the resting place of one who has laid down his life in the cause of his Master.

And now let us take a survey of what we shall find to interest us in the far more numerous graves of those who have lived and died in the fear of the Lord, amidst, no doubt, constant danger and apprehension, but who have ended their lives peaceably, without passing through the fiery furnace that has led those others of whom we have spoken to the martyr's crown. And one of the first things which will strike those who gaze on these tombs of the ordinary Christians buried in these vaults will unquestionably be the recurrence of that striking and sweetest sounding word, "peace." Peace begins, peace ends, peace is the sum and substance of all their epitaphs. "Deposited in peace." "He sleeps in peace." "In the peace of Christ." "At length he sleeps in peace." These are the ever-recurring phrases of the slabs and memorial inscriptions around us; so that here, no less than in the quiet retirement of a country churchyard, should we recognise the appropriateness of that exquisite stanza from Gray's "Elegy":—

> "Hark how the solemn calm that breathes around
> Bids every fierce tumultuous passion cease,
> In still small accents whispering from the ground
> A grateful earnest of eternal peace."

Nor is it in words alone that this idea is expressed. The dove with the olive-branch, that first made Noah to recognise that the awful war of the elements was over, and that God was once more at peace with man, delineated, with but very poor claims to artistic merit, but none the less striking on that account, is frequently seen, accompanying, or, it may be, superseding, the expression of the idea in words.

One very touching memento of the sepulchred dead is to be found in the numerous toys and playthings of children, stuck into the yet fresh cement which has closed up their little graves. "Dolls and puppets with movable joints, sometimes in ivory, but mostly made of bone, sometimes entire, sometimes in fragments, are very common. So also are terra-cotta money-boxes, moulded sometimes into the form of human heads—in a fashion well known to the ancient Romans; little bells, generally in bronze, with a ring of the same metal, used probably as playthings, are to be met with. Toys in the shape of animals are to be found. A small leopard, made of a flat piece of bone, has been found sticking in the plaster of a tomb in a gallery in the Area of St. Hippolytus. Every one knows," says Dr. Northcote, from whom I make this extract, "how strongly the human heart is affected by the sight of toys which have once belonged to a child that is dead: how fondly the parents treasure up these precious mementos of their departed little ones; and we can all understand the feeling that prompted the adornment of children's graves with these instruments of their innocent pastimes."*

* Northcote and Brownlow, Catac., vol. 2, p. 270.

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Of the many evidences of Christianity there is none that has seemed more striking to some minds than the fact that, although admitting of the very deepest philosophical research, and affording matter of contemplation to the profoundest intellects, yet it was so far from being this characteristic that enabled it to triumph over the subtle and refined systems of ancient philosophy, that the vast mass of its early professors were, like the first companions of its divine Author, rude, illiterate, and uneducated men. "Ye see your calling, brethren," says St. Paul, himself undoubtedly a great exception to the general rule, "ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise: and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." Now of the matter of fact, that the vast majority of the Roman Christians, at least (and they were but in the same position as their brethren elsewhere), were of this lowly, ill-educated, unlettered class, we have only to cast our eyes around the walls to discover the most abundant evidence. Scarcely one inscription is there that does not betray marks of the ignorance in worldly knowledge of those who composed, and those who engraved, as well as of those who would come to gaze upon the sculptured epitaphs: words mis-spelt, letters mis-shapen, every rule of grammar, and orthography, and composition set at defiance. Greek words written in Roman characters; Latin words in Greek; some in a barbarous alphabet in use in the then savage Gaul—that is the now polished France; and one inscription in which all the words are written backwards. The letters B and V constantly found interchanged, because, of course, they were so in vulgar pronunciation; but in the inscriptions to which I am now referring, just such an error as a London mason would commit who should write upon a tombstone—"Sacred to the memory of Villiam Vhite," or "the Wenerable the Wicar of Vest Vickham."

It was probably to this general inability to read that we are indebted to some extent for the introduction and wide-spread use upon these early monuments of symbols, or pictorial emblems, instead of words, to designate the ideas intended to be conveyed. Primarily, no doubt, it was to provide a means of conveying ideas which should be well understood by the initiated Christian, but meaningless to his Pagan foes, that this medium of illustration was adopted. But it certainly was also used, as indeed throughout all ages symbolism has been of use, to convey instruction to the minds of those who could understand a picture, though they could not read a book; and so we find them using it in a somewhat singular way. Thus we have one instance where the name of a young girl, buried within the tomb on which the figure of a little pig is drawn, is the not ill-sounding one in Latin of Porcella—meaning, however, nothing else than a little pig; and so the quaint old fossor who had closed her up in the tomb, to make sure that her friends, whether learned or unlearned, should not mistake her grave, has given both her name and the figure of the animal which it represents, as a memorial to her friends. Other instances there are of lions, and casks, and other figures used to mark the tombs of those whose names bore a resemblance to such words. Just as in my own college, at Oxford, there is a shield on one part of the buildings bearing a comb and a cask, or tun—a rebus, as it is called—to show that it was to Bishop Compton that we were indebted for the erection of that part of our quadrangle.

Many a figure will meet our gaze as we wander on through this winding labyrinth of galleries, rudely enough drawn, and such as undoubtedly elsewhere would provoke a smile from the extremely stiff and childlike style of execution, which would appear to have been placed as a still surer mark for the sorrowing, but hopeful, relatives to recognise the resting-place of the loved ones who have gone before them, and which was probably intended to be a faithful portrait of the inmate of the narrow cell on which it appears.

There is one instance, in the figure of a lady named Bellicia, which is curious and valuable, as showing the proper costume of an unmarried lady of the period, the fringed robe; still more valuable as illustrating two ancient ecclesiastical customs in regard to the ordinary form and posture of prayer. For in this case Bellicia is represented, not kneeling in that mode, so expressive of humility, which we are apt to consider as the only proper attitude of prayer, but standing erect, conformably to that ancient canon which enjoined that, on the Lord's-day, during the fifty days that lie between Easter and Whitsuntide, the ordinary custom of kneeling should be laid aside, and that Christians then should show their sympathy with their risen Lord by standing upright in their devotions. "For as," says St. Justin Martyr, "we ought to remember both our fall, by our sins, and the grace of Christ by which we rise again from our fall, therefore is our kneeling, during the six ordinary days of the week, a symbol of our falling into sin, and our not kneeling on the Lord's-day is the symbol of that resurrection by which, through the grace of Christ, we are delivered both from our sins, and from the death to which for them we were condemned." And a relic, possibly, of this ancient use we may recognise in the singular, but general, custom amongst ourselves of rising and standing whenever the Lord's Prayer is read as part of the lesson for the day. But, though this was the custom of the ordinary Christian, it was a privilege confined to those who held on their course without falling

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into grievous known sin. For just as earnestly as they were urged to rise and pray, so rigorously were those, who for offences against the faith were put under the discipline of penance, commanded at all times to kneel, until by absolution they were restored to the communion of the faithful; that they might feel most keenly that, until once more made whole, they had no share in the joys of the resurrection, no right to apply its hopeful lesson to themselves. Not so Bellicia in the figure referred to: she stands there, never more to kneel, because to her, having passed the gate of death, there is no more occasion of falling. And then, again, her hands are outstretched so as to make her whole person a figure of the holy cross, the one universal symbol which the early Christians were fond of representing in their own attitudes and persons. Thus Tertullian:—"For the emperors, we supplicate the true, the living, the eternal God, in whose power they are: to whom indeed they are second: though after Him the first: with hands extended, because harmless: with heads uncovered, because not ashamed: without any to prompt, because from the heart we ask long life and every blessing for them. Then, while we *stand praying* before God, let the cruel pincers tear us; the crosses bear our weight; let the flames envelope us; the sword divide our throats; the beasts spring upon us: *the very posture of a praying Christian*"—*i.e.*, erect, with hands outstretched in the shape of the cross—"*is a preparation for every punishment.*" And so St. Chrysostom explains the Psalmist's prayer, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice"; and so the faithful friend who watched the last moments of that illustrious saint, to whom is attributed the most famous hymn of praise that the church sings, the great St. Ambrose, tells us that "from the eleventh hour until the moment when he breathed his last, with hands outstretched in the form of the cross, he prayed."

One more circumstance Bellicia's figure and her epitaph may remind us of: the fact that whilst in heathen inscriptions every single name, surname, cognomen, agnomen, prænomen, that bespeaks the illustrious families with which the dead were connected, are proudly recorded, upon the Christian tombs one single name, but that the name by which they are inscribed in the heavenly records, the baptismal name alone, for the most part appears. I have spoken before of the simple marks and tokens by which the tombs of the believers are distinguished. Amongst these there is a figure occasionally to be found graceful enough and simple and admirably adapted, without exciting the jealousy of a hostile visitor, to speak the language of hope, and consolation, and faith, to the minds of those for whose use it is placed—the palm-branches and the crown; that may mean, indeed, to speak of torture borne unflinchingly, and glory won by fortitude amidst a fiery temptation, but which speaks enough, if it does but tell, as possibly it may, of the victory gained over the Satanic foe by long years of holiness of life and self-denial, and deeds of charity and love; and the crown that awaits all who run well their own race, whether that race endure throughout the long course of an ordinary life, or be cut short by the sharp stumbling-block of a martyr's sentence and execution before it is nearly ended.

Nor, as we may well suppose, is the name of Him whose servants here await His summons to arise, unfrequently to be met with. In fact, it appears upon every wall and nearly every tomb in the greatest profusion, as if, indeed, to those who had given up everything for His sake, He was their All-in-All. But still true to the policy which would not cast the pearls before swine, the sacred name appears, not written at length in ordinary letters, but revealed to those who knew its meaning, concealed from all others, by a character known as the monogram, which is varied in many ways, but consists essentially of the two Greek letters, X and P, equivalent to Ch and R, and thus forming the first letters of the name of Christ, most frequently combined with the A and Ω, the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet; our blessed Lord's well-known symbol of Himself given in the Book of Revelation.

And now it is time that I should draw your attention to the Catacombs, considered no longer as sepulchral monuments, but as containing the earliest specimens of Christian art, the buds, so to speak, of those glorious flowers which show their full-blown beauties in the works of Angelico, Perugino, and Raphael. Paintings executed sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago, it may well be supposed, are not now to be found existing in a very high state of preservation, and their situation underground, the smoke and flame of torches held up daily to explore them, and all the innumerable accidents to which from their position they are exposed, have, it may be imagined, all contributed to accelerate their ruin and decay. Many, however, of the most interesting have been long since removed to situations where they may be both more effectually preserved and more easily examined, in museums or galleries of the city, and its various palaces, especially the Vatican. And when, after the lapse of so many years, these subterranean chambers were again explored, the interest they excited led to many copies of the drawings found in them being made and preserved, so that on the whole the pictorial department of these interesting repositories is capable of being not scantily or unworthily illustrated.

I have before mentioned the custom which the early Christians began, in troublous times, from fear of persecution, to adopt, and which those of a later and more peaceful age continued from love of pious associations to keep up, of making the tombs of the martyrs and saints

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buried in these caverns their own most favoured places of devotion. If we were to continue our walk along the galleries which we have had already sketched for us, we should not proceed very far before we should find the gallery expand into a chamber, hollowed out of the rock, in one side of which we are almost certain to find the tomb of some one who, from his position in the Church, or his eminent sanctity, had been raised by the unanimous feeling of his Christian brethren to the distinction of such pre-eminence.

Those tombs, thus distinguished, are mostly found sunk in the wall of the chamber, having a large arch turned over them, and such a tomb is known by the name of an *Arcosolium:* resembling what we should now term an altar tomb, with an arch or canopy over it. It is in the chambers thus cut out of the living rock that the early Christians, when times of persecution compelled them to seek security by retiring from publicity, were wont to assemble for the performance of the divine offices; and here, when Constantine's conversion had given peace to the Church, and for a long time afterwards, they acknowledged it to be, if not a duty, at least a privilege of high importance, still to meet for worship on the festivals of those whose venerated remains reposed within those subterranean vaults, around their tombs, and, so to speak, in their very presence; that they might derive strength to aid them in their daily conflicts with the world, the flesh, and the devil, from the example of those whom they saw laid there to rest before them.

It is in these chambers that the principal illustrations of the early artistic treatment of religious subjects occur. Upon the walls and on the ceiling are traced figures, the reference and meaning of which it is seldom difficult to interpret; delineated indeed with great variety of excellence, and bespeaking execution, not only by different hands, but at obviously widely distant periods of time, and not always presenting internal evidence sufficient to enable us to determine the date to which they should be referred.

One of the most interesting of these is that which the best authorities believe to be the very earliest known portrait of our Blessed Lord in existence. This was found in a chapel in the cemetery formerly called that of St. Callixtus, but now identified as the cemetery of St. Domitilla; and is now generally considered to have been painted about the end of the third or possibly the beginning of the fourth century. Whether there were any earlier portrait in existence, from which this was copied, and which itself was taken from some earlier one, and so on in a chain reaching backward to the very time of His divine presence upon earth, or whether, as there is some reason to believe, this and other contemporary portraits were drawn so as to embody the features which tradition had handed down as those of His Sacred Face, cannot be certainly known. Eusebius, at any rate, the most voluminous of the writers on early ecclesiastical history whose works have come down to us, who wrote about the middle of the fourth century, distinctly tells us that he had himself seen portraits of our Lord which he seems to intimate were contemporary with His own life on earth. His words are these (after telling us of a statue which he says had been erected in honour of Christ by the woman who was cured of the issue of blood by touching His garments, he goes on)—"Nor need it seem a wonder that the ancient Gentiles, who received benefits from our Saviour, did these things; seeing that *we have seen the pictures* of His Apostles Peter and Paul, *and of Christ himself, drawn in colours*, and preserved till our days." There are, indeed, several descriptions of the personal appearance of our Lord, professing to come from actual eye-witnesses, but, unfortunately, they can none of them be depended upon for genuineness; and the utmost that can be said of them is, that they are good evidence of the tradition which prevailed at the time when the forgery was perpetrated. One of these descriptions is that which purports to be the account sent by the pro-consul Lentulus to the Roman Senate, of the person who had occasioned so much trouble in their province, or subject-kingdom of Judæa. He says that "He was tall and well proportioned in stature; of a countenance full of force and gravity, such as moved spectators both to love and fear. His hair was auburn and glossy, and it flowed down upon His shoulders, curly, and parted in the middle, after the manner of the Nazarenes. The forehead smooth and very serene, the countenance without line or spot, of a pleasant colour; the general appearance open and pleasing; the nose and mouth faultless; the beard thick, of the same colour and extremely bright."*

But whether the portrait to which I am referring has been painted from this or from some other similar description, or whether the description has been taken from this or from some other similar portrait, it is plain that the two do very well agree with each other. Though as regards even the portrait, I am afraid it must be considered as, to some extent at least, in the nature of a restoration. For the original, which has now existed for, probably, at least 1,600 years, has become somewhat obliterated in the outlines, and being seen only by torchlight, or the light of magnesium wire, it is so difficult to copy it exactly, that the most recent copies of it which I have seen differ considerably in appearance. At any rate, however, we can see what influence

* Northcote and Brownlow, Catac., vol. 2, p. 217.

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this portrait, or at least that original, whatever it may have been, from which this was derived, must have had, that now, after the lapse of so many hundred years, the general cast of features and whole appearance is that which painters to this very day adopt as the conventional representation of the Redeemer, and which we all recognise as the appropriate expression of His character of mingled majesty and love. But it was not always, or even generally, that our Blessed Lord was presented to the imagination of the faithful thus, in what professed to be an express portrait. For reasons which I have before alluded to, it was the more usual plan to veil His representation beneath the image either of some scriptural figure in which He was known, or of some popular character in which it was the Christian's delight to recognise an allegory of Him, His passion, and His power. One of the most favourite of these representations was the picture of the Good Shepherd, a character which it has been said became a favourite mode of representing Him by the Catholics, during the period of the Novatian heresy, which taught that for those who had once fallen away from the faith, under whatever severe temptation, or violence of persecution, there remained no place for pardon, none for repentance, —a doctrine which those who themselves had most sturdily resisted to the death, were ever the most anxious to repel, and ever desirous to remind the wanderer that there was more joy over one lost sheep truly reclaimed and brought back into the fold, than over the whole flock who had never strayed.

The legend of Orpheus again, with its strong and striking coincidences with the character of our Lord, His descent into hell, His power over the realms of nature, His love and its triumph exposed to the malignant attacks of the wily old serpent, suggested this as a frequent and favourite means of conveying a hidden allusion to be understood only by the initiated Christian to baffle and perplex a heathen whose gaze it might chance to meet.

The scenes which are most frequently represented on the walls and ceilings of the Catacomb chapels are very various, mostly Scriptural in their character, but generally consisting of one or other of two classes of figures; the one exhibiting persons or events calculated to promote a spirit of confidence in their Divine Lord; that he would at length deliver them from the fiery trial in which they were involved; the other consisting of illustrations of those histories which most powerfully told of the resurrection of the dead, the life of the world to come.

Of the first of these classes one curious example exists. It is a very small sculpture intended to exhibit Noah in his Ark waiting the return of the dove with the olive branch, designed to symbolize the faithful Christian in the Church's bosom waiting for the return of peace and the cessation of the storm of persecution that was howling all around. With a similar object we may find paintings or sculptures, some indeed rude and unskilful enough, but others laying claim to some degree of merit as mere works of art, in which the holy children Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, with the fourth that walked with them, whose form was like the Son of God, are seen to stand unharmed amidst the flames of the burning fiery furnace; or where Daniel stands in the den of lions, whose mouths have been closed by the angel of the Most High, that they should not hurt him. Of the other class, those alluding to the resurrection are such as the representation of Jonah cast to the whale, the very type, as our Lord himself explained, of his own mysterious descent into hell, and resurrection, as the first fruits of them that slept. To this class belong all the numerous figures of Elijah passing in the fiery chariot from earth to heaven; in the human body, of Lazarus raised by that awful "Come forth," which even the powers of death could not withhold him from obeying; of the widow's son of Nain; of the paralytic, the living corpse springing into activity and vigour at His solemn "Arise"; or of Abraham's sacrifice, that told not only of Isaac delivered from death, but of Him who was the very lamb that was promised as the substituted sacrifice.

The last figure that I shall mention is one that illustrates a custom of the primitive Church, no longer, however, now, nor indeed for many ages, observed amongst us, as it is one of those cases where the abuse of an institution has unhappily proved productive of more mischief than its use would have supplied of good, and in the end has compelled its abolition. It is the representation of an *Agape*, or Love Feast—that is the feast which was celebrated in the earliest and purest days of the Church, as the bond of love and union between rich and poor, where the equality of all in the sight of God obtained a forcible and practical illustration. The practice, we remember, is alluded to by St. Jude; when speaking of evil Christians, he says, "These are spots in your *feasts of charity*," and in later times we have from St. John Chrysostom this fuller account of the institution. "From this law and custom" [of having all things in common in the Apostolic times] "there arose another admirable custom in the Churches. For when all the faithful met together, and had heard the sermon and prayers, and received the Communion of the Holy Mysteries, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the assembly, but the rich and wealthy brought meat and food from their own homes, and called the poor, and made a common table, a common feast, a common banquet in the Church; and so from this fellowship, and the reverence of the place, they were all strictly united in charity one with

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another, and much pleasure and profit arose thence to them all. For the poor were comforted, and the rich reaped the fruits of their benevolence both from those whom they fed and from God." And so Tertullian, in the Western Church, writes :—" Our supper, which you accuse of luxury, shows its reason in its very name. For it is called 'Αγάπη, which signifies 'love' in Greek; and whatever expense we are at we deem that expense a gain, at least upon the account of religion; for we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile, nothing immodest there; we sit not down before first we have offered up a prayer to God. We eat only to satisfy hunger. We drink no more than moderation demands. We take what we require, remembering that we have yet our nightly worship to God to perform. Our conversation is restrained by the recollection that God hears what we say. Then, when water has been brought, we wash our hands, and the lights are kindled; each is invited to sing what he may please—of his own composition if he have that gift; if not, some piece of Holy Scripture; and by this we judge whether he has observed temperance in his drinking. Prayer again concludes the feast, and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel, not to run about and abuse all we meet, not to give ourselves up to loose pastimes, but to pursue the same course of modesty as men who have met not so much to enjoy a feast as to listen to a religious discourse."

In these figures we have a pictorial illustration of the scene. The semi-circular table, with the guests on one side, and the servants on the other; whilst at each extremity are seated allegorical figures, whose names, that there might be no mistake, are written above their heads. They are "Peace" and "Love," who are assisting at the feast; and the legend above them runs: "Love mingle for me," "Peace give me hot water"—*i.e.*, to dilute my wine. Such was a Love Feast of the Primitive Church. But, alas! the spots that had defiled it in St. Jude's days increased as time went on; and when the checks interposed by the difficulties that beset the profession of Christianity had ceased by the withdrawal of persecution, the excesses committed by many, who now had joined the Christians because it was respectable to do so, and Christianity had ceased to be a mean sect, and had become the religion of the State, grew at length so flagrant that the supreme authorities of the Church were compelled to forbid any further Love Feasts from being celebrated, lest these offences should become a scandal and a blot upon the church that sanctioned them.

Such are the scenes that meet the eyes, such the reflections that will arise in the minds of those who traverse the gloomy galleries and sepulchral vaults, that indeed are but as the dull caskets that hold the precious jewels stored up within, whose brightness they only know who can penetrate beneath the forbidding aspect of the outward appearance, and read with the eye of faith and devotion the inscriptions, or the figures, that in lettered epitaphs, or in pictured symbols, tell who they are that lie within, and how they came to be deposited there. Far other were the sentiments to which the withdrawal of the Church from the public gaze into the protecting obscurity of the Catacombs, gave rise in the minds of those at whose bidding the fierce storm had arisen, whose waves they vainly thought had overwhelmed the Christian bark. It cannot fail to show how great must have been the force of that last and most vehement of all the persecutions directed against the followers of our Blessed Lord, that, ready as they were to avow the profession of their faith, and never to shrink from any public act that might betray them when occasion demanded the avowal—I say it shows how terribly vehement that storm must have been, that it so completely succeeded in repressing all external profession of Christianity, all outward manifestation of adhesion to the Crucified One, that Diocletian could erect two such inscriptions as those that have been preserved, wherein he boasts how "the Christian superstition had been everywhere blotted out, and the worship of the gods (that is the Heathen Divinities) spread throughout the world," and again exults in triumph over "the Empire of Rome expanded throughout the East and West—the name of Christians, who were overturning the state, utterly extinguished." False boast! Idle exultation! Truly might the midnight assemblies, meeting in those dim caverns, beneath the very feet of their unsuspecting tyrants, chant, in alternate strains, the words that rose to their lips as they thought upon their sad condition: "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his anointed." A few short years of civil conflict and domestic troubles had but to pass away, and then the superstition that was extinguished blazed up more brightly than ever; the name blotted out became the proudest name that the most powerful sovereigns could enrol in their long catalogue of titles. "Most Christian King," "Defender of the Faith," Eldest Son of the Church," are but modern, or mediæval equivalents for titles of similar effect borne by the successors of Constantine. Then, when the cruel winter had passed, and the genial sun once more beamed forth, it was seen that the tree cut down to the root had but acquired a fresh vigour for sending forth shoots that spread far and wide throughout the world. The seed that had indeed been hidden from sight, had fallen into good ground, from whence, copiously watered with the blood of martyrs and the tears of confessors, it sprang up to bring forth fruit a hundred and a thousand fold.

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And ages rolled on; the mighty empire of Rome crumbled into the dust—its fragments all imbued with that very religion—superstition, Diocletian called it—for the sake of which we, looking backward, cannot fail to see the mighty designs of Providence, which had allowed it to reach that pitch of greatness. The kingdoms of the world arrayed themselves against it, and one by one, as they fell beneath its sway, became its most active propagators. Nowhere, perhaps, more firmly than in Saxon England, did the expiring malice of the vanquished demon hold to his own dominion with a stern tenacity that showed how he valued each remaining province of his empire, the more as one by one they were torn from his grasp. From no one state has so large a kingdom been brought within the sway of the Great Ruler of the Universe. The region of its influence is not to be measured by states or kingdoms, but whole continents and groups of scattered islands, the individual members of which are not less than continents in extent, have owed their Christianity to this little northern isle; that itself—to show how small the beginning of the greatest works may be—traces the origin of its own submission to the glorious gospel, to the influence of two poor slave children that standing friendless and naked in the market-place of Rome might have seemed the very humblest of God's creatures—angels, in very truth to us did those Angles become when they stirred up the missionary zeal of the saintly Gregory—of him who living in happier times when the bishop's chair was not the invariable avenue to the Martyr's crown—still by his acts of loving self-denial made his whole life-long one continuous martyrdom for his brethren's sake—so that through him we too may claim our share in the glorious inhabitants of those tombs to which we have been directing our thoughts: where Martyrs' graves may tell us that though no martyrdom awaits our profession of Christ's Creed, and ours must be the possibly harder task to achieve of denying ourselves and taking up our cross daily to follow Him—where pictured emblems, and rude sculptures and meaning symbols remind us of the resurrection of the dead, the life that lies beyond the grave—and where the commonest tomb of the simplest Christian bids us remember that there is a palm for which all may run, a crown that all may receive. If such be the lessons that a hasty glance at the Catacombs of Rome can afford, I need no further apology for the time I have detained you with my imperfect illustration of their interesting scenes, than to have called your attention to a subject which will so well repay you in making a more intimate acquaintance with its details for the study of which by the diligence of recent explorers many and most carefully prepared materials are now easily accessible, to which rather than to my own original researches, I am bound to acknowledge that I am principally indebted for the remarks which I have had the privilege and pleasure of addressing to you this evening.

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THE MOST REMOTE CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

By The Rev. C. L. Acland, M.A.

I feel considerable hesitation in venturing to address the Society this evening, for several reasons. In the first place, I can lay claim to very little knowledge, either ecclesiological or architectural. Such as I have is general rather than special. And in the second place, the scenes and buildings to which it is my intention to introduce you, are, many of them, not known to me by actual personal knowledge. As you may gather from the title of my paper, I am about to ask you to go with me into very remote regions—remoter, perhaps, than any of you have any idea can exist in the British Islands. I am personally well acquainted with some out-of-the-way spots within the four seas. I know well both Shetland and Scilly—extremes of our islands. I am frequently in Orkney, have been on the Fair Isle, and know Foula and St. Kilda, at any rate, by sight; but I have not visited all the sites to which, nevertheless, I have the presumption, this evening, to offer myself as guide. I know nothing of the Celtic language in any one of the three forms in which it is still spoken in Britain; and this ignorance is, in itself, sufficient to render a personal visit to the most remote church in the British Islands difficult, if not impossible.

Ecclesiologists find so much to occupy them in the consideration of the branch of the Church Catholic, which traces its descent in England from St. Augustine, and his mission to the English, that they are, perhaps, inclined to lose sight of the fact that, although Augustine was the first to introduce Christianity to the English, he was by no means the first to introduce it to the British Islands. When he began his mission, the Celtic Christians had been driven back by their English invaders, and had retreated to the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, where, to this day, the legends of the Celtic saints, and the Celtic names, local and family, bear witness that we are in the presence of another race. In Wales, as you well know, English is not the language of the population; while in Cornwall, although the dialect of the Celtic tongue, known as Cornish, is no longer spoken, the unfamiliar names at once strike strangely on the ear. Menheniot, Landewednack, and Penzance, are no more English place-names than are Adamnan, Columba, and Flann English saints. The churches of strange dedication in Cornwall bear the names of the Celtic worthies, though with the doubtful exception of Peranzabuloe, it may be questioned whether any architectural remains of Celtic Christianity are to be found in South Britain at all.

With Ireland and Scotland, however, the case is very different. Throughout the length and breadth of Ireland are found ecclesiastical structures of Celtic origin, perfect or in ruins, rising from the rudest type of dry dyke cells to the finished specimens of the characteristically beautiful Irish architecture of the twelfth century. After the English invasion of the island under Strongbow, it may be presumed that the national architecture gradually blended with the English style, and that by degrees the two became fused into one. I have not, however, the knowledge necessary to follow out this line of thought. We all know how wild is the west coast of Ireland—presenting its front of bold cliffs to the fierce beat of the Atlantic. This coast is fringed with islands, large and small, and hardly an island—I had almost written hardly a rock—but contains its old ecclesiastical buildings—not only rivalling in antiquity the oldest English remains, but probably ante-dating them by many centuries. I suspect there are but few Christian structures in England now remaining which can be held to be earlier than 1000 A.D.; but in Ireland those probably dating from as early as A.D. 500 to A.D. 700 are almost innumerable. An Irish author writes:—"The seven centuries that elapsed between the mission of St. Patrick and the English invasion of Ireland under Strongbow (A.D. 1170), form the epoch within which any historical account of the native art of Ireland must be confined."—(Stokes' *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, p. 21.) Naturally, perhaps, the very earliest and rudest of these remains are those that are in the most remote positions. Those of the same date nearer to the centres of civilization would be gradually removed and replaced by structures more suited to the advancing ideas of the people, just as we find to have been the case in England. But on these remote rocks the influences of civilization would have small effect; those whom custom or circumstances had led to take up abode on them would remove

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to the mainland, or die out and not be replaced, and the ruins of their dwellings or their churches be all that was left to show that even here the Church of Christ had left the sign of the cross. To take an example. Some ten or twelve miles off the west coast of county Kerry lie two small rocky islands, known as the Greater and Lesser Skellig. The Greater Skellig rises to a height of some 700 feet precipitously—in many places vertically—from the sea. In the warm, mild climate of the Atlantic breezes, as is also the case on the west side of Shetland, every available spot is covered with bright green turf; brighter still, in proper season, with the blooms of the thrift, cushion-pink, and other sea-loving flowers. On the summit of this rock is the ruined group of monastic buildings now known by the name of St. Michael. Deserted as they have been for ages, these ruins are still the object of many a pilgrimage; and year by year the story of the cross is told on the 700 steps leading to the summit—told with prayers and ceremonies peculiar to the spot—told to the poor Kerry peasants and fishermen, who are bold enough to cross the wild sea to the almost wilder rock. "The buildings which form the monastery occupy a plateau near the northern summit of the rock, about 180 feet in length by from 80 to 100 feet in width. They consist of the Church of St. Michael, two smaller oratories, and six anchorite cells or dwelling-houses; there are, besides, two holy wells, five leachta or burial-places, and several rude crosses. This group of buildings was enclosed on one side by the rock against which they are partly built, and on the other by the cashel, or enclosing wall which ran along the edge of the precipice."—(Stokes' *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, pp. 28, *et seq.*)

Here we have evidently a complicated group of edifices after the fashion of that whose far less perfect ruins I have myself seen crowning the Broch of Deerness, on the east side of the mainland of Orkney. The masonry is entirely without mortar, the interstices of the large stones being filled in with smaller ones with exquisite skill; and although the complicated nature of the arrangement, and certain structural peculiarities, forbid our assigning to the monastery of St. Michael the very highest antiquity among its fellows, there can be no doubt that it is of very early date—probably not later than the close of the seventh century.

I have been led into this description of the Skellig Michael because it is a very remarkable example of its peculiar type; and, as regards situation, structure, and antiquity, may be looked on as a venerable relic of the remote past of Celtic Christianity. But I must not dwell among these Irish relics, interesting though they are, and, willingly as I would use up all my time with a further account of them; I must go nearer to the scene of the title of my paper.

I said that Ireland had many of these pre-Norman structures of various degrees of rudeness and of beauty. In Scotland, for very obvious reasons, these remains are far fewer in number, and are almost entirely confined to the most remote corners of the country, and therefore to the rudest types of the characteristic architecture. Leaving the mainland of Scotland out of the question, one is struck with astonishment at the extraordinary richness in ecclesiastical antiquities, or rather ecclesiastical sites—for the remains are usually little else but grass-grown mounds—of the islands on the West Coast. Provision seems to have been made to meet the spiritual needs of a far denser population than is now found there, or else—which is, perhaps, more probable—the great establishment of Iona led to the multiplication of smaller churches and monasteries that were to the central *one* as daughters to a very noble mother.

It has been well suggested that the extreme rudeness of the earliest Christian Churches in our islands may be due to the fact that the memories of the first missionaries dwelt rather upon the caves and catacombs which formed the meeting places and shelter of the first three centuries of the Church than upon stately Basilicas which were opened to Christianity when it once became the accepted religion of the great empire. Be this as it may, the very earliest of the Christian Churches in this country are probably those few natural caves—some six or seven are known—which have been adapted to their sacred purpose, and still bear marks of this adaptation. In the cliffs of the Mull of Galloway, not far from the lighthouse, is one of these caves, locally known as the Chapel in the Rock. (See Illustration in Muir's *Old Church Architecture of Scotland*, p. 3.) The cave itself, which has evidently been the sanctuary or chancel of the structure, is ogival in plan, about eleven feet by nine, and scarcely high enough for an erect posture to be taken. The nave, if we may so call it, is the natural approach to the cave, which has been walled off from the outer world by what is now not much more than a breastwork of rude dry masonry, advantage being taken to the utmost of the natural rock. This nave is about fifteen feet long by eleven feet six inches wide, and is separated from the chancel by a similar wall of rude masonry. The entrance through the outer wall is by a narrow door close to the rock, and a small window, widely splayed inwards, suggests that there must originally have been a roof. At present the nave is open to the sky. The whole structure is very wonderful, and strangely opposed to the usual ideas of what we call Church architecture. Muir, in his beautiful work, calls Scotland an imperfectly explored country, and hints that other like relics may possibly yet be discovered. He speaks of "little crypts merely faced or lined with stone, pointed out as the first retreats of the holy men who came to bring the gospel to the

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heathen": and adds, "Of their precise age it is impossible to speak, as also of what others there may be in like manner secreted in the less frequented nooks of our imperfectly explored country." As an example of this unexploredness, I may mention that on Inchcolm, Columba's Isle, in the Firth of Forth, is a small rude church, not unlike that to which the title of my paper refers, and probably of nearly the same remote antiquity. In spite of the easy accessibility of the island, its well-known Mediæval remains, and its frequent visitors, the existence of this small Church seems to have been almost unsuspected till it was brought to light by the late Sir James Y. Simpson.

The Chapel in the Rock is at the extreme south-west of Scotland. Far away in the north-east is the Broch of Deerness, in Orkney, to which I have already made allusion. It is a huge stack of rock—flat at the top—evidently at some remote period detached by the sea from the promontory of Deerness, of which it forms a continuation. The approach to it is by an almost perpendicular descent from the cliffs on to the beach, and an equally perpendicular ascent from the beach—here dry at low tide—on to the top of the Broch. On this Broch are the remains of a group of buildings enclosed by a wall. They resemble in character and general arrangements those on Skellig Michael, but are, probably, not of so early a date. They are much less perfect than the Irish remains, but are in their way equally interesting, and probably even less known. The buildings were originally a small Church, and some half-dozen cells, each probably for its single tenant. They are now very ruinous, but enough remains to determine their general character. They are all dry-built, without mortar or cement of any kind. On this same promontory of Deerness stood down to fifty years ago a church which was, probably, unique in the British Islands in the possession of two Round Towers. It was pulled down by the then proprietor before the year 1832.* In the neighbouring Island of Egilshay may still be seen a round-towered church of singular interest, to which, as well as to the Deerness Church, I may hope at some future time to call your attention. The Deerness and Egilshay Churches are, however, of much later date than the buildings we are now considering, and are built of stone, bedded after the usual fashion in mortar or cement. If I do not here mention the noble Cathedral of St. Magnus, in Orkney, it is from no forgetfulness of its special claims. It belongs, however, obviously to an era and a class of architecture utterly distinct from those of the structures of which I am now speaking. In the churchyard of Orphir, on the mainland of Orkney, are the remains of a very small Church originally of circular form, with an apsidal chancel. This too, though very interesting, is of much later date than the dry-dyke buildings under consideration.

As I have several times mentioned the dry-dyke or mortarless construction of the earliest ecclesiastical remains, I may, perhaps, here say a few words respecting a style of building which nowadays, though still much practised in some parts of our country, is far from familiar to most of us. I am very frequently in Shetland, where this dry-dyke work is still very prevalent. In the immediate neighbourhood of Lerwick is much of a fissile sandstone that lends itself easily to this kind of work, and I have now in my mind's eye a beautifully built, perfectly new wall, surrounding a small property, lending itself to every curve of the ground, and preserving a uniform height of about ten feet. It consists almost entirely of horizontal layers of this fissile sandstone, the interstices of the larger pieces being closely filled by smaller ones, and the whole presenting an almost smooth face—a wall that looks like business, and evidently means standing till it is taken down. On the top is a single row of stones set on edge. I cannot tell the exact length of the wall, but say altogether two hundred yards; and it might, to all appearance, be just as well two hundred miles. The whole of it is put together without mortar or any kind of cement. It is what is locally called a dry dyke. Now, this is a thing of to-day; but walk with me half-a-mile along the road from Lerwick towards Scalloway, and we shall see on the right hand, in the middle of a small freshwater loch—so close, however, to the sea that from the road you can easily throw a stone into either fresh or salt water—the remains of a structure of hoary antiquity—pre-Christian, and in fact pre-historic antiquity—but of exactly the same construction as the new wall I have tried to describe. This is the Broch or Castle of Clickhemin, the most perfect but one in Shetland of the so-called Pictish round towers, the remains of which are, I believe, almost, if not quite, peculiar to the islands of Shetland and Orkney, and the neighbouring northern parts of the Scottish mainland.

I hope I shall not weary you if I venture to give a very short description of the similar, but much more nearly perfect, Castle of Mousa, the most complete of all these remains, and one which played a part in the early Norse History of the country, and, even then of remote antiquity, finds a place in the Orkneyinga Saga as well as in that of Egill Skalagrimson. It is probably the finest specimen of dry masonry in existence. The small uninhabited Island of Mousa, about a mile long, by a quarter to half a mile wide, lies on the eastern side of

* Some forty yeas ago a similar piece of barbarism was perpetrated in the extreme south of Shetland. The remains of Old Cross Kirk, Quendale Bay, were pulled down, and the materials employed in the construction of the farm buildings of the new house of Quendale.

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the long peninsula of Dunrossness, the southern part of the mainland of Shetland. The castle is on the west side of the little island, close to the edge of the narrow sound that separates Mousa from the mainland. In general aspect the tower is not unlike one of the martello towers of our own southern coast. The only external opening is a door about five feet by three, leading into a passage at first of the same dimensions, but expanding in height and width at a distance of about seven feet from the entrance. The whole length of the passage is about fifteen feet, and this is the thickness of the wall of the structure. At the end one finds oneself in a circular courtyard, not much larger in diameter (eighteen to twenty feet) than the thickness of the walls—open to the sky, and apparently at the bottom of a wall about forty-five feet deep. Such is the present height of the walls. They have, perhaps, been somewhat higher, but probably not much, as there are none of the mounds and *débris* with which Clickhemin and others still less perfect are surrounded. To its remote position, probably, Mousa owes it that it is still in such good condition. The courtyard has never been roofed in any way. On the ground level, approached by passages like the entrance-passage already described, are three oval dome-shaped chambers, each with several recesses in its sides, and there are other recesses in the wall of the courtyard itself. A fourth entrance, rather above the ground level, leads to a staircase which is continued in the thickness of the wall to the top of the tower. Above the chambers, and also in the thickness of the wall, are six galleries, one above the other, the roof of one being the floor of the next, running completely round the building, entered by turning your back upon the stair, and stepping across the gap through which you have just emerged, and ending at the back of the staircase. The chambers and the galleries are lighted by three vertical tiers of rectangular openings, separated from each other only by the stone which forms the top of one and the bottom of the next. The two upper galleries are not thus lighted. The dome-shaped chambers are constructed by gradually approximating the layers of stone till they are sufficiently close together for one stone to be laid across the opening. The thickness of the walls begins to diminish rather suddenly, with a bold curve or batter, about one-third of the way up the tower, and then continues the same up to the top.* None of the galleries is more than five feet six inches high by three feet ten inches in width, and those nearest to the top are of even less dimensions than these. The stones of which this building is constructed are of very varying sizes, many of them necessarily of large dimensions, and the whole is put together absolutely without cement of any kind. This building is, as I said, now unique, but it is only one of very many, some larger than itself and some smaller, but all constructed on the same principle, the remains of which are found in incredible numbers in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness. The Broch of Mousa apparently always stood alone, but many of them have remains of strong lines of defence, and of the well-known "beehive" structures in their neighbourhood. These remains are conspicuous at Clickhemin, though the mischievous disposition of the Lerwick boys, helped, or at any rate not hindered, by the apathy of the Lerwick authorities, is playing sad havoc with these interesting memorials of the remote past. Were I inclined to moralize I could well do so, for along the road by which we have approached the Broch of Clickhemin, or that to the village of Sand Lodge, whence we take boat for Mousa, run the lines of telegraph posts and telegraph wires of modern civilization. Now, whether I have made my description of the Castle of Mousa plain or not, it is evident that I have been describing a building of no mean design, a structure of great complexity, and whose authors can have been no mean men. The men who before the dawn-time of history constructed these buildings must have been men who, had they lived in our day, would have had in them the making of engineers or architects of eminence, worthy to take place with the Stephensons or Streets of the nineteenth century. It may seem a long step down from the Castle of Mousa to the little mill of rude construction and simplest action, in which the Shetlander of to-day grinds his few oats into coarse meal, but the principle of construction is the same; there is the same adaptation of means to ends, and the son of the hillside cottager, owner of the mill, is likely enough to be working hard on a bursary of a few pounds a year at Aberdeen University, or it may be commanding one of the great liners in which is carried on the commerce of the world. You may think me an enthusiast for Shetland. Perhaps I am; and if you knew the country as well as I do perhaps you would be enthusiastic also. I know of no country in which there is a better field for antiquarian research. Some one is wanted to do for Shetland what my friend, the late George Petrie, of Kirkwall, did for Orkney—to devote his time for years to a systematic examination of its antiquities, and place on record all the remains of the works of its earliest civilization. Anyone disposed to take up the work would find a hospitable reception wherever he might go, even though his hosts might astonish him, as they have often astonished me, by their entire ignorance of the very existence of the antiquarian

* It has been suggested to me by my friend Major Bale, R.I.B.A., that this batter is probably the result of subsidence, and due to the natural settling of the dry-dyke work, coupled with the fact of the existence of the vaulted chambers within the walls. I do not feel qualified to give an opinion, and of no other of the Brochs are there sufficient remains to show whether this batter was common to all of them, or is a feature peculiar to Mousa. For a full account of the Broch of Mousa, see Anderson's "Rhind Lectures," for 1881, pp. 174 et seq.

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treasures that abound all round them. "Oh, it's just stones!" said a proprietor in the island of Unst, in answer to a question of mine about some small stone circles that I had noticed not a mile from his house, and another friend of mine did not even know of the existence of a group of hill-side circles near to his own dwelling, that as yet are undescribed, and that I came across in the course of last summer. Verily, Shetland is a good field for systematic research.

I want now to take you to three of the most remote spots in Great Britain, and to ask you to gaze with me, and to meditate, and to wonder, on what we find there. I must repeat, however, what I have already said, that my descriptions are now not from personal observations. I have never yet had the good fortune to visit either Flannan, Rona, or the Sula Sgeir. The accounts I shall give you of the ecclesiastical remains of these sea-beaten rocks are entirely drawn from Muir's book, to which I have already expressed my indebtedness. How completely the accounts are spoilt in process of transfer can be known only to the readers of the book itself. Look on the map to the places to which we are going. The outer Hebrides, or Long Island, as it is more familiarly called, is itself considered remote by most of us; and if we had visited its stone circles of prehistoric times, and its ecclesiastical remains of mediæval and earlier date, we should, perhaps, think we had done much. But what shall we say of the situation of these outlying holms and skerries? Surely, if Benbecula and Barra are but names to most of us, if, indeed, some do not now hear them for the first time, Rona, or Sula Sgeir, are but the shadows of names—mere mists of sound, almost devoid of articulate power at all.

Due west of the middle part of the Lewis, some ten or twelve miles from the shore, lies a group of rocky islets, called the Seven Hunters, or the Flannan Islands. I am not well up in the hagiology of Iona, but Flann was probably one of that marvellous band of missionaries trained in the great school of the West—the Augustines of the early British Church. No need to say that these islands are uninhabited. As is the case with the holms of Shetland, so too with these: a few sheep, belonging to the farmer of the nearest points of the mainland, find plenty of sweet, soft pasture during the summer, and the myriads of sea birds yield, at proper seasons, a harvest of eggs and feathers that is by no means to be despised. Hear Muir's own words:—"Eilean Mor rises abruptly from the sea—its ascent is less steep and less hazardous than that of many of its like islets, as the unevenness and tuftiness of the surface all the way up everywhere presents something or other for the hands to lay hold of. On nearing the summit, the toes, too, are conveniently accommodated in the mouths of innumerable holes, the burrows of myriads of puffins, the which, along with other equally numerous though less comical and gaily attired varieties of the feathered tribe, and Iain's handful of sheep, form the sole tenants of this solitary domain."

About half-way up the grassy slope of the tiny island stands the Church, known in the local Gaelic as the Temple of Blessing*—Teampull Beannachadh—which is the reason of my asking you to visit the rock. It stands naked and unenclosed, showing no signs of the burial-ground, which is the almost invariable accompaniment of the mainland Churches of somewhat similar construction, and some of them of perhaps almost equally remote date, which are so numerous around the west side of the Lewis. The building is dry-dyke, of the type still prevalent, as I have said, in Shetland. I give Muir's description, but it is not very easy to understand, without the aid of his drawings, the structure, simple as it is, of the Church of Blessing of St. Flann. "The form is a squared-oblong, but not strictly regular, the external lengths of the north and south walls being respectively 11 feet 11 inches and 12 feet 2 inches, the east and west walls 10 feet 3 inches and 9 feet 2 inches respectively. The walls vary in thickness from 2 feet 5 inches to 2 feet 11 inches, taper a little, and are covered by a stone roof, internally flat, but following the obtusely-pointed, or cradle form of the gable on the outside. Externally, the total height of the cell is only 8 feet 6 inches; internally, 5 feet 9 inches. A narrow squared aperture, scarcely 3 feet in height, in the west end, is at once doorway and window; besides it there is no opening of any kind in the building." An admirable perspective of what is apparently an almost exactly similar building is given on page 133 of Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland.*

Such is this church. No wonder, perhaps, that it has no burial-ground, for who would there be to bury? and it is too remote from the mainland for the inhabitants to bring the bodies of their friends to rest in its sacred shades. It is not like S. Ninian's Isle, on the west of Shetland, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel of the sea, now bridged by a firm isthmus of white sand, on which the burial-ground has been used within the last twenty years, though a few shapeless mounds are all that mark the site of the once well-known church and its surrounding buildings. Yet this church is not the only building on the Island of S. Flann. At the western extremity of Eilean Mor is a small group of stone bothies of the curious construction still found in the remoter parts of the Lewis, and known as Bee-Hive

* I was asked at the time of reading this paper, whether I knew the history of the word "Teampull," in this connection. I find that it occurs commonly in the earliest Irish records, and it therefore probably made its first appearance as a Celtic word with the first introduction of Christianity to the Celtic race.

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Houses. It would, therefore, appear as though, in Muir's opinion, the ecclesiastical establishment on Flannan were of the nature of that already mentioned on the Skellig Michael and the Broch of Deerness, though these bothies may be of a date long subsequent to that of the Teampull Beannachadh.

Leaving the remote Flannan—the Seven Hunters—to their solitary hunting, let us look at a spot more remote still. The Lewis is remote from London; Flannan is remote from the Lewis; and surely Rona is remote from Flannan itself. Forty or fifty miles nearly due north of the butt of the Lewis, lying N.W. from Cape Wrath nearly the same distance, are two islands, one even smaller and more remote than the other, each of which we shall have to visit before we reach my hero eponymus, the most remote church in the British Islands. Let us go first to Rona. Strange as it may seem, there are yet men living, or were at the date of Muir's visit to the island, who were born on Rona. It is but a rock, a holm, as they call it in Shetland, with a pasture on it for a score of sheep. Its nominal owner is Sir James Matheson, of Stornoway; its real occupier the tenant of the northernmost farm on the Lewis, who visits it occasionally for sheep shearing, and for the feathers of its winged inhabitants. These are, of course, in myriads, and must always have been. The church on Rona is of more complicated structure, as well as of greater size than that on Flannan; but it is probably of approximately the same date, and is of the same rude type of architecture. Various wild legends of its original foundation still linger among the few who know of its existence. It is said that Saint Ronan, wearied with the wickedness of those among whom he was working at the Butt of the Lewis, prayed to be delivered from them, and that, going down to the sea-shore, he found waiting for him a whale. Mounting its back he was conveyed to the island that now bears his name, and there in his single strength, heedless, apparently, of the weight of ponderous stones, he constructed the Teampull, to which we are now paying a visit. Muir's delightful account of the Teampull is given in the words of a conversation held with Iain Mackay, the native of the island. The dimensions are as follows:—The chancel, 11½ feet in length and 7 feet 2 inches from wall to wall at the ground, 23 inches at the roof, where great flat stones lie across. The shape, at any rate, if not the size, is possibly unique among Christian churches in the world. The nave, almost completely shut off from the chancel, and evidently of later date, is 14 feet 8 inches by 8 feet 3 inches, with a square door and a square window on the south side. There is a recess, or aumbry, in the chancel, on the south side of the altar, and a window in its western wall. On this same island are the remains of sundry bothies, which, however, have been of recent habitation, and there are also several crosses. One of these is curious. It stands some three feet high in the middle of the *burial-ground*, and has three holes bored through it. Within living memory the few inhabitants of Rona used to light candles on the altar of the Teampull, on New-Year's Eve, and come and look through these holes after doing so. Thus much and no more Muir's informant was able to recall from out the memories of his childhood. Till lately, the Teampull has been perfect as at first, for the inhabitants valued it, and took care to see that it did not fall out of repair; but, since the last inhabitant left the island, mischief has been done to the venerable building. When the Ordnance Survey was in process of making, the Sappers—let us hope thoughtlessly—removed stones from the dry-dyke wall of the Teampull, and made a hole in the gable, through which they could more easily see into the interior than by the painful process of crouching through the humble doorway. So, at least, Iain Mackay told Muir.

More remote still, and further out still into the Atlantic, and smaller still than Rona, is Sula Sgeir, the Seal Skerry, as I venture to think the name must be. Muir's Gaelic sympathies lead him to another derivation; but, seeing how thickly-strewn are genuine Norse names on the shores of these western islands, often thinly veiled under a Gaelic form of spelling, and how at times we meet with a bit of real Norse in the very midst of purely Gaelic surroundings, I think the perfectly obvious Norse meaning of this name is to be preferred to the more far-fetched Gaelic of my chief authority. Be the name, however, really what it may, this Sula Sgeir, Seal Skerry, as I call it, carries on its few acres of surface marks of the early impress of the cross of Christ; and on this remote, bird-frequented, wave-beaten, storm-riven scrap of rock, still stands, in almost pristine perfection, what I have ventured to call the most remote church in the British Islands. I shall make no apologies for quoting, at some length, Muir's description of this rock sanctuary, that, unknown to and unsuspected by the vast multitudes of the Church on earth, still bears testimony to the fact that in by-gone times God was worshipped, and that with no mean devotion, and (can we doubt it?) with great earnestness of purpose, let that purpose be what it might, here on this solitary skerry. He says:—"Breakfast over, and the talk, we rambled a little way into the island, diverting ourselves with the physical aspect of the place, and the no less extraordinary aspect of the ceaseless and curiously diversified motions of the pinioned inhabitants, who multitudinously thronged us around, and so familiarly that often we might have taken hold of them with our hands. To me, however, it was, after a time, still more interesting occupation to look for and to find traces of an inhabitant who, in an age

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long since gone by, had shared the solitude of the Sgeir with the puffin and the goose, feeding as precariously as these in all likelihood, and housing himself far less comfortably, perhaps. On a slope of the crag, just a short way up from the place where we landed, there are five or six stone bothies, which seem to have been built by the fowlers—very small and quaint-looking things of the ordinary Lewis type, though, like many of them, probably of no great age. But over a bit from these, in a comparatively level spot, closely surrounded by rocks, there is a low, rough, oval-shaped chapel, internally measuring no more than a trifle over fourteen feet in length, the extreme antiquity of which there seems no reason to question. On the outside, the roof of this primitive cell is of a curved form, but inside the rude vaulting, which may be said to commence almost from the ground, finishes somewhat short of the summit in so many heavy slabs laid horizontally across. Externally the building is a little dilapidated at both ends, and so is the roof; but within it is quite perfect, and seemingly no ways altered from its original state. Entrance to it is by a low and very narrow flat-topped doorway, with sloping jambs, in the south wall; on its east is a small squared recess, and there is another recess of the same kind in the west wall. The only window is a small one of squared form in the east end, under which is an altar flanked by slabs set on edge, and raised on a slightly elevated dais.

Among the Butt people, who can tell you so much more or less of Saint Ronan, I have not been able to find any legend regarding the holy man who founded the Sula Sgeir Teampull, and kept ward at its altar. Whoever he was, he was surely a hero. That the conies, who are but a feeble folk, should yet make their houses in the rocks is indeed a fact to be thought of; but that a still feebler nature, burdened with fears and longing for ease, should even in its most transcendental flight of devotional zeal, have had the hardihood to seek out a home on a spot so morselled and wild, is beyond all understanding.

It is nothing to the purpose to say the notion was perverted—there could not have been anything of present day self-seeking in it, at any rate."

I was once asked by a friend to whom I was speaking about this remote and tiny sanctuary, "Well, but what did he eat?" We may be sure that an epicure would not be found in such a spot, but with the dulse and carrageen moss that probably grow abundantly on the sea-beaten rocks, the shell-fish all the year round, and the sea-birds' eggs in their season, no one need starve. The rock-pools would catch abundance of water, for the climate is very moist, and the cold is never severe, so that it is quite to be conceived that solitary residence on this rock, though by no means tempting, would not be unendurable. It is difficult to imagine that the church, many of the stones in which are of considerable size, could have been the work of one pair of hands. The site must, I think, have been chosen and the Teampull erected by the joint labours of several, before the solitary took up his abode. But for what purpose choose such a site, erect such a Teampull, or take up such an abode at all? It is not easy to suggest, but perhaps the solution may be found in the following considerations. From Iona, as the great centre, and doubtless from other stations on the West Coast, earnest missionaries were sent out to labour among the heathen, not only of the North of England, and probably of Scotland, but amongst the German and Scandinavian tribes as well. The fiery zeal and noble energy of these missionaries are well known, and it seems to me, at all events, not improbable that some, at any rate, of them may have prepared and fortified themselves for a life of hardship and privation, and possibly for a martyr's death by a longer or shorter stay at one of these rock sanctuaries. Here they would, in fact, go into retreat before entering on the business of their lives; and, as the knight of Mediæval Romance watched his arms before the Altar of the Church on the eve of his knighthood, so these earnest men would gain strength by solitary communion with their God, surrounded by the Ocean—wildest and most wondrous of his works—by earnest, solitary prayer, and above all by the frequent pleading at the solitary Altar of the Great Sacrifice of the cross once offered for all.

Here, then, I leave the subject, at any rate for the present; and I think you will agree with me that, however feeble and imperfect a guide I may have shown myself, I have, at any rate, fulfilled the promise of my title, and conducted you to

THE MOST REMOTE CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

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AN ARCHITECT'S VIEWS ON MODERN CHURCH BUILDING.

By H. ROUMIEU GOUGH, F.R.I.B.A., &c.

Although I have used the phrase "Modern Church Building," let it not be thought for an instant that I am about to advocate any new-fangled ideas. Rather let me say at once that I attribute the many miserable failures we see around us to a neglect of the study of the past, and to the erroneous idea on the part of some that modern requirements are different to those of past times, and need meeting in a special way. The Church's Sacraments and doctrines are the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and those buildings which were most suitable for her worship in times past are the most suitable to-day, if we will only use them aright. By the study of the past, however, I do not mean that we should content ourselves with a minute examination of the arrangement and details of our old ecclesiastical buildings, invaluable and interesting as such study is, but that we should endeavour to learn the principles which governed their erection. For example, much as I admire the cruciform plan for a church, I think it unmeaning to erect transepts unless they are required or intended to contain altars; for such was undoubtedly the use they were provided to meet by our Mediæval architects, who were in all things essentially practical, and would never have dreamt of placing worshippers in such inconvenient positions as they become when only one altar is contained in a church, and that necessarily out of sight of the majority of persons placed in a transept.

Again, in our old churches gabled aisles speak for themselves, and tell us at once that their eastern ends were terminated with altars, as sufficient reason for that form of roof, as the entire aisle thus formed a distinct chapel. Probably I may shock the feelings of my Protestant friends when I say that I do strongly desire to see such subsidiary altars in our modern churches, believing as I do, that they would be of great use; as well as in our many grand old cathedral churches, which now look so bare and cold, and I had almost said useless, without the altars their many chapels were built to contain, and the ceaseless worship they were intended for. How long shall the Romanists taunt us with having these magnificent buildings, but not knowing how to use them? I venture to hope that the time is at hand when this reproach will cease. In a recent visit to Exeter with the Society of Architects, I was much gratified with a remark made by one very dear to many here—I allude to the excellent Dean of that fair city—who after showing us over the various chapels of the cathedral with a loving pride, said he hoped some day they would be again put to their proper use by the citizens. What possible objection can any sane man have to this? Will not each be to all intents and purposes a separate church, to be tended with loving care by, it may be, a company of merchants or some guild or confraternity? Is ignorance still so great, as for any person to suppose that because some chapel or altar is dedicated to some particular saint, that those who go there, go to worship that saint? Do we go to S. Paul's Cathedral to worship S. Paul? or to our parish church to worship the saint it is dedicated to? No; but with such separate altars in our churches and cathedrals, may we not be led to kneel in silent prayer, or in contemplation of the virtues of the saints to whom they are dedicated? It is impossible to fill a large parish church, and much more so a cathedral, at all times; but if only a few be gathered together in some little chapel, how much greater becomes the feeling that we are one body, and how much more heartiness there seems than when we are scattered about in a large, and, it may be, ill-lighted church! We architects have to consider the uses to which a building is to be put; therefore I have given you some idea of what I think are the requirements we have to meet. The idea that a church is for Sunday use only is, happily, no longer prevalent, and year by year we are learning that the enlightenment of this nineteenth century is not so great as we were taught in our childhood to believe; but that, on the other hand, we are far indeed behind our ancestors in the matter of church building, and this leads me again to refer to the principles upon which churches in past ages were built, and the very different ones which now prevail. Can anyone imagine that our grand old churches were the outcome of such a system as the present? Can

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we imagine for a moment that the initial step was that at a meeting it was resolved that a new church be built to *contain sittings* for the largest possible number at the lowest possible cost? and that the next thing was to advertise for designs, and after this, caring nothing as to whether the architect were a Churchman or not, to select a design and obtain tenders, in order to see who would do the work the cheapest? No, under such a system I confidently assert you cannot obtain good honest work, much less artistic talent. We want a little more of the principle which actuated our pious forefathers in the so-called dark ages—namely, that they would not offer unto the Lord that which cost them nothing. Then the question was, not how cheaply can we build, but how beautifully. Not what is the smallest sum I can contribute without looking mean in the sight of my neighbours, but what is the most I can give in the sight of God. What harm is there in getting as much for our money as possible? some will say. None whatever in itself, I would reply, so long as you get the best you can; and it is just this which the present system of competition makes utterly impossible. How can we expect, when a dozen or more builders are asked to compete, that the one whose tender is *lowest* will do the work the *best?* The system is simply holding out a premium to dishonesty; but you will say it is the architect's duty to see that the work is properly carried out; and so it is, and often a very hard and unpleasant task he has, knowing that the builder has undertaken to execute the work for less than its real value, trusting to make a profit somehow. How much better, then, would it be were architects themselves to become again, as of old, master builders? It would be to their interest to gather around them the most skilful workmen of their various crafts, and all would feel a pride in the work, knowing that their reputation was at stake. The present system of competition in order to obtain the cheapest rather than the best, and the miserable trades unionism in which the skilful and unskilful are paid alike, are both rapidly destroying art, and it is from these causes that even the best of modern work has such a mechanical cast-iron appearance. The hand of the individual workman is not seen. How different are our old buildings! In them we can see that the master mind has planned and proportioned the whole, but the working out of the various details has been to a great extent left to the individual skill and taste of the several craftsmen employed, and instead of seeing a number of capitals looking as though all had been cast in a mould, we see a charming variety, in which we may almost read the characters of the workmen, the quaint, humorous feeling of one, the love of Nature's beautiful forms in another, and so on; and it is this which gives spirit and life to those buildings we admire so much.

How can we hope to obtain this when an architect lives, perhaps, a hundred miles or more from the work, and pays a visit once in a month, where he and the workmen are strangers to one another? Under such circumstances he cannot, of course, leave anything to the individual taste of the craftsmen, but must himself draw every detail, and leave it to be rigidly copied; and in this process originality is lost, and there is no life in the work. If, however, the architect were the master builder, supervising and directing the whole of the work, and employing men whose skill and artistic talent he could depend upon, all would have one common object in view—namely, to do their best. Now the workman has his master, the general contractor, to please, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the architect: the former feeling the necessity of getting through the work as cheaply as possible, and the latter desiring all to be executed with the greatest possible skill and care.

Another cause of failure in modern church building is the way in which all attempts at originality on the part of the architects are crushed out, and this is mainly done by the clergy, and especially by those who have a knowledge of Mediæval architecture. They would simply confine us to the copying of ancient examples, and thus destroy the life of our art, treating us as mere translators of a dead language, and the result is, of course, that they obtain a translation only; and, good as that may chance to be, it cannot have the life and vigour of an original conception. By this I do not mean for a moment to suggest that we should endeavour to invent a new style—God forbid!—but rather that we should be allowed to work in the spirit of the old masters, and follow their principles. They met the requirements of their age with such materials and knowledge as they possessed, and with disregard to precedent. Why should we be told, for instance, when a church is too small to accommodate the worshippers, that we must not touch it, because it is ancient and historical? Why should we not be allowed to do as they would have done, and add an aisle, or otherwise enlarge it? I give place to no one in my reverence for the many old and beautiful churches bequeathed to us so nobly and bountifully, but at the same time I cannot forget that their founders intended them for use; and if they are no longer fit for this, it is our duty to make them so, bringing all the skill and care we possibly can to our task, and thus may we, too, be permitted to add a page to history. A great mistake to my mind is often, nay, almost invariably, made in such additions, inasmuch as no effort is spared to make the alterations look like a part of the original design. This is to commit forgery, and falsify history. In building new churches, or altering old ones, the first things to be considered are the requirements we have to meet, and in the next place how best to

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meet them; and here we shall certainly be following the example of the master builders of old if we avail ourselves of modern materials and inventions, if we find them suitable for the purpose, and it is just this use of new materials, and the meeting of new wants, that will show our art to be a living one, and give character to our work sufficient for future ages to assign a date to it. The growth of architecture should be like that of a language, in which new words are of necessity introduced as occasion may require. It is said, and with perfect truth, that the civil engineers are the only architects of the nineteenth century. I say with truth, because they alone have fearlessly met modern wants with modern materials and skill, but, alas! without an atom of taste, and this is owing to the fact that they have studied construction, but have utterly disregarded art. The true architect must be an engineer, for the two are but different branches of one profession, which ought never to have been separated. The very term engineer is simply an old name for an architect. Let me say a few words upon the use of modern materials. Great errors are made in the mode of employing them. Take terra cotta, for instance—a most excellent material if properly used—but what do we find? In the majority of cases architects seem to be so impressed with the idea that they are not to be original, that they apply to it mouldings right enough for stone, but for which terra cotta is in no way adapted, and which can only be produced very imperfectly, and that often at great expense. We do not want to use it as a substitute for stone, but for its own sake, applying such mouldings and ornaments as are most suitable to its manufacture. Whilst speaking of materials, let me say that in the vast majority of cases it is best to use those of the locality, and where you do find local talent employ that also. I have had very excellent ironwork wrought by village blacksmiths, with an amount of feeling in it you will certainly not get from a Birmingham manufacturer.

Having now referred to some of the views I hold as to the general principles which should govern modern church building, I must pass on to consider more in detail what our new churches should, in my opinion, be. I have already said that what was most suitable in times past will be found the most suitable to-day, presupposing always that the circumstances under which they were built remain the same; but one great change has taken place, namely, that whereas formerly "quires and places where they sing" were few and far between, now, owing to the general knowledge of music, almost every little village church has its choir, and the space which was intended to be left open as the sanctuary, has been filled, in modern times, with the seats and desks necessary for accommodation of the choir. I think it very questionable, whether this arrangement is any improvement upon the other which recently prevailed, namely, that of providing for a choir, where the chancel was evidently not built for one, at the West end of the church. Anything which detracts from the dignity of the altar and the convenience of the communicants must certainly be deprecated. Many of these small old churches, however, have chancel aisles, and where, by reason of the insufficient width and length of the chancel, there is not space to install the choir therein, and at the same time to leave a good broad open passage as an approach to the altar, it would be far better to place the choir in the chancel aisles. In speaking of choir arrangements, I must for a moment allude to what appears to me an absurdity often committed, namely, putting "return stalls" for the clergy in a parish church. However right and proper it is in a collegiate chapel, it seems unmeaning in an ordinary church. This introduction of choirs into nearly all churches leads to two more wants, namely, vestry accommodation, and an organ chamber. Where chancel aisles exist, these are usually made to serve; but I think it better to build on additions for the purpose. Now, as to organs, an idea prevails that, no matter how small the church, the larger the organ you can get into it the better; and in many a moderate-sized parish church, you will find an instrument suitable only for a cathedral and, in consequence, the voices of the choristers are almost lost, and vibrations of sound are produced sufficient to cause a tremor to be preceptibly felt throughout the building, and in many cases also to shake the windows. This is one of the modern architect's greatest difficulties. He may provide space sufficient for such an organ as the size of the church warrants, but sooner or later the organist will find it not sufficient for his ambition, and then a larger one is provided, and people wonder what the architect was about, not to have made room for the monster. I suppose an organ is, in the minds of some people a matter of much more importance than a font, or an altar; but, for my own part, I should like to see more use made of stringed and wind instruments, and in small churches at least, the harp or pianoforte substituted for the unpleasant twang of the harmonium.

The provision for choirs, organs, and vestries may be looked upon, to a great extent, as modern requirements; but in our town churches, at least, something more seems to me to be needed. Sites are extremely valuable, and it behoves us to make the most of them. I therefore advocate wherever practicable, as in the vast majority of cases it is, at a slight additional cost, that crypts under a large portion at least, if not under the entire building, be provided, to serve for Sunday school purposes, guild meetings, parochial entertainments, and social gatherings. The church is awaking to the fact that, if she is to obtain a hold upon the masses, she must look after their secular concerns, and that an important means to this end is in providing amusements for her

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people. The modern town church should have such a crypt as I propose for these purposes. Above, in the church proper, our first attention should be given to the sanctuary. This we cannot make too noble or grand. The great central act of worship is now happily becoming recognized, not the listening to a sermon once or twice on Sunday, but the daily Eucharist, commonly called the Mass. Let us, therefore, make our sanctuaries as beautiful as possible, giving special care to the holy altar and the reredos, and enriching the same with handsome screen and gates, or rood loft; and unless the chancel be of very large proportions, let us place the choir in the chancel aisles, and at the West end, over the Narthex, which is also a good position for the organ, where you can have a Western as well as an Eastern choir. In all new churches, be they large or small, it seems to me to be most desirable to provide side exits from the sanctuary for communicants, in order that they may leave the altar without the unseemly confusion which is apt to arise when they have to pass those coming up to receive. In addition to the nave, or nave and aisles, provide in all cases at least one chapel for occasional services—in large churches there may, and I think, should be, several such. Another matter—and perhaps this may be also considered by some a modern idea of mine—is that more dignity and reverence should be paid to the sacrament of baptism. We too often see great importance attached to the altar, and little or none to the font, the latter being relegated to some obscure corner, and little attention paid to it. I would have, wherever practicable, a noble baptistery built, in all cases as near the main entrance as possible, and this enclosed with gates and railings. Seeing also that our branch of the Catholic Church, following the most ancient practice, contemplates immersion, even of adults, and always of infants, save in cases where the godparents certify that the child is too weak to endure it, it is clear that we should provide for this being carried out.

The next matter I have to speak upon is the question of seats in churches. From Puritan days down to those in the recollection of many of us here, the listening to a sermon came to be looked upon as the highest act of Christian worship. With this idea came pews, and they in their turn brought with them appropriation, even in our parish churches in which, by law, every parishioner has an equal right. Happily better days have now arrived, and we find in all directions the pews cleared away, and the churches thrown open to all. Benches have been substituted for pews, and chairs for benches. Would that we could do away altogether with fixed seats, which, with their harsh lines, do so much to detract from the beauty and dignity of our churches. Surely we might learn to kneel and stand when the priest does. He stands to read the lessons and to preach, and standing and kneeling are the only attitudes recognized by our Book of Common Prayer. Of course, there should always be a sufficient number of chairs for the accommodation of old and infirm persons, and this, I think, would suffice, if only the services of the Church were separated, as they are in the Prayer Book, instead of two or three being taken together, such as Matins, Litany, and Holy Communion, as is too often the case, and tends to weary the worshipper, and keeps many away who would gladly come to a short office.

A far worse evil than fixed seats, however, is to be found in those instruments of torture, fixed kneeling boards. I know well how strongly they have been advocated by Mr. Butterfield, but even he says "that an Englishman does not know how to kneel without patient instruction of a very minute kind; and that, having given him the means of kneeling, he must be taught how to use it." Now, I venture to think that if he will only take away the kneeling boards, and substitute a thin flat pad, if anything at all be required, he will find that both Englishmen and women can kneel in comfort, without any minute and patient instruction, in the way they first knelt at their mother's knee. It may be the fault of the mothers for not providing their children with kneeling boards in infancy, and not having them placed at their bedsides; but, whatever the cause, they are extremely inconvenient and uncomfortable. I have myself worshipped in churches built by Mr. Butterfield for some twenty-five years, but have not yet learnt to use his kneeling boards, and the vast majority of those I have asked tell me that they cannot use them with any comfort—many, like myself, cannot use them at all.

I should like to say a few words upon the proportions of our churches—too many of our new ones seem to be built as though height, width, and length need bear no relation to one another, and many fail to give a sufficient amount of air-space for the number of worshippers they are intended to contain. Without good proportions, no matter how beautiful or costly the details may be, the result must be unsatisfactory, whereas with good proportions, however plain and economical the building may be, it cannot fail to look dignified. It is to the very perfect proportion rather than to elaborate detail that our splendid Cistercian Abbey churches owe their grace and beauty.

In the building of towers a great mistake is of constant occurrence—namely, the placing of the belfry openings below the ridge of the roof. In order that the bells may be properly heard on all sides, these openings should always be kept somewhat above the main roof. In the interiors of our churches I should like to see a much greater use made of pictures, wall paintings, and mosaics, and, both externally and internally, to see sculpture more freely used.

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In the matter of stained glass we have run wild, and many a church is hopelessly disfigured by the wretched stuff bought of the manufacturer, who will supply it at the least sum per foot superficial. In many and many a church, how I have longed to smash it all! If you want stained glass, go to a real artist, and pay a fair price for it. Do not compare his price per foot with that of some one who trades in it, but compare his artistic abilities with other men's, and pay what his reputation and skill entitle him to ask; and if you cannot afford to pay for art in its higher form, be content to fill your windows with simple grisaille work, which is infinitely superior to the wretched, garish, glaring deformities so often seen. It is true that of late years vast strides have been made in the art of glass painting, and we have now several real artists of undoubted ability to select from; but what I protest against in their profession, and no less in my own, is the idea of paying all men alike, regardless of their skill and experience. Apply the rule in any other profession, and see how ridiculous it appears. Suppose, if you can, for an instant, that there were one fixed scale per foot superficial of canvas covered for Sir Frederick Leighton and the village sign-painter. Is it not equally absurd to suppose all stained glass artists should work for forty shillings per foot, or for the experienced architect to receive the same rate of payment as his own pupil does for his first work?

In conclusion, let me say that such churches as I advocate can hardly be cheap ones; but I am told that cheap churches are the want of the age. Candidly, I confess I hate and detest the name of a cheap church, and if all Churchmen would, as in duty bound, give a tithe of their income for God's service, and as much more as they could in charity (for payment of a due is not charity) then there would be no need for cheap churches; but, alas! this is one of the duties which the much-vaunted Reformation has caused to be forgotten, and it is one of the points which the wonderful Catholic revival of the past fifty years has, perhaps, scarcely given sufficient prominence to. Doubtless, until Church people have learnt this duty, and till they believe that it is as binding upon them as it was upon the Jews of old, I say till then, we must be content very often to put up cheap buildings—I will not call them churches—if only to have a place in which to teach them this duty. By all means, then, build such places, and whether you call them mission halls, or temporary churches matters little, so long as you do not let people think that, having put up such buildings, their duty is done. In these days we are in too great a hurry to complete our buildings, and what might well take a lifetime is done in a year. In many cases the sum placed at our disposal for an entire church, would be much better spent upon a chancel only, which, with the addition of a temporary nave, might serve for many years. Our first consideration should always be a noble and substantial fabric; but instead of this it too often happens that the walls are reduced to the least possible thickness, in order to retain sufficient funds for internal fittings; and it is a common thing to find in one of these starved fabrics, lavish expenditure upon a pulpit, or stained glass windows, and the almost inevitable Brummagem brass eagle, cast by the dozen to the self-same pattern, and so universally admired. I had occasion to make some enquiries at a railway station respecting one of these wonderful birds, ordered by a client of mine, and was nearly giving up my attempts to learn anything about it, when one of the porters asked if I meant a thing like a carved goose on a pole. I admired his capital description, and informed him that that was exactly what I was seeking, and learnt from him that it had been sent on by passenger train to its proper (?) destination. How much better would it be to show some originality in the matter of lecterns! We are, surely, by this time, most of us at least, tired of the "carved goose." Wrought-iron would seem an appropriate material; and I am thankful to say we have some excellent masters of the craft in such men as Mr. Starkie Gardner, Mr. Singer, of Frome, Mr. Alfred Newman, Mr. Brawn, and others.

Such, gentlemen, are some of my thoughts about modern church building, too hastily put together, and, I fear, sadly lacking cohesion. I trust, however, you will forgive my shortcomings, and forget my paper, as I feel it so unworthy to submit to such a society as this; and in conclusion, let me say that I look with confidence to the discussion to follow to bring out some ideas and suggestions which may be of use and interest to us all.

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ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CHALICES AND PATENS.

By W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A.,

Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries; Honorary Member of the Sussex Archæological Society, and of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

I propose in the following paper to give the results of investigations made by Mr. T. M. Fallow and myself into the history and evolution of English medieval chalices and patens.

To make the subject really complete one ought to begin with the early days of Christianity, and include all the various changes of form to our own time. There are, however, two great objections to such a course: first, that anything like a fair account of them would occupy a paper to itself; and secondly, we have no authentic examples of English work to which to appeal of earlier date than the twelfth century. Of vessels of post-reformation date we have abundance, but to describe them even briefly would take up too much space, so I shall confine myself strictly to English chalices and patens from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

By way of introduction it may be said that there appears to have been no special form of chalice during the first ten centuries of the Christian era. A common type was a classical cup with one or two handles, or none, and a round bowl and foot. The cup without handles had usually a more or less developed knot between bowl and foot by which to hold it—the stem of later days being represented by bands at the junctions. When the cup was withdrawn from the laity in the twelfth century, the handles ceased to be of use, and were no longer made.

This brings us to the period of our investigations.

It will, perhaps, surprise those who have not studied the subject to learn that after diligent search and enquiry we have been able to find only thirty-eight chalices, and about eighty patens of undoubted English make. Those who have paid attention to the matter will, perhaps, be as much surprised that we have found so many, and really, when it is considered through what vicissitudes they have passed, it is somewhat astonishing that such a number should have been spared to us. The greater proportion of patens may, perhaps, be accounted for by the theory that the order, in the reign of Elizabeth, for the destruction of vessels which had been "profaned" by use at mass, mentioned especially the *chalice*, meaning *chalice and paten*, but that some parochial authorities interpreted it literally, and so spared the paten.

The earliest examples now remaining date from, probably, the latter half of the twelfth century, while the latest chalice is of the year 1536, and the latest paten 1533. After the reign of Henry VIII. it is hardly necessary to point out that quite new forms were adopted for both chalices and patens.

First as to chalices:—

All our English examples have three distinct parts:

(*a*) the bowl;
(*b*) the stem, with a knot by which the vessel was held;
(*c*) the foot.

From time to time gradual changes were made in the form of each of these parts, partly from exigencies of use, partly from artistic reasons; and it is most interesting to see how the simple early form developed into the fine and elaborate chalice of the sixteenth century.

The entire series of chalices may be divided into two great groups:

(1) those with a circular foot;
(2) those with a foot constructed on the lines of a hexagon.

The round-footed chalices are represented by ten examples, nine of which have been found in graves of bishops. Nearly all of these coffin-chalices are silver, and they have certainly been made for use at the altar. Several other silver coffin-chalices are known, but they are too small and frail for use, and have not, therefore, been included in our classification. Even these, however, have been modelled from vessels in use, and are quite different in type from the undertaker's pewter or tin coffin-chalices.

The very interesting subject of coffin-chalices is too long to include in this paper; suffice it to say that it appears to have been the usual custom, during the twelfth and subsequent centuries, to bury with an ecclesiastic a small chalice and paten, commonly of pewter, lead, or

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tin, but with bishops, chiefly of silver. It is to this fact we are indebted for so many good examples of early chalices and patens. They have come to light during the alterations and repavings of our cathedral churches made from time to time during the last hundred years or so.

If the eight or nine coffin chalices that seem practicable altar vessels may be included in the list of undoubted chalices, the following classification can be adopted :—

TYPE A. *circa* 1200 to *circa* 1250.
Bowl broad and shallow ; stem and knot, and foot plain and circular.

TYPE B. *circa* 1250 to *circa* 1275.
Bowl broad and shallow ; stem and knot wrought separately from the bowl and foot, and one or the other, or both polygonal ; foot plain and circular.

TYPE C. *circa* 1275 to *circa* 1300.
Bowl broad and shallow ; stem and knot as in type B ; foot circular, but with its spread worked into ornate lobes.

TYPE D. *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1350.
Bowl deeper and more conical ; stem, knot, and foot as before.

TYPE E. *circa* 1350 to *circa* 1450.
Bowl as in type D ; stem and knot uncertain ; six-sided foot.

TYPE F. *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1510.
Bowl deep and conical ; stem hexagonal with ornate knot ; six-sided foot. In late instances the points of the latter terminate in knops.

TYPE G. *circa* 1510 to *circa* 1525.
Bowl broader at base : stem and knot as in type F ; sexfoil foot.

TYPE H. *circa* 1525 to *circa* 1540.
Bowl broad and shallow ; stem cabled or buttressed on edges, with knot as before, but somewhat flattened ; foot sexfoil, or hexagonal with wavy sides, and with an open crown at its junction with the stem.

It is hardly necessary to observe that this series of types is based on broad grounds only, and that the dates are somewhat arbitrarily fixed, for it is more than probable that the types overlapped one another. It is also possible that one type may be merely an ornate contemporary variety of another—*e.g.* C of B, or B of A. This certainly happens in the case of the patens.

Of the earliest type of chalice, type A, we have three examples. Two are preserved in the cathedral churches of Chichester and Lincoln respectively, and are both coffin-chalices—the third, now in the British Museum, was, until a few years ago, in actual use in the church of Berwick St. James, Wilts.

CHALICE.—TYPE A.—FROM BERWICK ST. JAMES, WILTS. (Now in the British Museum.) (½ size.)

The bowl is broad and shallow, the depth being to the diameter in the proportion of about 1 : 2½. There is a quasi-lip, which is found on all the earlier chalices, but was perhaps abandoned from its discomfort. The stem and knot are alike plain and circular, and the foot is broad and spreading, and circular in form. The spread of the foot is quite plain ; but the Berwick chalice has a rudely cut cross, apparently an addition in humble imitation of the crucifix found here in later chalices.

The second type of chalice, type B, differs from the first in the design of the knot and stem. They are now made as a separate piece of metal, and either one or the other is octagonal, or the knot is 8-lobed. Examples occur at York, (Plate I, fig. 1) Lincoln, and Exeter.

The third type, type C, differs in the design of the foot, which is ornate instead of plain. The enrichment consists of a series of lobes, radiating from the stem and spreading over the surface of the

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foot. An example at York (Plate I, fig. 2) has twelve lobes, rounded at the end and showing a second series underneath. Another, at Salisbury, has the lobes pointed; while a third, at Chichester, has the ends trefoiled, with an under series as at York.

With respect to the dates of these types, we are inclined to place the first from about 1200 to the middle of the next century. Types B and C are probably concurrent in date, one being a more elaborate form than the other. These we would place between 1250 and 1300.

Of type D we have a single chalice only, but one of great interest. This was found at York in the last century in the supposed grave of William de Melton, who was archbishop from 1317 to 1340. (Plate I, fig. 3). It is taller and more slender than the preceding examples, but retains the 8-lobed knot and round foot. The bowl shows a distinct advance, being deeper and more conical. On the foot is engraved a crucifix—a feature of especial value, not only from its being the earliest existing example of such an addition, but because it proves that this coffin-chalice was made for, and used at, mass. The date of this example is, perhaps, *circa* 1330.

We now pass from the round-footed chalices to those with a six-sided foot.

Why a change in the shape of the foot was made at all seems to be this: In the fourteenth century a custom appears to have spread all over western Europe of laying down the chalice on the paten to drain after the ablutions at mass. Now the round-footed chalices of our first four types, when laid on the side, would have a tendency to roll, so the foot was made hexagonal for stability. The hexagon was chosen simply because it gives points further apart than an eight-sided, or other practicable figure, and not from any fanciful or symbolical reason. This laying down of the chalice will also account for the conical form of the bowl, which would drain out more easily than the hemispherical form when laid on its side.

When the change of form was first effected is not clear. The earliest documentary evidence is the will of Sir John Foxley, dated 1378. Among the bequests to Bray Church, where he desires to be buried, occurs:

> Unum calicem deauratum cum pede rotundo;

i.e., a gilt chalice with a round foot. Further on is a list of things he leaves to his wife Joan, including the use for her life

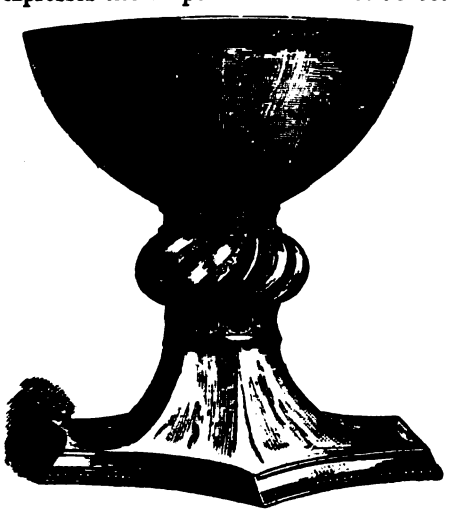
> unius calicis deaurati cum pede de forma molette sex punctorum signati in nodo supra pedem cum armis meis;

i.e., "of a gilt chalice with a foot in the form of a mullet of six points, and marked in the knot above the foot with mine arms."

From this precise description, as well as the previous mention of a round-footed chalice, the six-sided form seems to have been thought a fairly new one in 1378. The number 6 has, however, appeared earlier in the hexagonal knot of the Sarum chalice, which was found in the coffin of bishop Nicholas Longespée (1292-1297.)

The round-footed chalices were not discarded after the introduction of the new type, though, perhaps, no more were made, for they occur often enough in later wills and inventories down to the end of Henry VIII.'s reign.

Sir John Foxley's description of the foot of his chalice as a "mullet of six points" so well expresses the shape that we cannot do better than adopt the term.



CHALICE—TYPE E.
HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE.
(½ size.)

The earliest mullet-footed chalice remaining is undoubtedly that at Hamstall Ridware, co. Stafford. Its date cannot well be later than *circa* 1350. The bowl is deep and conical, as in the third York example, but though the foot is hexagonal, the stem and knot are circular and in one piece, resembling those of our second type. The knot is formed of acute sections twisted spirally from left to right. A chalice formerly at Lincoln, given seemingly by John Gynewell, bishop of that see from 1347 to 1362, is described as having "a writhen knot." Both description and date agree so well, that the two chalices must have been somewhat alike as regards the knot.

The Hamstall Ridware chalice is most valuable as forming a connecting link between the two great groups—the bowl and foot being of the second group, and the stem and knot of the older type.

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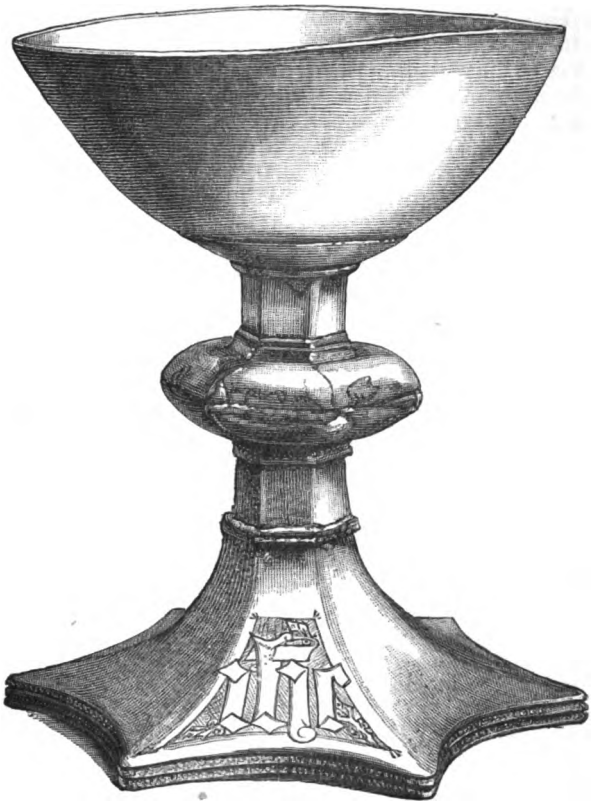

CHALICE—TYPE E. GOATHLAND, YORKS.
($\frac{3}{8}$ full size.)

CHALICE—TYPE F. (BEFORE RESTORATION.)
OLD HUTTON, WESTMORELAND.
($\frac{1}{2}$ size.)

Our next example, though an early one, is entirely of the newer type. It is preserved at Goathland, Yorks. The bowl is conical; the stem is hexagonal and well developed, and has a plain 6-sided knot; the mullet foot has the engraved on the front compartment, and a double row of small four-leaved flowers on the edge.

This chalice is a long way ahead of the Hamstall Ridware one, and is probably of a date *circa* 1450.

We now get clear of single transition types to at least a dozen chalices which are so much alike in character that a general description will apply to all. It is clear, moreover, from the description of chalices in the late inventories that a very large number were based on this type. The accompanying illustration represents a chalice of this type F at Old Hutton, Westmoreland.

The bowl is deep and conical, and usually plain, but chalices at Hornby and Leominster have an engraved band with a very common legend, according to the inventories:

Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo.*

* Ps. cxv., Sarum Breviary.

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The stem is plain and hexagonal, and of good length. That of the Leominster one, however, is covered with open tracery, *appliqué*, and has buttresses at the angles for strength.

The knot has now become a thing of great beauty. Its six lobes end in either (*a*) masks, usually of angels, and crowned, or (*b*) lozenge-shaped knobs set with roses, etc., and sometimes enamelled. Between these knobs, above and below, are traceried compartments, generally pierced.

The mullet foot is mostly plain, except that one compartment is usually filled with a crucifix, occasionally let in from the back, and enamelled. The crucifix is found either (*a*) alone, on a plain or diapered field, or (*b*) between two branches or flowering plants, or (*c*) on a plain or flowered field, with SS. Mary and John. A chalice at Combe Pyne has a small ihc in place of the crucifix. The Claughton and Leominster examples have xpc and ihc alternately, the crucifix filling the sixth compartment, but in the latter case a third ihc has been subsequently substituted for the crucifix.

Though no example now remains, the crucifix was sometimes replaced by other devices on chalices. Thus at Winchester College, *temp.* Henry VIII., we find a chalice, "*cum signo crucis in pede*," and another, "*cum imagine Beate Marie cum filio*;" at York, in 1543, "*one chalice ungilt, wth the image of our Lady in the fote*;" at Lincoln, in 1557, "*in the foot a cross gilded*," and "*on the foot a picture gilt*;" and at Westminster, in 1538, "*a chalice of sylver parcell gilte with the picture of Seynt Edward garnysshed in the fote*." Instances might be multiplied, but these I have given are enough to show that the crucifix was not invariable in late times, as has been supposed.

Inscriptions are found on the foot as well as the bowl, of which inventories will supply many instances. But we have actual examples. At Bacton the words John and capull occur on either side the crucifix, probably the donor's name. And at West Drayton we find—

Orate p aiabz Johis Porpyll & Johanne uxor' ei'.

The edge of the foot is either vertical or chamfered, and may be plainly moulded or reeded, or set with four-leaved flowers or a minute floral pattern.

One half of the chalices of type F differ from those of the other half in having small knops attached to the points of the mullet foot, in the manner of toes. See the engraving of the Old Hutton chalice above. They are occasionally mentioned in inventories, *e.g.*, at Lincoln, in 1557, a chalice "*lacking two knops on the foot*"; and at St. Margaret Pattens, London, in 1526, "*and in the fote of it iij half mones, otherwise called knappes*." Actual examples remain at Claughton, Hornby, Old Hutton, Beswick, Bacton, Combe Pyne, etc.

Chalices at Little Farringdon, Leominster, and West Drayton also once had knops, which are now broken away. The accompanying illustration represents one of the knops on the foot of the Hornby chalice.

KNOP ON FOOT OF A CHALICE AT HORNBY, LANCASHIRE
(Full Size.)

At the beginning of the 16th century a new form of chalice is found, type G. The bowl has a tendency to become shallower, and more square at the bottom. The stem and knot are as before, but the foot is quite different, being sexfoil in plan instead of mullet shaped, and with a vertical edge. Bishop Fox's gold chalice at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is the best known example of this type: it is of the date 1507-8. Two other chalices of type G remain at Jurby and Leyland, of the respective dates 1518-19, and 1521-2, both by the same maker.

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CHALICE.—TYPE G.
JURBY, ISLE OF MAN. 1518-19.
(½ size.)

Finally, we come to four chalices of type H, of which that at Trinity College, Oxford, is the best known. Two are at Wylye, Wilts, and Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, and another is in Lord Hatherton's possession. The Wylye and Oxford examples are hall-marked for 1525-6 and 1527-8 respectively, and that at Sturminster Marshall for 1536-7. The bowl is broad and shallow, and, curiously enough, shows a tendency to revert to the early hemispherical form. Three of these chalices have a legend on the bowl and on the foot. The stems are strengthened at the edges—Lord Hatherton's with buttresses, the Wylye and Oxford ones with cables. The stem of the latter chalice is also pierced with quatrefoil tracery throughout its length. The knots have unpierced tracery, and are somewhat flatter, otherwise they follow the two preceding types. The junction of foot and stem is concealed by a sort of pierced parapet, which is part of the foot, and has a bottle-shaped buttress at each angle. The shape of the foot is again quite different in two cases, being what may be called a wavy-sided hexagon. Lord Hatherton's chalice has, however, a sexfoil foot, but no crucifix. The Sturminster Marshall chalice has a sexfoil foot with the crucifix, and has lost its original stem and knot, but there are remains of the pierced parapet above the foot. The edge of the foot is vertical, and treated as before.

And now as to Patens.

Those which have come under our notice are over 80 in number. They may be divided into seven distinct types, each with its own characteristics.

During the period covered by this paper the paten is always a circular plate of precious metal, the surface of which may be worked in two different forms :

FORM 1. A plate with plain circular depression, with an inner second depression multifoil in outline. This is the commonest form. Or

FORM 2. A plate with one depression only, either circular or multifoil.

In the centre of every paten, with but two exceptions, there is engraved a sacred device, which varies. In one or two cases the circle in which it is enclosed is slightly sunk from the

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CHALICE.—TYPE H.
WYLYE, WILTS., 1525 6.
(⅔ full size.)

field of the paten; in a few of the others the device is enamelled on a separate piece of metal, which is let in from the back of the paten. There is no rule as to the device, but patens of earlier date shew a preference for the *Manus Dei*, or Hand of God in the act of blessing; while in later patens the preference is certainly for the Vernicle, or Face of Our Lord; more than half of the existing patens having this as their central device. Other subjects occur, such as the Holy Trinity, the Holy Lamb, the Sacred Monogram, etc.

The types of patens are as follows:—

TYPE A. (Form I.) Lower depression quatrefoil; central device various. Date *circa* 1180 to *circa* 1260.

TYPE B. (Form I or II.) Lower depression, or single depression, octofoil or multiple; central device usually the *Manus Dei*. Date *circa* 1260 to *circa* 1300.

TYPE C. (Form I.) Lower depression sexfoil with plain spandrels. Central device usually the *Manus Dei*. Date *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1350, and later.

TYPE D. (Form I.) Lower depression sexfoil, but spandrels filled with a rayed leaf ornament. Central device most frequently the Vernicle, with in many cases an encircling glory of short rays. Examples occur from *circa* 1430 to *circa* 1530. Some of the later examples of this type have an engraved legend round the rim.

TYPE E. (Form II.) Single circular depression, with more generally ihs or ihc as the central device. Date *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1510.

TYPE F. (Form I.) An elaboration of type D, which it resembles in general form, but

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the central device has a glory of long rays filling the field of the Paten, and the rim bears an engraved legend. Central device various. Date *circa* 1525.

Type G. (Form II.) An elaboration of type E. Single circular depression, with central device surrounded by a glory of long rays. The rim bears an engraved legend. The only two examples extant of this type both have the Vernicle as the central device. Date *circa* 1520 to *circa* 1535.

The oldest paten of type A is preserved in the cathedral church of Chichester. It has in the centre the Holy Lamb, somewhat rudely engraved, encircled with the legend, in uncial letters :—

+ AGNVS DEI QVI TOLLIS PECATA MVNDI MISERERE NOBIS.

Another paten at Lincoln has the figure of a bishop. One from York is without a central device ; and a fourth, at Worcester, has on a nimbus the *Manus Dei*, or Hand of God, issuing from the clouds in the act of blessing. This last example (Plate II, Fig. 1.) has the spandrels of the quatrefoil sinking foliated, and is probably of a date *circa* 1260. The other three have plain spandrels, and are much earlier in date, the Chichester one probably being as early as 1180.

The second type of patens, type B, follows form II, and apparently covers a period from *circa* 1260 to *circa* 1300. We have five examples. The first is at Lincoln, from the grave of bishop Gravesend (1258-79). It has a depression in the form of a square and quatrefoil combined, and in the centre, within a feathered circle, the *Manus Dei*. A second is at York. It has two depressions, the first 10-foil, the second circular ; the central device is now lost, but the engraving of it in Drake's *Eboracum* shows a flying bird. Two other examples remain at Chichester and Salisbury. Each has an octofoil sinking, and the *Manus Dei* in the centre.

But by far the most remarkable paten of this type, and indeed of the whole series of medieval patens, is that still in use at Wyke church, near Winchester, shown in the accompanying illustration. It is silver parcel-gilt, 5⅝ inches in diameter, and of Form I. The first depression is circular, the second octofoil, and the circle with the central device is again slightly depressed from the field of the paten. It is undoubtedly the most ancient piece of church plate known to be in use in any church in this country, and cannot be much, if at all, later than *circa* 1280.

Paten—Type B.—Wyke, Hants.
(⅔ full size.)

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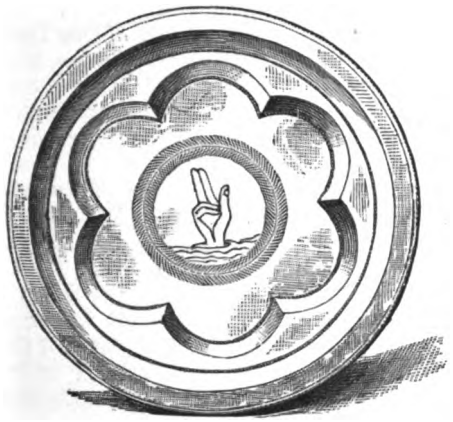
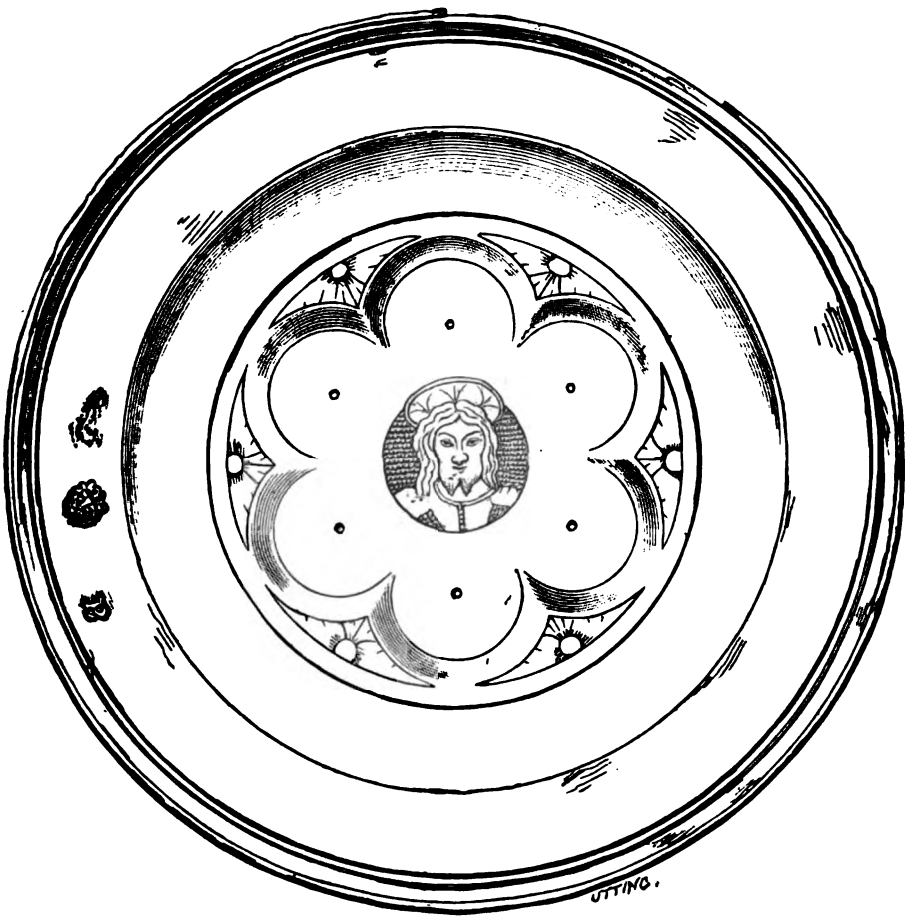


PATEN—TYPE C.
HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE.
(½ size.)

TYPE C includes seven patens. They are of form I., with the second sinking sexfoil, but with plain cusps. Examples at Exeter, York, Hamstall Ridware (see cut), Beighton, Cromer, and Foxley have the *Manus Dei* in the centre, but at Bishop's Sutton (Plate II, Fig. 2) we find the earliest instance of the ihc as a central device.

This type seems to have prevailed during the first half of the fourteenth century.

TYPE D includes more than half the existing number of patens, extending, perhaps, from about 1430 to 1530. Their chief characteristic is that the second sinking is sexfoil, with the spandrels filled with a rayed leaf ornament, and the central device—which varies considerably—has in many cases a sort of glory formed of short rays. See the accompanying illustration of a paten of this type at Hamsterley, and Plate II, Fig. 3, for a beautiful example at Beeston Regis.



PATEN—TYPE D.—HAMSTERLEY, DURHAM.
(Full size.)

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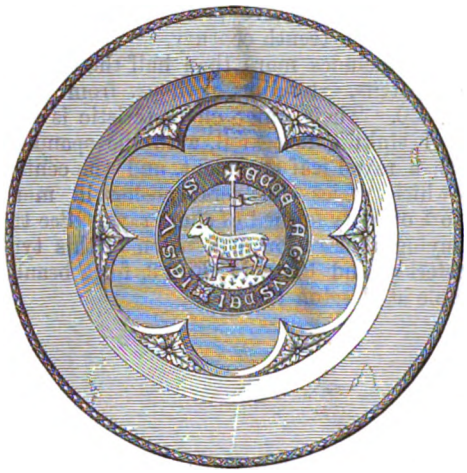
The two earliest probably are patens at Hanworth and Merton, both in Norfolk. The one has in the centre the favourite medieval device known as the Vernicle, or face of Our Lord, on a cruciform nimbus. The other has the Holy Lamb in the centre. Other devices are, however, met with, though they are in comparison rare. At Felbrigge is a beautiful paten of type D, with an enamelled figure of the patron saint of the church—St. Margaret—in the centre. This is let in from the back, as is generally the case with enamelled centres, and is surrounded by a glory of short rays. A similar glory is added on the edge of the paten itself. At Castle Bromwich the central device is the *Manus Dei* within a double-hatched circle. At Chewton Mendip we find the *Agnus Dei* within a circular band, inscribed ECCE AGNVS DEI IESVS (see cut). At Earl's Colne the central device is a full figure of Our Lord holding the orb and cross, and in the act of blessing. Another paten of this type at All Saints, Bristol, has the ihs in the centre. So has one belonging to Lord Hatherton, of date *circa* 1525, but round the rim is engraved the legend—



PATEN—TYPE D.
CHEWTON MENDIP SOMERSET.
(Nearly ½ size.)

Sancta . trinitas . unus . Deus . miserere . nobis.

Besides this paten two others of type D have legends on the rim, an addition indicative of late date. One of these at Happisburgh, Norfolk, is hall-marked for the year 1504-5. It has a beautiful Vernicle in the centre, once enamelled and let in from the back. On the rim is pricked the legend—

✠ Accipite . ex . hoc . omnes . hoc . est . enim corpus . meum . quod . pro . vobis . tradetur.

The well-known Nettlecombe paten is also of type D. It claims notice from its enamelled Vernicle. This is let in from the back, and engraved on the reverse with ihc, a treatment of which we have examples in inventories, *e.g.*, at Winchester College—

Item j calix de argento . . . . et vernaculum in patena et J.H.S. sculpt' in posteriori parte.

PATEN—TYPE E.—WALMER, KENT.
(Nearly ½ size.)

Of patens of type E we have eight examples, all of form II, and having a single circular depression. They all belong to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and are concurrent with patens of type D. The devices vary: thus, a paten at Preston (Rutland) has the *Manus Dei*; bishop Fox's gold paten at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1507-8), has the Vernicle; at Hinderwell we find the *Agnus Dei*, and four have ihc or ihs. A paten of this type at Walmer, Kent (see cut), is peculiar in having the entire central sinking bossed up as a six-petalled rose, in the midst of which is engraved the ihc.

The patens of type F are really an elaboration of those of type D, the only difference being that the central device is surrounded by a glory of long rays filling up the whole sexfoil sinking, and on the rim is an engraved legend. We have four examples:

(1) At Cliffe, Kent, with the Trinity enamelled, and the legend:

Benedicamus . patrem . et . filium . cum . Spiritu . Sancto.

(2) At Kirk Malew, Isle of Man, with the Vernicle, and the legend:

Sancte . lupe . ora . pro . nobis.

St. Lupus being the patron saint of the church, and *Ma-lew* being the Manx for *Saint Lew*, or *Lupus*.

(3) At Claughton (Lancashire), with the Majesty, or Christ sitting on the rainbow, and the legend:

Salvum . me . fac . domine . in . nomine . tuo.

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PATEN.—TYPE F.
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1527-8.
(½ size.)

This paten has unfortunately been smashed inside out, and an upright cross fixed on the middle of the Majesty, to make it serve as a cover for a ciborium, it being now in Roman Catholic hands.

(4) At Trinity College, Oxford (see cut), of date 1527-8, with the Vernicle, and the legend:

✠ CALICIM · SALVTARIS · ACCIPIAM · ET · NOMINE · DOMINE IN · VOCABO.

This type prevailed about the year 1525.

Our seventh and last type is an elaboration of type E, but concurrent with patens of type F. It has only one sinking, which is circular; the central device has a glory of long rays filling the whole field, and the rim has an engraved legend.

We have two examples of type G:

(1) At Great Waltham, hall-marked 1521-2, and by the same maker as the Jurby and Leyland chalices.

The other at St. Edmund's, Salisbury (See Plate II, fig. 4), of date 1533-4.

Both have the Vernicle, and the legend *Benedicamus Patrem*, etc., on the rim.

I have endeavoured to put the results of our investigations as briefly as possible, but as we claim to be the first workers at the subject who have collected sufficient examples to enable us to draw out our types, this paper is unavoidably much longer than I had wished it to be.

On the various interesting aids we have derived from wills and inventories I have not ventured to enter further than necessary. Suffice it to say that we have adopted, where we could, the old terms relating to both chalices and patens.

For further information on the subject, those interested in it are referred to our paper in the *Archæological Journal* for 1886, where copious extracts from wills and inventories are given.

The following list of every English medieval chalice and paten which has at present (1887) come under our notice, may be found useful:—

CHALICES.

TYPE A.

1. BERWICK ST. JAMES, WILTS, now in the British Museum, but in constant use till 1879. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{7}{8}$.*

2. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

This chalice was found with its paten in the grave of a bishop in 1825. It is in very bad condition. Date, late twelfth century.

3. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver gilt.

Original height doubtful; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{5}{8}$.

Found with its paten in the grave of bishop Grostête (1235-1253) in 1783.

Silver coffin-chalices of this type are also preserved in the cathedral churches of St. David's and Hereford.

TYPE B.

4. YORK MINSTER, I. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{16}$.

Found with a paten in a grave of an archbishop in the early part of the last century. Has been repaired, and is occasionally used.

* All measurements are given in inches, and fractions of an inch; it has, therefore, been considered unnecessary to repeat the word "inches" after each dimension.

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5. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{1}{16}$; depth of bowl, $1\frac{7}{16}$.

This chalice was found, in 1791, with its paten, in the grave of bishop Richard de Gravesend (1258-1279).

6. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Height, $3\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; of foot, $3\frac{13}{16}$.

This chalice was found with its paten in 1763, in the grave of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292-1307). From its small size, it was probably made for an episcopal coffin-chalice.

A silver coffin chalice of this type is preserved in the cathedral church of St. David's.

TYPE C.

7. YORK MINSTER II. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$, and of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$; weight, 5 oz. 15 dwt.

This chalice and its paten were found in the grave of an archbishop, in the early part of the last century. It has been repaired, and is occasionally used.

8. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.

Height, $4\frac{5}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$; of foot, $3\frac{3}{4}$.

This beautiful chalice was found, together with the paten, in the supposed grave of bishop Nicholas Longespée (1292-1297) in the last century.

9. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

This chalice was found, with its paten, in the grave of a bishop. Date, *circa* 1290.

TYPE D.

10. YORK MINSTER III. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl and foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$; weight, 6 oz. 1 dwt.

This chalice and its paten were found in the early part of the last century in the grave of archbishop William de Melton (1317-1340). It has been repaired, and is occasionally used. Date, *circa* 1335.

TYPE EA.

11. HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $4\frac{1}{4}$; diameter of bowl, 4; and of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Date, *circa* 1350.

TYPE EB.

12. GOATHLAND, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $5\frac{5}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; of foot, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.

Date, *circa* 1450.

TYPE FA.

13. NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET. Silver gilt.

Height, $5\frac{15}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{11}{16}$; and of foot, $4 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

Hall marks: (1) the maker's, (2) the leopard's head crowned, (3) a Lombardic double-cusped B, the London date-letter assigned to 1479-80. This chalice is fully described and illustrated in *Archæologia*, xlii. 405.

14. HINDERWELL, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$; diameter of bowl, 4; of foot, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4$.

Date, *circa* 1490.

15 AND 16. BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.—A pair precisely alike in every respect. Silver gilt.

Height, $6\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowls, $4\frac{3}{8}$; of feet, $4\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$.

Hall marks: (1) a small black letter a, the London date-letter for 1498-99, (2) apparently the leopard's head crowned, but badly struck and nearly effaced.

TYPE FB.

17. In the possession of the Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHESTER. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $2\frac{7}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{7}{16}$; diameter of foot, $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{16}$.

Hall marks: (1) the maker's; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic T, the London date-letter for 1496-7.

18. BESWICK, YORKSHIRE. In the custody of Lord Hotham, as patron. Silver parcel gilt.

Height, 5; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; of foot, $5 \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.

Date, *circa* 1500.

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19. BACTON, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.
Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, 4; and of foot, $4\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.
Date, *circa* 1500.

20. COOMBE KEYNES, DORSET. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $6\frac{3}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{16}$; depth, 2; diameter of foot, $5\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.
Date, *circa* 1500. A most beautiful chalice and in perfect condition.

21. CODFORD ST. MARY, WILTS. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $7\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{16}$; depth, $3\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of foot, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.
Date, *circa* 1500. This chalice has lost its original bowl, which has been replaced by a disproportionately large one.

22. HORNBY, LANCASHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{10}$; depth, $2\frac{1}{8}$; diameter of foot, 6; weight, $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Date, *circa* 1500. This is a most beautiful chalice, and in an excellent state of preservation. It formerly belonged to the parish church of Caton, but has long been preserved, and is now in daily use in the neighbouring Roman Catholic church of Hornby.

23. OLD HUTTON, WESTMORELAND. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; and of foot, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$; weight, 8 oz. 13 dwt.
Date, *circa* 1500.

24. BLASTON ST. GILES, LEICESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$.
Date, *circa* 1500.

25. CLAUGHTON, LANCASHIRE. Silver gilt.
Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$; of foot, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3$.
Date, *circa* 1500. This chalice is said to have formerly belonged to the parish church of Poulton-le-fylde, but has now been for a long time in the hands of the Roman Catholics at Claughton.

26. LEOMINSTER, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.
Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$; and of foot, $5\frac{13}{16} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$.
This is without question the most elaborate and splendid English chalice now remaining. It is fully described, though not quite accurately engraved, in the *Archæologia*, xxxv., 489, where its date is assigned to the early part of the fifteenth century; but a comparison with the Hornby and Claughton chalices, of which it is simply an elaboration, shows that its date is more probably *circa* 1500. It has recently been wholly regilt.

27. LITTLE FARRINGDON, OXON. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $5\frac{15}{16}$; diameter of bowl, 4; of foot, $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.
Date, *circa* 1500.

28. COMBE PYNE, DEVON. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $6\frac{3}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{16}$; depth, $2\frac{3}{16}$; diameter of foot, $5 \times$.
This chalice has lost its original stem and knot. Date, *circa* 1500.

29. WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; depth, $2\frac{1}{8}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{3}{4}$.
This chalice bears the following hall marks: (1) the maker's, a female head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

TYPE G.

30. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD. Gold.
Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{7}{8}$; and of the foot $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.
This magnificent chalice, which is quite unique in its way, was given to the college with a paten on its foundation in 1516, by the founder, Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester (1501-1528), and is the only English medieval gold chalice that has escaped the hands of the spoiler. It bears three hall marks; (1) a nondescript fleur-de-lis; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

31. LEYLAND, LANCASHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, 6; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.
This chalice, though now in Roman Catholic hands, orginally belonged to the parish church at Leyland. It is not in use owing to the shallowness of the bowl. There are three hall marks: (1) a Lombardic A, the London date-letter for 1517-18; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) two links of a chain. This same maker's mark occurs on the Jurby chalice and the Great Waltham paten, both of the date 1521-2.

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32. JURBY, ISLE OF MAN. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $6\frac{7}{8}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4$.

This chalice is not in such good preservation as the Leyland example. It has three hall marks: (1) a Lombardic D, the London date-letter for 1521-2; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) two links of a chain, as on the Leyland chalice.

33. GUERNSEY, ST. SAMPSON. Silver gilt.
Height, $6\frac{9}{16}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{16}$; of foot, $4\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.

There are two hall marks, but both are illegible. Date, *circa* 1520.

34. EBBESBOURNE, WILTS. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{3}{4}$; depth, $1\frac{5}{8}$; diameter of foot, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

No hall marks. Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE H.

35. From the chapel at PILLATON HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE, and now in the possession of Lord Hatherton. Silver gilt.
Height, 7; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{3}{8}$; depth, 2; diameter of foot, $4\frac{15}{16}$.

No hall marks. Date, *circa* 1525. This chalice and its paten were discovered in 1750 in a closed cupboard in Pillaton Hall, with nearly £10,000 in bullion. (See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd series, X. 260.)

36. WYLYE, WILTS. Silver gilt.
Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{12}$; of foot, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$.

Hall marks: (1) The leopard's head crowned; (2) the maker's, a nondescript fleur-de-lis; (3) a Lombardic H, the London date-letter for 1525-6.

37. TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. Silver gilt.
Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$; depth, $2\frac{3}{8}$; diameter of foot, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

This magnificent chalice, with which is preserved its paten, is said to have originally belonged to the great Benedictine abbey at St. Albans, and after the dissolution to have come into the hands of Sir Thomas Pope, who gave it to his new foundation of Trinity College, Oxford. It bears the following hall marks: (1) the maker's, a saint's head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic K, the London date-letter for 1527-8.

38. STURMINSTER MARSHALL, DORSET. Silver parcel gilt.
Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$; depth, $2\frac{1}{2}$; diameter of foot, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$.

This chalice has lost its original stem and knot.

Hall marks: (1) the maker's, TW in a shield, same as on a paten at Salisbury St. Edmund; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic T, the London date-letter for 1536-7.

PATENS.

Those patens marked * have their chalices also preserved.

TYPE A. (FORM I.)

Quatrefoil Depression.

1. *CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5.

Device: the Holy Lamb. Date, late twelfth century. This paten was found in a bishop's grave in the south choir aisle of the cathedral church in 1825, with a chalice, etc.

2. *LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH I. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Device: within a plain circle, the figure of a bishop. Found with a chalice in the grave of bishop Grostête (1235-1253).

3. *YORK MINSTER I. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Centre plain without device. Found with a chalice early last century in the grave of an archbishop. Has been repaired, and is in occasional use.

4. WORCESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Found in a grave assigned to bishop Walter de Cantelupe (1237-1266).

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TYPE B. (FORM I or II.)

Multifoil depression, other than quatrefoil or sexfoil.

5. WYKE, HAMPSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

First depression very slight, second depression octofoil. Device: the Holy Lamb. Around the rim is the legend + CVNTA : CREO : VVIRTVTE : REGO : PIE : TATE : REFORMO. Date, *circa* 1280.

6. *LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Single depression in the form of a square and quatrefoil combined. Device: the *Manus Dei*. Found with a chalice in the grave of bishop Gravesend (1258-1279).

7. *YORK MINSTER II. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

First depression of ten foils, second depression circular.[1]
Device: originally there was engraved in the centre a flying bird, but the plate is now lost.
Found early last century with a chalice in the grave of an archbishop. Has been repaired, and is in occasional use.

8. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$.

First depression, slight; second depression, octofoil. Device: the *Manus Dei*. Found with a chalice in the supposed grave of bishop Longespée (1292-1297).

9. CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH II. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5.

Single octofoil depression. Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1290. Found with a chalice in the grave of a bishop in the cathedral church.

10. GREAT EASTON, LEICESTERSHIRE. Silver.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Single octofoil depression. Device: the Vernicle. On the rim is engraved a cross patée in a circle. Date, .

TYPE C. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil depression with plain spandrels.

11. BEIGHTON, NORFOLK. Silver, formerly gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date: middle of fourteenth century.

12. BISHOP'S SUTTON, HAMPSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: ſhꝛc in small floriated black letter. Date, *circa* 1440.

13. CROMER, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1500.

14. *EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.[2] Silver.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Found in 1763, with a chalice, in the grave of bishop Thomas de Bitton (1292-1307).

15. FOXLEY, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1350.

16. * HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{5}{8}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1350. Said to have been turned up, with its chalice, by the plough in a field adjoining the churchyard.

17. *YORK MINSTER III. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Found early last century with a chalice in the grave of archbishop William de Melton (1316-1340). Date, *circa* 1335.

[1] This is the only instance of a paten with two depressions, the first of which, and not the second, is multifoil in outline.

[2] This paten has actually one *depression* only, the sexfoil being merely engraved.

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TYPE D. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil depression, with engraved spandrels.

18. * BACTON, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 5.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1500.

19. BANNINGHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle. One mark *incuse*, and doubtful, probably that of the maker. Date, *circa* 1520.

20. BEDINGFIELD, SUFFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

21. BEECHAMWELL, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall marks: (1) the maker's, a nondescript fleur-de-lis, as on the Wylye chalice; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) damaged, but a London date-letter, *circa* 1520.

22. BEESTON-NEXT-MILEHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: ihc in black letter. One mark, but doubtful, and as on Holkham paten. Date, *circa* 1520.

23. BEESTON REGIS, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1450.

24. BRANCASTER, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.

Date, *circa* 1520.

25. BRISTOL ALL SAINTS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$.

Second depression of *seven* foils. Device: ihc in black letter. Date, *circa* 1525.

26. CASTLE BROMWICH, WARWICKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1520.

27. CASTON, NORFOLK. Silver (originally gilt, or parcel gilt).
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{16}$.

Device: the Vernicle. One mark (doubtful) as on North Tuddenham paten. Date, *circa* 1520.

28. CHEWTON MENDIP, SOMERSET. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$.

Device: the Holy Lamb. Date, *circa* 1500. A fine medieval secular cup is preserved with this paten, and is in use as the chalice. It bears London hall marks for 1511-12, and is figured, with the paten, in *Archæological Journal*, v., 330.

29. COFTON HACKET, WORCESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

30. COLEBY, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

31. * COMBE PYNE, DEVON. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1500. In addition to the usual gilt portions there is a large gilt cross patonce in the field of this paten; a feature which, so far as is known, is unique.

32. COSSEY, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall marks: (1) maker's, doubtful; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic T, the London date-letter for 1496-7.

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33. EARL'S COLNE, ESSEX. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: a full figure of Our Lord standing, with a background of hills and trees. On the rim above the device is a plain circle with a cross patée. One mark *incuse*, a floriated cross (perhaps for the maker.) Date, *circa* 1520.

34. FELBRIGGE, NORFOLK. Silver gilt with enamel.
Diameter, $5\frac{5}{8}$.

Device: (Enamelled on a separate plate inserted from behind) a figure of St. Margaret of Antioch (the patron saint of the church). Date, *circa* 1520.

35. GISSING, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks on under side of rim: (1) a heart, a well-known maker's mark; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) date-letter (doubtful), London, *circa* 1525.

36. HAMSTERLEY, DURHAM. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{11}{16}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's mark (doubtful); (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic B, the London date-letter assigned to 1519-20.

37. HANWORTH, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1450.

38. HAPPISBURGH, NORFOLK. Silver (probably whole gilt originally).
Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle (on a separate plate inserted from behind, and formerly enamelled, no trace of which remains). Legend in black letter pounced on the rim:— ✠ Accipite * et * hoc * omnes * hoc * est * enim * corpus * meum * quod * pro * vobis * tradetur * Three hall-marks: (1) an animal; (2) the leopard's head crowned: (3) a small black letter g, the London date-letter for 1504-5.

39. HARTSHORNE, DERBYSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) a plain capital Roman B, in beaded circle; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) date-letter illegible. Date, *circa* 1520.

40. HEWORTH, DURHAM. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{9}{16}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a man with spear; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter r, the London date-letter for 1514-15.

41. HOCKERING, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

42. GREAT HOCKHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel guilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, two links of a chain, as on Leyland and Jurby chalices and Great Waltham paten; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter m, the London date-letter for 1509-10.

43. HOLKHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{5}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle. One mark, but doubtful, and as on Beeston-next-Mileham paten. Date, *circa* 1520.

44. * LEOMINSTER, HEREFORDSHIRE. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1500.

45. MERTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Device: the Holy Lamb. Date, *circa* 1470.

46. MUNDHAM, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1530.

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47. * NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET. Silver gilt with enamel.
Diameter, 4⅞.

Device: the Vernicle (enamelled on a separate plate, in dark red and on a green ground, and let in from behind). The back of the enamelled plate is engraved with the monogram ihc. Three hall-marks: (1) a dimidiated fleur-de-lis; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic B, the London date-letter assigned to 1479-80.

48. NORTH TUDDENHAM, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 4¼.

Device: the Vernicle. One mark, as on Caston paten. Date, *circa* 1520 (?).

49. ORCHESTON ST. MARY, WILTS. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5⅞.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a gillyflower (?); (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black-letter i, the London date-letter for 1506-7.

50. OULTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 5⅞.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1525.

51 and 52. **BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, a pair. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6 13/16.

Device: the Vernicle. No marks. Date, probably 1498-9, same as the chalices to which the patens belong.

53. * From the chapel at PILLATON HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE, and now in the possession of Lord Hatherton. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 5⅞.

Device: ihc in small black letter. Round the rim, in black letter, is the legend:—Sancta * trinitas * unus * deus (leaf) miserere (leaf) nobis (leaf). Date, *circa* 1525.

54. PILTON, SOMERSET. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Vernicle. Round the rim, in black letter, commencing with a cross patée in a circle, and a monogram of the letters I.D. is the legend:—orate. pro. bono. statu. d. j. dier. vicarius. hius. loci. Date, *circa* 1520.

55. RUNTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 5⅝.

Device: ihc in Lombardic letters. Date, *circa* 1490.

56. SAHAM TONY, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5⅛.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

57. SHERNBURNE, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, 5¼.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

58. SHIRLEY, DERBYSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5.

Device: the Vernicle. Two hall-marks: (1) a cross fleury in a shield; (2) a Lombardic Q, the London date-letter for 1493-4. (The absence of the leopard's head is not easily explained.)

59. In the possession of the Rev. T. Staniforth. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 4⅞.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) some animal (query, a cow) couchant; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter b, the London date-letter for 1517-18.

60. STOW LONGA, HUNTINGDONSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 4⅝.

Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) a fish in oval; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic O, the London date-letter for 1491-2.

This paten has unfortunately been "restored," and it affords another warning against entrusting such work to ignorant hands. It was pronounced to be Dutch, and the central concave field has been flattened, thus destroying the graceful form of the paten, and entirely altering its character.

61. SUFFIELD, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 6¼.

Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1480.

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62. TITTLESHALL, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.
Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1525.

63. THURGARTON, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$.
Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520 (?).

64. TUGBY, LEICESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$.
Device: the Vernicle. Date,

65. TUTTINGTON, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$.
Device: ihc in small black letter. Date, *circa* 1470. A very graceful paten.

66. *WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{13}{16}$.
Device: the Vernicle. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a female head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

67. WOOD DALLING, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$.
Device: ihc in small black letter. Date, *circa* 1420.

68. WYMONDHAM, NORFOLK. Silver.
Diameter, 6.
Device: the Vernicle. Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE E. (FORM II.)

69. BERWICK ST. JAMES, WILTS, now in the British Museum, but in constant use till 1879. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 6.
Depression, concave. Device: ihs in black letter. Date, *circa* 1520.

70. *BESWICK, YORKSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, 5.
Depression, angular. Device: ihc in small black letter. Date, *circa* 1500.

71. *CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD. Gold.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$.
Device: the Vernicle. On the rim above the Vernicle is a cross in a circle, rayed from the centre. Three hall-marks: (1) a nondescript fleur-de-lis; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a small black letter k, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

72. *HINDERWELL, YORKS. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$.
Depression, concave. Device: the Holy Lamb. Date, *circa* 1490.

73. PASTON, NORFOLK. Silver gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$.
Depression, angular. Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1450.

74. PRESTON, RUTLAND. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.
Depression, angular. Device: the *Manus Dei*. Date, *circa* 1480?

75. RATCLIFFE, LEICESTERSHIRE. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{9}{16}$.
Depression, concave. Device: ihs in black letter. Date,

76. SALL, NORFOLK. Silver parcel gilt.
Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$.
Depression, concave. Device: ihs in small black letter, much defaced, and hardly legible. The concave portion of the paten begins at the inner edge of the rim, and continues to the central device. This paten is in a very bad condition. One mark, doubtful. Date, *circa* 1500 (?).

77. SYSTON, LEICESTERSHIRE. Once silver gilt.
Diameter, $4\frac{9}{16}$.
Depression, concave. No central device. Date, doubtful,

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78. WALMER, KENT. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6⅛.

Device: ihc in small black letter. The field of this paten is bossed up as a six-petalled rose. Date, *circa* 1490.

TYPE F. (FORM I.)

Sexfoil depression with a long rayed device.

79. CLAUGHTON, LANCASHIRE. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Majesty, or Christ sitting on the rainbow, with the ground tooled as if for enamel, no trace of which remains. Round the rim in small black letter: salbum me fac Domine in nomine tuo. Date, *circa* 1500.

This fine paten has unfortunately been beaten inside out to form the cover to a ciborium, and a plain upright Latin cross fixed to the centre of the device.

80. CLIFFE-AT-HOO, KENT. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6¼.

Device: the Holy Trinity enamelled in dark blue. Round the rim in black letter: Benedicamus patrem et filium cum spiritu sancto. Date, *circa* 1525.

81. KIRK MALEW, ISLE OF MAN. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Vernicle. Round the rim in small black letter: sancte Iupe ora pro nobis. Date, *circa* 1525.

82. TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6¼.

Device: the Vernicle. Round the rim: ✠ CALICIM SALVTARIS ACCIPIAM ET NOMINE DOMINE IN VOCABO. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, a saint's head; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic K, the London date-letter for 1527-8.

TYPE G. (FORM II.)

Circular depression, with a long-rayed device.

83. GREAT WALTHAM, ESSEX. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6⅜.

Device: the Vernicle. Round the rim in black letter: ✠ Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu. Followed by a heart, the left side pierced and bleeding. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, two links of a chain, as on Leyland and Jurby chalices and Great Hockham paten; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic D, the London date-letter for 1521-2.

84. SALISBURY ST. EDMUND, WILTS. Silver gilt.
Diameter, 6.

Device: the Vernicle. Round the rim in black letter: ✠ Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto, the words divided by varying devices, and the legend badly spaced, so that "spiritu" is omitted. Three hall-marks: (1) the maker's, TW in a shield; (2) the leopard's head crowned; (3) a Lombardic Q, the London date-letter for 1533-4.

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CHALICES PRESERVED IN YORK MINSTER.

1. *Type B.*—Found in the grave of an archbishop.
2. *Type C.*—Found in the grave of an archbishop.
3. *Type D.*—Found in the grave of WILLIAM DE MELTON, archbishop 1317-40.

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EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL PATENS.

1. *Type A.*—Worcester Cathedral Church.
2. *Type C.*—Bishop's Sutton, Hants.
3. *Type D.*—Beeston Regis, Norfolk.
4. *Type G.*—Salisbury St. Edmund, Wilts.

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SOME LITTLE-KNOWN CHURCHES ROUND LONDON.

BY W. BOLTON.

READING lately Horace Walpole's Letters, I have been newly struck with his remarks on what he thought to be Gothic architecture and Gothic architects. We find him jubilant over Kent. Now, this Kent was a fairly good classic architect, and he was also a sculptor and landscape gardener, in which last capacity he excelled. To Walpole, however, Kent was a sort of incarnation of Gothic skill. Yet in one place he seems to give the palm to Bentley, of whom he foolishly says: "He alone, of all mankind, could unite the graces of Grecian architecture and the irregular lightness and solemnity of Gothic."* Beyond this remark we know nothing of Bentley; but if we want to see what sort of a Gothic architect Kent really was, we need only go to Hampton Court Palace, and after looking at Kent's Gothic in the third gateway, turn round and behold Wolsey's. Kent was a sort of embryo Wyatt. He and his kind tried their hands on some of the greater English churches and colleges, and the tribe is only lately extinct.

But if our parish churches were spared the alterations of a Kent, they fell even into worse hands. A hundred years ago and later, there was no sense of the fitness of things in a church. A window was thought too old-fashioned, and the village bricklayer was called in, who replaced it by a square hole, which the village plumber filled with small upright panes of white glass. Their combined work was thought very neat. Was the squire's pew too dark for him to contemplate his shoe buckles—a skylight was the remedy. His pew was cold, so a fireplace was put in and a chimney run up. Was the pulpit hidden by a clumsy old pillar, the pillar was removed and a breastsummer laid along to keep the roof straight. The roof itself was found to let in the wind; so a flat plaster ceiling was provided out of the rates. Did a wall bulge, it was propped up by a pyramid of solid bricks, which they mistakenly thought a buttress, and so on. Not an inch of inside wall escaped. All was covered with coat upon coat of white-wash, yellow-wash, and, sometimes, even blue-wash. The font and the monuments did not escape this treatment. A sort of cupola was often stuck on the tower, for the ignorant old men of the dark ages were thought not to know how to finish off their own work. When the days for warming country churches came, the means employed were sometimes very hideous. One Early English cruciform church in Kent has (if it has not been lately removed) a central stove, hot-air pipes from which radiate in all directions, like the spokes of a wheel, just above the people's heads, and escape through the walls of transepts and chancel. Deformation in some shape or other was the order of the day. I quote the following from a not very old Folkestone guide book, which describes the interior of the parish church before the latest restoration:—"The walls, piers, and arches are rough, ponderous, and unadorned. The pews are high-backed, spacious, lined with rush, and bound on the edges with green tape. Hat-racks abound, and adorn the front of the galleries. The church is a conflicting epitome of the taste of every mason in Folkestone." Incongruous arrangements of a different type frequently prevailed. At a rural church near London, which I will not name, the singing was led, up to a recent period, by the parish clerk, who composed his tunes as he went on, warbling his extemporaneous lays, like Wordsworth's river, "at his own sweet will." It was really a comic entertainment. On the other hand, at Whitchurch, near Edgware, the Duke of Chandos literally turned the church into a music-gallery, got Verrio, the painter, to cover the walls with gigantic works in oil, which still remain,† and put the organ and orchestra within the communion rails facing the west.

Where there was the most wealth, there we find the greatest church destruction; and nowhere else in all England was such church demolition perpetrated in the last century, as

* Letters to Mann, iii. p. 345.

† Hence Pope's well-known lines:—

"Light quirks of music, broken and uneven,
Make the soul dance upon a jig to heaven:
On painted ceilings you devoutly stare
Where sprawl the saints of Verrio or Laguerre."

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in the wealthy districts about London, and in the valley of the Thames from Woolwich to Staines. It was not always that the church was too small for the population, for to this day some of the churches afford ample room for the parish. We must rather attribute it to the fashion and to the vitiated taste of the time. In the Thames valley hardly an old church escaped destruction, and not more than two or three ancient ones remain to us out of them all. Kingston, Walton-on-Thames, and Thames Ditton, are almost the only exceptions; and Kingston was cased on the outside with the meanest of brickwork. The old towers of Fulham, Chiswick, Twickenham, Chertsey, West Molesey, Richmond, Mortlake, Barnes, and Putney, were left, and in three instances, viz., at Richmond, Barnes, and Chelsea, the old chancels. The following is a list of the Thames Valley churches which were demolished and rebuilt in the worst possible style. Omitting London itself, on the Middlesex side there were Kensington, Chelsea, Fulham, Chiswick, Ealing, Acton, Brentford, Isleworth, Twickenham, Teddington, and Sunbury. Crossing over the river, and returning by the south bank, there were Chertsey, Long Ditton, Petersham, Richmond, Kew, Mortlake, Wandsworth, Clapham, Battersea, Rotherhithe, Deptford, Charlton, Woolwich, and Plumstead. You will see I have hardly omitted a parish, except those within the Metropolitan bounds. Hammersmith Church, very lately pulled down, was originally built A.D. 1621. Hampton is a pseudo-Gothic church, built before the revival. Hanwell has been several times rebuilt. Hanworth is a pleasing Gothic church of the end of the last century, remarkable for the foresight of the architect. Kensington has been rebuilt by Sir G. G. Scott, and is among his triumphs, though almost his last. Long Ditton, lately rebuilt again, was more like a mausoleum than a church. It is a regret to some that Hammersmith Church was not retained as an example of the Gothic, debased though it was, of Charles the First's time. Nearly all the churches mentioned above are little more than parallelograms, without aisles, mere "brick rooms," as some one has not inaptly called them.

Yet, take the country as a whole, it is delightful to find how much real old work and how many entire churches have come down to us. Whitewash within and plaster without have tended rather to preserve than to destroy; and what frescoes, what lovely stone foliage, and what statuary have lately been brought to light! This sort of work is true restoration. To a few such churches near London it is my privilege to direct your attention to-night. While not all of those I name are very specially fine ones in themselves, there is not one of them that can be called uninteresting, and each one has some peculiar feature of its own. I have thought that perhaps the best way to bring some of these churches before you will be by grouping them; and to this end I will ask you to accompany me on three imaginary excursions.

Our *first* excursion shall be comparatively near home. We take the train at London Bridge, and in less than three-quarters of an hour reach Merstham. Turning northward and passing through Merstham village, we arrive at CHIPSTEAD Church, standing high up on the chalk, 512 ft. above the sea, amid farmsteads and high trees. The surroundings cannot have been altered for centuries. There is a view to the north-east, over a waving country to Shooter's Hill, backed by the Essex hills beyond. The railway, though close by, is neither seen nor heard, as it is here carried through a tunnel deep beneath our feet. It is owing to this fact that Chipstead is so little known. Tourists, excursionists, and perhaps even ecclesiologists, daily pass beneath it, and know not of it. No high road goes through the village, if the collection of cottages near the church can be dignified by that name. All is peaceful. The rooks are busy in the elm branches, and in the proper season cuckoo answers to cuckoo. The nightingale is heard not merely in the stillness of the night, but in broad day all around, mingled with the musical ring of the village blacksmith's anvil.

Chipstead Church, dedicated to St. Margaret (an uncommon dedication in Surrey), is a good specimen of a Norman and Early English cruciform church, though the south transept is modern. A low tower without battlements rises at its intersection. The walls, like those of nearly all churches on the chalk, are of flint, with stone dressings. There are four doorways, two of these being Norman; the north one has an enriched sculptured head, bordered with the dog-tooth. The west doorway is Norman also, but plainer, and perhaps a little earlier. A good Early English doorway is on the south side, and the remaining one is on the west face of the north transept, where we sometimes find a door in Norman churches. Some of the windows of the nave are Perpendicular insertions, and there are a few quatrefoils. All the other windows are Early English lancets, and are very numerous. In the north wall of the nave are three, in the north transept seven, in the chancel nine, and in the modern south transept five. The lancets in the chancel are connected by an external string-course, carried round the head of each. These are very elegant specimens of finished work, and some of them are remarkable for their narrowness, being not more, I think, than six inches across, and looking from a distance like mere slits in the wall. Within the church the Norman work nearly disappears. Four Early English arches spring from semi-circular half-columns on rather high bases, and support the tower, which has a

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ribbed vault. There is a blocked round-headed clerestory on the south containing quatrefoils. The lancets, so narrow as seen from without the church, are widely splayed within, their heads being under straight-sided arches. Three in the north transept form a fine triplet, though externally they are separate. A string-course is carried round the chancel below the windows and above the priest's door. The east and west windows, each of three lights, are Perpendicular; but one would rather have had the old lancets, especially at the west end, which might then have afforded a good study. In the chancel is a low trefoil-headed piscina, and an aumbry with a shelf; also a plain stone seat, very unlike a sedile, but probably a true one. A Perpendicular screen remains. The pulpit and desk are Jacobean. The font is an octagon, with decorated tracery on the panels, on a circular pier. A small bust commemorates Lucy Roper, 1614, and an upright slab Christopher Sharpe, embroiderer, of London, 1618. There are a helmet and a tattered banner above the Lambert grave, and an interesting stone on the chancel floor to Alice Hooker, daughter of Richard the Judicious, probably the very child whose cradle the great man was found rocking, with Horace in his hand, when he was visited at his Buckinghamshire parsonage, as told us by Isaak Walton.

I have mentioned only some prominent features at Chipstead. Other parts are modern. The churchyard has a lych gate of the Beckenham pattern, which has worthily become the type of many successors. In the churchyard is a fine yew twenty-four feet round the trunk.

Much more might be said about this church, which some day is worth a special visit from this Society. It lies about two and a-half miles south-east of Banstead, where is a railway-station, from which it may be also reached by pleasant hill and dale footpaths. But we must pass on, returning to Merstham by the way we came; and continuing our walk in a southerly direction, take a field path up to a gate which opens into Gatton Park. Mounting the chalk hills here again, we soon come to GATTON Church. Now, though Gatton was very famous before the first Reform Bill of 1832 as having possessed, with hardly any population at all, the ancient right of returning two members to Parliament, and is still frequently quoted as a former "rotten borough," its church is very little known. In itself it is only a poor little affair of cardboard Gothic, covered all over with roughcast, and such a church as Kent could have designed; but just as one might be tempted to visit some disagreeable old lady for the sake of seeing her collection of china, so we go to Gatton to see, not the church, but its contents. Here both ecclesiologist and antiquary will be at home, for Lord Monson, with a praiseworthy zeal, has bestowed such gifts upon it that it resembles less a country church than the choir of a minster in miniature. The walls are lined with carved oak panels, above which is an overhanging canopy from Belgium, while in front are double rows of stalls, having misereres from Ghent and doors from Rouen. The panelling of the chancel came from Burgundy, but it looks like English workmanship. The Communion Table and Pulpit came from Nuremberg, and are traditionally said to be designs of Albert Dürer. Both are covered with scriptural subjects in high relief, the latter showing a very bold Descent from the Cross. The Communion Rails came from Flanders. The east window and two others are filled with old glass procured from the Monastery of Aürschot. Not the least fine thing here is a screen at the west end, which is lovely, of Decorated English work. The font is genuine—that is, it really belongs to Gatton, being retained when the old church was destroyed in 1834. Its date is Early English. An old piscina also has been suffered to remain, and there are other objects of interest, but to enumerate all the relics that Gatton Church possesses would be to repeat a catalogue. Comparing the collection of foreign antiques in this church with those in the famous church at Wilton, near Salisbury, placed there by the late Lord Herbert of Lea, I should say that Gatton was the more interesting of the two. As to the principle of despoiling one church to fill another, it is not one's business to dilate; but they do the same thing abroad, and if the English did not buy what is for sale, others would. In the public museums of Brussels and Rouen are vast collections of relics, including even tombs, from despoiled churches and monasteries. Should the visitor to Gatton Church not feel satiated enough with fat things, he can add to his feast by asking permission to see the Hall of the Mansion adjoining, filled with Italian marbles and pictures. To my mind, the finest picture is the glorious prospect from the park.

The two churches above-mentioned can easily be managed in one afternoon; but I purpose to continue this imaginary excursion further onward to see a very important church indeed—only a few miles off, in a south-easterly direction, but made more accessible now by a new line direct from London—namely, the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, at LINGFIELD, which, from its hitherto out-of-the-way position, is hardly at all known; and yet, now that Croydon Church is almost entirely a new one, it is to my mind the most important one in Surrey after St. Mary Overy. Lying in the Weald, and near good stone, this church differs from most of the Surrey churches in its finish, and rather reminds one of a Suffolk church. It was erected by Lord Cobham, of Sterborough, about A.D. 1403, and it is entirely of squared stone. The nave and chancel are of equal height and width, and it has a continuous range of bays from west to

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east, with aisles and chancels agreeing, and in the north wall is a continuous range of high windows, seven in number, corresponding with the bays. The division between nave and chancel, or rather between the north aisle and the north chancel, is marked on this side with a bold rood tower. The main tower, which is at the south-west, has a parapet of open quatrefoils. The interior of the church is imposing, from the fine proportion of the parts, and from the great width of the north aisle and chancel. I do not intend to describe this church in any detail. Suffice it to say that it has some peculiarities well worth study, as the interlacing of mouldings at the chancel arch. A remarkable lectern of oak, of contemporaneous date with the church, happily remains, in which is a recess probably for the thurible. There is much good screen and stall work. But, good as Lingfield Church is, its chief attractions are the fine brasses and tombs. Built by the Cobhams, the brasses must at one time have almost rivalled those of the other Cobhams, of Cobham in Kent. I can mention only a few. In the centre of the main chancel is a fine altar tomb, with alabaster effigies to a Lord Cobham and his lady. The knight's feet rest on a living dog; the lady's on a dead dragon.* He is in armour; she wears a wimple. In the north chancel is a second altar tomb, to an earlier Lord Cobham, the figures having once been highly coloured; but a part of this monument is, unfortunately, only a restoration in plaster. The feet here rest on a Saracen. In the same chancel are two more altar tombs, one bearing a life-size bust to Reginald, Lord Cobham, 1403, in plate armour. Other brasses commemorate Lady Eleanor Cobham, life-size, 1420, the head being a restoration; also a Lord Cobham, 1460, the matrix being filled with a plain modern brass made to size and let in, but very properly left quite plain. The inscription is original. There is also another life-size brass to a lady, without an inscription; also small brasses to J. Wyche, 1445; J. Belsham, 1456; and J. Swetecoke, 1456; all priests of the adjoining College. But perhaps the rarest thing here is a small incised effigy on three glazed tiles, half life-size, to a civilian about the time of Edward IV., or a little later. The tiles on which this figure is burnt are of common red clay, and the lines are formed by indentations, as if scratched in rudely with a piece of wire.† Lingfield Church was formerly collegiate. The college stood at the west side of the churchyard, exactly in the same relative position to the church as the college did at Sudbury, in Suffolk. But no buildings here remain. The spot is, however, one for an artist. Close by are several old, half-timber houses, and two hundred yards away, near a pool, are the remains of St. Peter's cross, or rather of a miniature chapel on its site. A ruined oak throws a mighty bough across it. Tree, cross, and the sites of the college and of the castle of the Cobhams, not far away, all tell us that "here we have no continuing city." The church, which alone remains of all the former glories, speaks of "the city which hath foundations."

From Lingfield I should advise a return by a different route, taking the church of Crowhurst on the way. This church is noted for its tombs, cast in Sussex iron, and its enormous yew, the largest in this yew-growing district, or in the county.

Our *second* excursion shall be in Essex, and we must rapidly skim it over. I propose to take you, in imagination, by the Tilbury line to Grays, and then turn westward a little, to see the church of West Thurrock, which stands close to the Thames, the churchyard being separated from the river by the embankment only; yet, though thousands pass it daily by railway and steamboat, not one in ten thousand, probably, ever gives this interesting church more than a hurried glance; and yet it has one special feature, which is worth much trouble to see. St. Clement's, West Thurrock, was formerly known as the Pilgrims' Church, being used by Pilgrims from the Eastern counties, who paid their devotions in it before they crossed the Thames on their way to Canterbury. Much injury was inflicted on this church in the last century. The upper stage of the tower was removed, the walls propped by brick pyramids, monuments were taken down, a squire's pew with its fireplace added, and everything covered with whitewash. In spite of all this, the church is very interesting still; the windows were happily spared, and these have likewise escaped the modern chisel, and offer artistic studies of good tracery in decay. The tower has bands of white stone and black flint, carried horizontally all round, and continued on the buttresses. There are interesting details within; but I pass them by now to call your attention to the east window of the central chancel, which is a very elegant specimen of transition work between Early English and Decorated, never restored, and in fine condition. The design consists of three acute lancets, with circles between them under one hood of graceful character. The circles, which are small, contain each of them three triangles, the tracery of which is delicate, and almost thread-like. The outer mouldings are pure Decorated, while the treatment of the mullions, &c., partakes of the earlier style. I could not measure this window, but should judge it to be about 12 feet by 7 or 8 feet. This

* Compare the old proverb, "A live Dog is better than a dead Lion."

† See a representation of this in Vol. VI. of the *Archæological Journal*.

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very fine window is unique, near London, and the date above it, A.D. 1623, refers only to an alteration in the gable. It is not possible to get a photograph of this fine window, from an awkward tree being in the way.

I may mention here that westward lie the churches of Winnington and Rainham, both of which have the uncommon feature of a Norman priest's door.* Our journey lies, however, to the northward, and the Thurrocks may be taken as the base of a group of little-known churches in that direction, but to reach which the visitor is bound either to walk or hire a carriage, unless, haply, he be a cyclist. I can do but little more than mention them, and recommend them. There is, first, AVELEY, about two miles distant; the salient features of which are a good picturesque, weather-worn, stone tower, containing some seventeenth century bells, a chancel with an inclination to the south (the church is dedicated to St. Michael), and a small perfect Flemish brass to Radulph de Knevynton, 1370. Two miles eastward is STIFFORD, a very interesting small church, of Early English date, with good windows and a Decorated tower. The spire rejoices in having a separate bell hung outside it under a penthouse. The font is good Early English, and there are some brasses; but the best feature is a south chantry, with a handsome triplet, which has internal shafts. Two or three miles to the north is the church of SOUTH OCKENDON, in an ugly village, but very important as having a round tower of the Norfolk type. It is, I believe, not generally realized that there is a round-towered church within sixteen miles of St. Paul's! Like other round towers, this tower is also of flint. Stone being scarce in the Eastern counties, and the Fen country which, in the Middle Ages, was one great area of water, and with the Thames and the sea, isolated them from the rest of England, the people had to build with what materials they could best find. There are exceptions, of course; but this is the rule. A circle has no corners, and a round building requires no quoins as weather-guards, and hence arose the round towers of the Eastern counties, which in no wise must be connected with the round towers of Ireland, and other Celtic lands, which doubtless belong to a much earlier period. Yet what we have in England are very interesting to us. Norfolk abounds with them; in Suffolk they are common; Cambridgeshire and Essex have a few specimens. Surrey also had one—the old church at Tooting, barbarously pulled down in the year 1832. Sussex has three such round towers, nestled in the downs about Lewes. They occur nowhere else in England. Essex, moreover, possesses a three-sided church-tower at Maldon; doubtless so erected to save stone, as requiring fewer quoins, though here it may be symbolical of the Trinity. The church I am now dwelling upon—namely, South Ockendon—besides the round tower, has a good Norman portal on the north side. The country from Grays will have been interesting, the ground swelling into gentle hills. As we pass on, however, it is tamer, but by no means dull. I can only just mention here the churches at North Ockendon, Upminster, and lastly Hornchurch, the spire of which has been our guide for some time. They are little known, and will re-pay a visit. At Hornchurch we find a railway to bring us back to town. This excursion could be easily done in a day by a pedestrian. I did it in one afternoon and evening. The whole is about sixteen miles. It had been my intention to have here taken you on to THAXTED, further off, indeed, but still not out of a Londoner's reach, though five miles from a railway, where is a great stone cruciform church, once a Royal one, and the principal church in Essex; but as it would require a long time to do justice to so important a church, I now only mention it.

Our last excursion will be quite in another direction, viz., to the far west of the county of Middlesex, to glance even still more briefly at a group of churches now little known, though formerly, in days of Bath coaches, they must have been familiar to many. The first I mention is BEDFONT, lying just behind the confines of old Hounslow-heath, behind the famous Bedfont Peacocks—that is, two yews cut into the shape of peacocks, from time immemorial. I suppose we have all heard of or seen pictures of these strange-looking trees. Thomas Hood, the elder, has written a tolerably good lengthy poem about them, and they are proverbial. Bedfont Church is a humble, unpretentious, Norman structure, now much disfigured with modern deformation; but remarkable for a primitive little Norman chancel arch, which is hardly more than a round-headed orifice in a thick wall, very narrow and low, rude enough for Saxon. The south doorway is Norman too. On the north wall is a lately-discovered fresco of the Last Judgment, of about thirteenth century date. A mile or two north of Bedfont is HARLINGTON Church, which has an elaborate Norman south portal of five orders, comprising, beside a zigzag and battlement moulding, a course of cat's heads (?) with protruding tongues turned over a lower bead. The jamb shafts are double, with grotesque caps. The font is of the same date. There are some good Decorated windows, a good timber porch, some tombs, and a little old glass in the east window. A little west of this is HARMONDSWORTH Church, which has also a

* The Rainham door is illustrated in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. I. p. 192.

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Norman portal, but plainer than at the sister church. This, however, shows a beak moulding, and a star moulding carried down to the ground. In the wall are some round-headed windows. Norman architecture is rare in the metropolitan county, and next to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and the Chapel in the Tower, these are its most important specimens. Bedfont may be said to be a Norman curiosity. Harmondsworth also possesses a fine mediæval barn of timber, which should by no means be left unvisited. After visiting Harmondsworth you can go to West Drayton and return home by rail.

I have now fulfilled, I think, the task imposed at setting out, by taking you pretty well round London. We have been south, south-east, east, north-east, and west. I do not think I have dwelt on one church which can now claim to be well-known, while some are hardly known outside their bounds, except to readers of county books, or to the ardent ecclesiologist who is a pedestrian or a cyclist. No more delightful way of spending a few days' holiday can be had than by going from church to church on foot, with sketch-book or note-book in hand. No sooner do we leave one of the dear old churches than we see its neighbour a mile or two away, either across a common, or peering over trees, or separated from us by a river, or crowning a hill, its weathercock reflecting the sun, each one beckoning us to approach. Church towers are not in vain. Besides their sacred uses, they mark the houses of God from afar; and in the same proportion as the tower of a mighty cathedral like that of Ely or Lincoln, as a central point of the Fens, or that of Strasburg of the vast plain of the Rhine, point silent fingers to heaven, and ever tell to all beholders of their existence, so do the village churches of Old England call to us from their ancient and beautiful sites, and appeal to our deepest feelings for good.

"Those temples of His grace
How beautiful they stand!
The honours of our native place,
The bulwarks of our land."

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ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER.

BY G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A., &c.

THE saint to whom this church is dedicated was a very favourite one with our mediæval forefathers, and with St. Barbara and St. Catherine was held in special reverence. There were three other churches in London dedicated to her—St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Margaret Moses. Two of these only exist now, having been rebuilt after the Fire; the last of the three—St. Margaret Moses—was not so fortunate; but of this group of churches, St. Margaret's, Westminster, must have always been the largest and most important.

Its position so close to the great Abbey Church is certainly singular, and many a time a clamour has arisen to pull it down, and "throw open the Abbey." Such a piece of wanton destruction may at once be dismissed as being outside the range of possible probabilities; for no one in these days can be blind to the fact of the immense importance of the existence of this ancient fabric, and of its value in our national annals—a value both æsthetical, historical, and archæological—and apparent to all who take the trouble to think. But there is one idea which is predominant when looking at this church, small only in comparison with the towering Minster by its side, and that is, what a wonderful institution is this ancient parochial system, handed down to us from the earliest times, which has survived all the convulsions which, at divers times, have rentboth society and government; for here we have it asserting itself boldly in the very presence of the palace of the king, and before the gate of the still more powerful and wealthy monastic hierarchy, which was powerless before this venerable institution more ancient than itself.

Some writers have laid it down authoritatively that when Edward the Confessor rebuilt the ancient abbey, founded by Sebert, he thought it would be a dishonour to his new and stately edifice, and an annoyance to his beloved monks, if the neighbouring people assembled for worship in the abbey, as they had been wont to do, and that about the year 1064 (they are even so circumstantial as to give the date) he caused to be erected on the north side of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, a church dedicated to the virgin martyr, St. Margaret of Antioch, for their use. Unfortunately, however, no authority beyond their own is given for this statement, nor can any authority at present be found for it. If it was the case at St. Peter's, Westminster, it must have been so at the church of St. Paul, for here was another instance of a parish church in close proximity—closer even than St. Margaret's—clinging, as it were, to the very side of that grand and huge cathedral, and yet the same excuse for the existence of the parish church of St. Gregory is never once hinted at; if it was inconvenient to the Benedictine monks to have parish services to provide for in their church, it would have been equally so to the opulent and very numerous chapter of St. Paul's, and we should have heard of provision being made for parish services outside these walls, as is supposed to have been done at Westminster.

It would be possible to enumerate several instances of parish churches in close proximity to cathedrals or large abbey churches, not only in England but abroad, as at Ely, Worcester, Exeter, Coventry (now destroyed), Chester, and Carlisle, where the parish church is included in the buildings, and at St. Alban's Abbey, where there was a parish altar. A most notable instance was the parish church—now destroyed—of St. John the Round (St. Jean le Rond), which nearly touched the north-west tower of the metropolitan and cathedral church of Our Lady of Paris. The real reason of such close proximity is the fact that the parochial foundation was much older than the cathedral or conventual, and their near neighbourhood, in nine cases out of ten, was mere accident; and if there were any parochial rights and privileges in a cathedral or abbey church, such rights were always asserted and maintained.

The earliest notice of the boundaries of the parish is contained in the Charter of King Edgar, A.D. 962, who, at the prayer of St. Dunstan, granted or sold a confirmation to the Abbey of a certain portion of land, only containing then five houses. The money equivalent was a golden armilla. This grant is preserved in the British Museum, and attached to it is a description, in Saxon, of the boundaries of it, which I will give *verbatim* from Sir Henry Ellis's translation:—"First up from the Thames, along Merfleet (the marshy site of Whitehall) to Pollen Stock, so to Bulinga Fen (Tothill Fields), afterwards along the fen, by the ditch, to

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Cowford (Buckingham Palace), from Cowford up along Tybourne (by Vauxhall Bridge) to the broad military road (Oxford Street), following the road to the old stock of St. Andrew's Church, then within London Fen, proceeding south on Thames to midstream, and along the stream by land and strand to Merfleet." This ancient parish was subsequently subdivided into many others—St. Clement's, St. James's, St. Martin's, St. Mary-le-Strand St. George's (Hanover Square), St. Anne's (Soho), St. Paul's (Covent Garden), St. John's (Westminster), &c.

This church, very likely a small and inconvenient structure, remained until the time of Edward I., according to Stow, when it was pulled down and entirely rebuilt—the nave and aisles at the expense of the parish and the merchants of the staple, and the chancel and aisles by the abbey of St. Peter, to whom the advowson belonged. Mackenzie Walcott, in his history, implies that this rebuilding was not until Edward III.'s time, *circa* 1350; but in another passage he confirms this statement of Stow's, and mentions a rebuilding, or considerable alterations in the time of Edward IV. These dates are all rather confusing, but there is little doubt but that the present church was rebuilt entirely at one period, and that period was not quite so soon as Edward III., and that the last reign mentioned was the truth.

Walcott, while quoting Stow, on whose sole authority this statement about the parishioners being turned out of the Abbey rests, considers that the change of site was necessary, in consequence of the number of bad characters attracted by the privilege of sanctuary, who lived in defiance of justice. The chapels and chantries within this church were the following:—Holy Trinity, south aisle; Our Lady, north aisle; St. Margaret, St. George, St. Catherine, St. Erasmus, St. John, St. Cornelius, St. Nicholas, and St. Christopher.

In Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster" is a curious plate, representing the interior of this church from a rare print by Brock, prefixed to Warner's edition of the Book of Common Prayer, printed for Crockett and Hodges. The view is taken looking east, and shows the old east window of six lights with stained glass—the upper part filled with figures of saints, and in the lower part the royal arms, with the date 1692. The pulpit and desk is of that character now generally known as a "three-decker," with huge sounding board, with ogee ribs, supporting a crown which is again surmounted by a dove, and enclosed within these ribs is a carved figure with what looks like a palm branch in one hand. The reading desk and clerk's desk have both their occupants, who seem engaged in the usual parson and clerk duet. A gallery is seen in the north aisle, stopping short at the chancel, the last two bays being clear. This is crowded with bewigged persons, some of whom seem to be taking an active part in the service, one especially beating time with his hand on the book, and the gallery front is decorated with their cocked hats. The altar-piece seems to be of the usual Wrenian character—a broken curved pediment with central urn, the usual tables of the law, and cherubs' heads. Within the rails (which are spiked at the top, I suppose to prevent people sitting on them) is a monumental effigy in a kneeling position against the north wall, and a recumbent effigy below it. So accurately is the interior represented that even a small corbel supporting one of the stone shafts for the roof principals is shown correctly as it still exists, an angel bearing a shield on which is a Catherine wheel. The Speaker of the House of Commons is very prominent in the right-hand corner with the mace. The chancel is occupied by only two figures, a boy and a girl kneeling on the bare stones, with their backs to the altar, and a group of five other figures beneath the Speaker's pew, all very much engaged in the service. The roof is flat, and divided into panels, with rosettes in the centre of each, and curved pieces coming down on to the clerestory walls. The windows are flat-headed, of two lights, with cinque-foiled heads. Underneath is written, "John Brock sculpsit."

THE EAST WINDOW.

Puritan iconoclasts, even more than the ravages of time, have left but little ancient stained glass in London, but of the few remains happily preserved in the Abbey, in this church, the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, and other places, the most perfect and complete is certainly the superb east window of this church. It would be almost a thrice-told tale to give its history, which is so well known, but perhaps I may be excused for recapitulating it for the benefit of those who may not have heard of its history. According to well-known tradition, it was originally intended by the magistrates of Dort, in Holland, as a present to Henry VII., but the king dying before it was presented, it fell into the hands of the Abbot of Waltham, who kept it in his church until the Dissolution. Robert Fuller, the last Abbot, in order to preserve it, sent it to New Hall, where it remained until the time of General Monk, who had bought that property from the Villiers family. It was supposed to have been buried by him to preserve it from the Puritans, but at the Restoration was replaced by him in the window of the chapel. This chapel was afterwards demolished by the then possessor John Olmins, but he preserved the window for the purpose of selling it to some church. In the British Museum is preserved a letter from him to Dr. Swinton, Wadham College, Oxford, to this effect:—"July, 30, 1738. Dear Doctor, Having some time ago made the purchase of an old house where there is a fine chapel, I have

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resolved to pull it down, and knowing right well that you are a great dealer in vertu, I thought proper to acquaint your Holyness that there is one of the finest large windows of painted glass in England, which I desire you will make known to the good people of your colledge, that they may depute you to take a view of it. If they like it they shall have it in honour to you for less than any else. If your Colledge should not buy it I shall be obliged to you to mention it to some of the others, for it is a thing of value, and I am certain they will be glad of it, &c." Not being successful in this respect the possessor cased it up, and it remained so for some years, until it was finally sold to a Mr. Conyers, of Copt Hall, Epping, for 50 guineas. Here it remained until his son rebuilt the house, and sold the window to the Committee for repairing and beautifying St. Margaret's for 400 guineas in 1758. Thus, according to popular report, the window at last rested within a very few feet of the place for which it had been designed nearly three hundred years before. But for this last statement there is no authority whatever, as to its being originally intended for Henry VII.'s chapel. Rickman states that the window was ordered by Ferdinand and Isabella, as a bridal gift when Catherine, their daughter, was affianced to Arthur, Prince of Wales. The so-called figure of Henry VII. is not regally crowned, but a circlet of gold surrounds his cap of maintenance.

The subject of the window is the Crucifixion, with attendant saints and donors, and in design it recalls the arrangement of many of the triptychs of the Flemish school. The Crucifixion itself extends over the three centre lights, and recalls, by the gorgeous masses of its colouring, the windows in the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament at St. Gudule, Brussels, and the Jesse window, St. George's, Hanover Square. On each side of our Lord, in the upper part, are angels bearing chalices, to contain the sacred blood, and in the two lights on each side are the thieves, above whom an angel is represented as bearing away the soul of one to Paradise, and a devil is flying away with the other. In the centre light at the foot of the cross are the Blessed Virgin, SS. Mary Magdalene and Mary, wife of Cleophas, and St. John. The Virgin is fainting. On each side in the other lights the Jewish rulers and soldiers are grouped round the feet of the crosses of the two thieves, and the centurion pierces with a lance the side of the Saviour. In the outer lights, on the right of the crucifix, is Saint George of England, armed *cap-à-pie*, with the red-cross banner and dragon; and under, in the lower portion of the light, is a figure, generally supposed to be Henry VII.; and in the corresponding light on the other side is Saint Catherine of Alexandria, with sword and wheel, and beneath her is a figure, supposed to be Elizabeth of York.

This window seems to have been the subject of litigation, instituted against a Mr. Samuel Pierson and his colleague in the Ecclesiastical Courts, "for that they had set it up without a faculty, and that it contained superstitious images." The churchwardens gained the suit against the objectors, and gave, in grateful acknowledgment, a richly-chased cup, stand, and cover, silver gilt. The cup has a figure of St. Margaret.

The most interesting MONUMENTS are those of Lady Maria Dudley, daughter of Lord Howard, of Effingham; a tablet to Sir Walter Raleigh, buried in the chancel; Houghton, 1615; Cornelius Uandun, 1577; Arneway, 1608; Lady Dorothy Stafford, widow of Sir William Stafford, Knight, son of Henry Lord Stafford, and grandson of the last Duke of Buckingham of that name. Her mother was Ursula, daughter of the Countess of Salisbury, only daughter of George, Duke of Clarence. In Weever's "Funeral Monuments" there is a description of a tomb, formerly existing in the north aisle, of a Lady Billing, 1499. It represented the Almighty shedding rays from above on the Blessed Virgin Mary, who, by label, was saying, "Behold thine handmaid"; on the right was an angel with the label, "Hail, Mary"; on other labels were, "Blessed Lady, for thy glorious salutation bring our souls to everlasting salvation," and, "Blessed Trinity, on me have mercy." During the restoration, behind the pewing has been found a monumental recess in the north aisle, with remains of this painting of the Annunciation as usually depicted. The traces of colour were more distinct when first uncovered, but a solution of shellac has been applied to preserve what remains. At the back of the recess there seems to have been a small brass inscription, and the top of the tomb has also been inlaid with brass figures. The arch and spandrel have been knocked away, leaving only the square opening and outer moulding.

Standing within the present fabric since the recent restoration, the transformation is so marvellous that one can scarcely realise that it is the same church. It has gained so immensely both in seeming height and length.. It is no longer the little church of St. Margaret. From the west door the eye takes in the whole unbroken length of 130 feet, and the exquisitely beautiful nave arcaded in eight bays and a-half, with its coupled clerestory windows and panelled oak roof, is seen in one unbroken view; and the aisles seen through the nave arches increase this long perspective, and give that appearance of space and lightness so characteristic of Perpendicular churches.

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There is a monotony and tameness in the arcades of our London churches of this period, as at St. Andrew, Undershaft, St. Olave, Hart Street, St. Ethelburga, and St. Helen, which are wholly wanting in St. Margaret's. The detail of the work is vastly superior, and it would be difficult to find a better proportioned arcade than this of Westminster anywhere.

The rather stilted proportion of the bases, the tracery in the spandrels, and richness of the mouldings are very superior to the above-mentioned churches, where the mouldings of the arches and piers are continuous, and the arches themselves four-centred.

Before the restoration few churches had undergone greater degradations both internally and externally. It had been shorn of its length by one bay of the nave being divided off as a vestibule at the west end, and again at the east end by the intrusion of a semicircular sacrarium with a domed roof in plaster. The north and south aisles had been curtailed of their length by the intrusion of vestibules with staircases, and encumbered with huge galleries on three sides, and pewed bewilderingly above and below. The stonework and walls had been hidden under plaster and paint, which had darkened to a treacley hue by age and dirt. The tracery of the windows had been barbarously altered, wretched monumental slabs blistered the walls, and were even stuck on to the plaster divisions forming the ceilings beneath the galleries. Mouldings and strings and piers had been cut and hacked about to fit pews into. A perfect charnel-house existed below the pavement, and externally every architectural feature had been pared and toned down to one tame and insipid flatness by neat courses of Portland ashlar, and a porch most fearfully and wonderfully made had been added at the western end of the nave in the "Druidical style," as it was somewhat proudly called by the parishioners. Entrances had been made in the east walls of the north and south aisles. The gallery had been continued across the west end, thus depriving it of another bay, and the roof plastered internally in panels after the Gothic manner of Strawberry Hill, and a wheel window inserted in the east gable after the same fashion. The tracery of the windows had been removed, and a meagre and thin imitation of Gothic work inserted in its place. The same process had been applied to the exterior of St. Margaret's as to the huge Abbey Church. Every bit of interesting detail had been pared off as if it had been skinned, and its condition was such as one often sees graphically described in a guide-book as a plain and neat exterior.

Whatever faults may have been committed under the name of restoration, and I for one would be the last to extenuate or excuse them, these faults and errors cannot be quoted in this instance. Of late, one has heard a good deal of the crimes of restorers, and the piety and devotion which would seek to cleanse God's house from the awful desecration of neglect and private greed has been stigmatised almost as a crime. I have too much confidence in the sound practical common sense of this age to believe for one moment, when this question is before people as to whether a sacred building should be devoted to the uses for which it was originally designed, or that a maudlin sentimentality for whatever has been done in times past be allowed to cumber and disfigure them, that the latter sentiment would for one moment prevail.

Unless the wretched plaster apse had been removed the "history" of the old east window and the remains of the reredos beneath would never have been confirmed. The removal of the galleries, again, corroborated the churchwardens' accounts as to the rood loft. The remains of the tomb, again, in the north wall, is a confirmation of Weever's description, and in many other instances that I could mention this very restoration has proved of the greatest value and assistance to antiquaries, and when, as at St. Margaret's, all ancient remains are carefully preserved to tell their history to future generations, surely restoration is a blessing instead of the curse which we are asked to believe it is.

I have not alluded to the narrow escape St. Margaret's had in the time of the Protector Somerset. He was about pulling it down for his new house in the Strand, and the scaffolds were already erected, when the parishioners rose to a man and pulled the scaffolds down.

EXTRACTS OF INTEREST FROM THE PARISH BOOKS.

1478. The day of burying W. Caxton. Two torches, and four tapars at a low Mass, 1s. 8d.

1485. Mr. John the Queen's foule.

1498. For the knell of Elizabeth de Word, widow of Wynkyn fraternity of S. Cornelius.

1500. Julian de Worde. 6d. (knell).

1506. Bequest of books. S. Nicholas' Altar.

1508. For bringing the organs of the Abbey into the Church, and bering them home again. 2d.

1510. The said wardens now accomptants of Mrs. Elizabeth Morley, widow, towards the new making of a rood, Mary and John in the Roode loft, at the time that the parish be of power and substance to make and build the said roode, left the sum of £10.

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1511. Sir William Vampage, knight, among other gifts, a relict of St. Margaret, a finger silver and gilt.

1517. Water Gardiner to the making of the roode loft, £38.

1531. Paid to Renaoever, Payntour, for painting and guilding of the sixty stories of St. Margaret's Tabernacle, £3 6s. 8d. Gilding twelve small images for do. £2 8s. 0d.

1540. Paid to Alice Lewis, a goldsmith's wife, in London, for a circlett to marry maidens in, £3.

1541. Paid to Roger Weston for the taking down of our Lady's tabernacle at Rouncyval, and for setting up thereof in the Trinity isle, 13s. 4d.

1550. Paid to him that did paint and write the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel in the Quire, £2.

1554. Paid to a painter for washing out the Scripture of the High Altar Table, 1s.

1556. Paid for bread, wine, bread and ale upon the Ascension Even and Day against my lord Abbot and his Convent came in procession to our Church.

To Nicholas Clarke for making the image of St. Margaret, 11s.

1559. Paid 2s. 8d. for three days' work taking down the roode Mary and John, the table on the High Altar, and the Holy water stock, and for clearing and sawing of the rood.

1562. Inventory taken. Still remaining chasuble of blue cloth tissue + with dalmatic and tunicle. Six copes, some richly embroidered, six palls. The bells rang for joy when Mary the Queen of Scotland was beheaded in 1586, and in 1612 they rang again when she was finally laid to rest in the adjoining Abbey.

1610. To Goodwyfe Wells, for salt to destroy the fleas in the churchwardens' seat.

1628. Ornaments upon or about the communion table:—One fair cloth, embroidered with gold fringe. One long cushion and one short one, of crimson velvet, embroidered, and gold tassels. Two pieces of bodkin work, fastened upon the communion table. Three fronts for the communion table, embroidered. A ritche whit damaske cloth. 2 of hair coloured velvet and gouled pained. 3 cloth of gould, with blew and green velvet. One cushion, old, with images. Another of figurata taffatye blacke and russet. One back front of gilt leather. One carpet of Turkey work to lay upon the steps. And amongst other properties were surplices for the ministers and clarkes (these were plain linen), and sexton. 7 palls, some very rich; 4 silver-gilt chalices, 2 flagons, 3 patens, two of them with feet; and a small silver chalice and paten; a past or cerclet for brides, embroidered with perles and stone, and several branches for candles.

1644. £1 13s. 4d. received for 29 lbs. of fine brass and 96 lbs. of coarse brass taken from sundrie tombs. £2 10s. of Arthur Condall for the screen and organ loft, and of Edward Stanthwaite for having company in his house on a fast day and for swearing, 11s.

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ON A SUPPOSED ANKER-HOLD AT ONGAR, ESSEX.

By Rev. E. S. DEWICK, M.A.

In 1886 a visit was paid by the S.P.E.S. to the church of St. Martin, Chipping Ongar. On that occasion attention was directed to a small lancet-shaped opening on the inside of the north wall of the chancel, which had been blocked up, and of which the measurement was 14 inches in height by 6¼ inches in breadth. It was impossible to say whether it was a blocked-up niche or small aumbry, or whether it once communicated with the outside, for the exterior walls of the chancel were then completely covered with rough-cast.

In the month of July, 1887, I received a letter from the Rev. J. Tanner, M.A., rector of the church, telling me that in the course of repairs, then in progress, the plaster had been removed from the exterior walls of the chancel, and that the opening on the north wall could be seen under favourable conditions.

I, therefore, took an early opportunity of revisiting the church, and found that the rubble-filling had just been removed from an arched recess about five feet high, and of the same breadth on the outside wall of the chancel. This recess had been constructed in the thick Norman walls, its sides were plastered, and in the centre of the partition wall was the lancet-shaped opening which had attracted attention on the inside. This opening was found to have been formerly closed by a wooden shutter *from the outside*, for on the outside of the left jamb two iron hinges remained, and on the right jamb the hole for the bolt. It was, therefore, perfectly clear that the shutter was not for use from the inside of the church; and it could not be a 'squint' from a destroyed vestry or sacristy, for no trace could be seen of a door to communicate with the chancel. On the whole, the most likely solution seemed to be that an anker or recluse lived in a cell abutting on the north wall of the chancel, and that by opening the shutter he could command a view of the high altar and chancel.*

At the time of my visit no foundations of the supposed cell had been discovered, but a square hole in the wall above the recess was noticed, which possibly received the end of the ridge-beam which supported the roof of a small gabled cell, constructed without the use of stone. This hole has now been "flinted over" to correspond with the rest of the wall, and can only be distinguished by the difference in the colour of the mortar.

Remains of anker-holds of this description are rare. A somewhat similar instance has been recently described by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite as occurring at Bengeo Church, Hertford. (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xliv., p. 25.)

There is, however, abundant documentary evidence that anker-holds attached to churches were not uncommon in England, and they seem to have abounded in the Eastern counties, and in the city of Norwich in particular. (Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, 11th ed., vol. ii., pp. 163-185.)

The strictness of life observed by ankers and ankeresses seems to have varied much. In the *Ancren Riwle* (written about 1200, and printed for the Camden Society in 1853), there are rules for the spiritual guidance of ankeresses. Those to whom it was addressed seem to have been ladies of good birth, and were attended by their maid-servants. The spiritual adviser of the ankeress allowed her the company of a cat, but strongly denounced the keeping of a cow, as likely to make her, like Martha, a better housewife than ankeress (p. 417). Blood-letting was allowed to her four times a year, and for three days afterwards she was to do nothing irksome, but to talk with her maidens, and divert herself with instructive tales.

In other cases it is possible that the anker or ankeress was subjected to a discipline almost as severe as that which Pafuncius enjoined upon Thais (Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, Life of Thais).

It may be mentioned that the removal of the plaster from the walls of Ongar Church has also led to some other results, the most interesting of which has been the discovery of the early Norman priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel. The wooden door itself was also found walled-up, *in situ*, with the iron-work well preserved, though the wood was for the most part in a crumbling condition.

* Compare the following passage from the adventures of Sir Launcelot:—"He saw a chapel where was a recluse, which had a window that she might see up to the altar."—(La Morte d'Arthur, quoted by Bloxam, *Gothic Architecture*, 11th edition, ii. p. 174.)

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ON SOME ANCIENT LITURGICAL CUSTOMS NOW FALLING INTO DISUSE.

By Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A., F.R.C.P.

The Jubilee that we have just been celebrating has caused many thoughtful people to look back and note the changes that have taken place in the studies and employments in which they are interested. Wherever there has been change there must be loss as well as gain. Now, in ecclesiology, I need not speak of what we have gained; that was pointed out to us some years ago by Mr. Beresford-Hope, whose death all liturgical students are now deploring. But I do not know if any one have called attention to what we have lost. If I do this, I must run the risk of being called a pessimist, one of those pestilent fellows who declare that since 1789 there has been no progress, but only a return to barbarism. But though the process of retrospection be unpopular, yet it is nevertheless, I believe, very wholesome. It is analogous to the practice by the individual of self-examination, a habit recommended in all ages by all moralists. It hints to us a doubt of the pleasant dream that as the world grows older it is sure to be growing better; that progress is, in fact, a law of nature. If we may pass for a moment from ecclesiology to natural knowledge, we see that in biology the latest outcome of progress is that in a few generations man will become a toothless, hairless, sightless creature, an easy prey to his enemies, the lower animals, that surround him. Or if the physiologists be discredited as too uncertain of their facts, we may call in the mathematicians, who from the days of Sextus Empiricus have proved a hard nut for the sceptics, to show us that, sooner or later, this earth must fall into the sun, that the universe will, little by little, become of one uniform temperature, and, therefore, as all heat is lost, so all life and motion will cease. What progress can there be when all life, heat, and movement have ceased in cosmos? The truth is that men have mistaken for progress the tendency of the age in which they live; but this tendency in no way indicates the direction in which the universe is moving. "A creature whose sphere of vision is a speck, whose experience is a second, sees the pencil of Raphael moving over the canvas of the Transfiguration. It sees the pencil moving over its own speck, during its own second of existence, in one particular direction; and it concludes that the formula expressing that direction is the secret of the whole."[1]

In looking back over the ritual changes which the last fifty years have brought, we shall find that many ancient liturgical practices, both good and bad, are now falling into disuse. Not that I hold that all are excellent in themselves because they are old. One, the first which we shall consider, has nothing to recommend it but its antiquity. Others, unfortunately, have been displaced from mere love of change; a force always at work, and in this century more than usually active. Under this heading may be put the turning out of old English practices, to make way for foreign customs, alien often to the genius and structure of our Common Prayer Book, or even to common sense, and nearly always hideous in themselves. And I think I may say there is next to no inquiry made as to the antiquity or reasonableness of any of these new practices. They have only to be adopted in some prominent church for them to be set up as a note of Catholicity.[2] As an instance of the harm that is done: a Roman Catholic gentleman, an accomplished ritualist, and well disposed to the Church of England, visited a well-known church in London. He returned saying that he had now given up all wish for the future Union of the Churches, as the Anglicans had taken over so many of the follies and superstitions that the more intelligent members of the Church of Rome were trying to be rid of.

I.—Setting the Bread and Wine on the Holy Table before the Beginning of the Service.

Some of us looking back to the days of our youth may remember a practice, still, perhaps, kept up in some remote parish churches, of setting on the Altar, before the service began, the bread and wine intended for the Eucharist. Such a practice can only be followed in defiance of the rubric printed in the Common Prayer Book immediately before the prayer for the Church

[1] Goldwin Smith, *The Study of History*, Two Lectures, Oxford, 1861, p. 49.

[2] In looking over the pages of the great French Ritualists, J. B. Thiers, Bocquillot, Le Brun Desmarettes, and Claude de Vert, one can almost imagine that one is reading by anticipation the history of this last quarter of the nineteenth century. They deplore the new customs of their time, *l'amour de la mode*, which determines everything, especially with the nuns and young ladies, to whom many of these liturgical customs are attributed.

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Militant. Yet it is a practice, not of the very highest, but of high antiquity, and would appear to be a survival of a wide-spread pre-Reformation ceremony.

In the earliest descriptions of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, apart from those in the New Testament, we find, at the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*, and after the expulsion of the catechumens, a moment at which bread and a cup of wine, mingled with water, were brought into the assembly of the faithful, and set on the Altar. For convenience sake, I would call this ceremonial setting of the bread and wine on the Holy Table the Offertory, not the anthem or words said by the celebrant, but a manual act of him or his ministers. Most of the ancient liturgies of Christendom place the Offertory at the same point in the service; now it is preceded or followed by the recitation of the Nicene Creed, but the normal place of the Offertory, it will be allowed, is at the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*, and not before.

But by the twelfth century there had appeared in Western Christendom the fashion of making the Offertory quite early in the service. It spread widely, and the practice may be found in German, French, and Spanish Missals, as well as in the service books of the White, Grey, and Black Friars, and the White Monks, and German Black Monks, as well as in many others.

At High Mass this Offertory took place in many Churches and Orders between the Epistle and the Gospel. It is so to this day in the Dominican Rite; and was so formerly in the Franciscan Rite, and at Paris, Rouen, and Bordeaux in France; Toledo and Palencia in Spain; Augsburg and Freising in Germany; and many other Churches.

The preparation of the chalice (that is, the mixing of the wine and water in the chalice) we know took place at this point in the Sarum High Mass,[1] and also at Lincoln,[2] and there are traces of the same practice among the Canons of St. Augustine from Siena.[3]

The White Monks had their Offertory at High Mass after the *Gloria in Excelsis* or before the Collects.[4] And the same thing was done by the Black Monks throughout Germany.

At low Mass, even in the same Churches, the Offertory usually came a good deal earlier. In the Mozarabic Liturgy, as practised to-day, it comes after the *Confiteor*, and before the introit; but this is no part, I think, of the original rite, but is a borrowing from the rite of Toledo. It was made at this place at Calahorra in Spain, at Tours, even at High Mass,[5] probably at this moment at Colen,[6] certainly before the Gospel.[7] But the favourite place for the Offertory at Low Mass was either as soon as the priest approached the altar, supposing he vested in the vestry; or even before he vested, when he took his vestments direct from the altar.

Of this first we have an instance at the Dominican Low Mass, of which any one may now convince himself by a visit to a Dominican Chapel, and it was also practised in the sixteenth century by the rival friars, the Franciscans,[8] and also by the Carmelites.

Of the second practice of preparing the chalice even before the priest took the ornaments from the altar there is ample proof at Paris, Angers, Auxerre, Chalons-sur-Marne, Autun, with Norman Churches like Coutances, Bec, and Rouen.[9]

Now, the customs of Rouen particularly concern us, because we know that the diocese of Lincoln, the largest diocese of England, adopted the customs of Rouen, and there is a persistent tradition that the rites of Sarum were modelled upon those of Rouen. There would seem good evidence that the Norman rites deeply influenced our English customs; and though we have little rubrical record of the ceremonies of Low Mass in England, yet there seems to be some evidence that the custom of setting the bread and wine on the altar before the beginning of the service was as well known in England as in Normandy.[10] For example, there is a writer named Thomas Becon, scurrilous and obscene indeed, but as he served an English parish just before the Reformation, he may be taken as a good witness of the ceremonies of that time. He says, evidently speaking of a Low Mass: "Ye come to the Altar with your Masse-book, Corporasse, Chalice, and Bread with such other trinkets."[11] And further on, speaking of the ceremonies

[1] *Missale Sarum.* Ed. Burntisland, col. 587.

[2] *Consuetudinarium Ecclesie Lincoln.* Ed. Wordsworth and Reynolds, 1885, p. 13.

[3] *Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romae, apud Antonium Bladum, 1549. Capp. xxxix. and xli.

[4] *Consuetudines*, Cap. liii. edited by Ph. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle cistercienne.* Dijon, 1878, p. 142.

[5] De Moleon (Le Brun Desmarettes) *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, p. 116.

[6] The use of this old English word may seem affected, but I cannot bring myself to call a German town by a French name. [7] *Missale Coloniense*, Paris, 1525. [8] *Liber familiaris clericorum*, Venetiis, 1550, fol. 225, verso.

[9] The following are the authorities, not already quoted, on which I base my statements:—*Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, 1543. *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Rothomagensis*, 1499. *Missale insignis ecclesie Burdigalensis*, 1563. *Missale mixtum secundum ordinem abnae primatis ecclesie Toletanae*, 1551. *Missale Pallantinum*, 1568. *Directorium secundum ritum ecclesie et diocesis Frisingensis*, Venetiis, 1516. *Missale denuo diligentissime castigatum et revisum ordinis S. Benedicti nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam*, 1517. *Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calciatensis ecclesiarum*, 1554. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Andegavensis*, 1523. *Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constantiensis diocesis*, etc., 1557. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I., Cap. iv., Art. xii.; Ordd. xxvi. and xxxvi.; and *Traité de la Messe*, Paris, 2e éd., 1714, p. 85, attributed to Grancolas.

[10] The acute writer of a series of excellent articles on the Credence in the *Ecclesiologist* (vii. and viii. volumes) thinks that at York the elements were "placed on the altar at some time before the offertory." (viii. 152).

[11] Thomas Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Masse*, Lond., 1637, p. 101.

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between the Epistle and Gospel, he says: "Ye goe to the other end of the Altar to reade the Gospel. But, first of all, yee uncover the chalice, and look whether your drinke bee there or no, least you should chance to bee deceived, when the time of your repast come."[1]

From this passage we learn that before the Reformation the bread was certainly brought in with the vessels at Low Mass, though it may be noticed that the same thing is done according to the present Roman rubrics; but the wine (as the pleasant Becon so civilly calls it, "a spoonful of wine and two or three drops of water") was also on the altar before the Gospel was begun. As Becon makes no mention of any preparation of the chalice, it would seem not unlikely that the chalice already contained the wine and water when it was brought to the altar with the bread and corporas. Possibly, then, in England, at the time of the Reformation, people were accustomed to see the bread and wine put on the altar before the beginning of the service in parish churches, besides in those of the friars and of the monks. And, though in England we have no record of this act being done by any but the celebrant or his ministers before the Reformation; yet, at Lyons, even as late as 1825, the elements were prepared, not by the deacon, as is usual, but by the *matricularius*,[2] a sort of sexton; the preparation being called, at Lyons and many other places, the administration.

Now, this anticipation of the right time of the Offertory was happily forbidden by the first Book of Edward VI. The men who drew up this rite were excellent ritualists; and the Offertory was put after the Creed and Gospel, and the chalice was also directed to be prepared at this moment. But the Offertory, both name and thing, was taken away in 1552, and any direction as to the time at which the bread and wine should be set on the altar disappeared from our Prayer Book until the present rubric was inserted in 1662, before the prayer for the Church Militant. So that for over one hundred years there were no directions in the Prayer Book as to the time of setting the bread and wine on the Holy Table.

Now, it seems not unlikely that the old English custom of putting the bread and wine on the altar before the service began may have been restored in Queen Mary's time, with the Sarum Missal, and, in default of any definite direction in the Prayer Book, continued on to Charles II.'s reign; and that then with the conservative instincts of the clergy, the new rubric may have been unheeded. And thus the old pre-Reformation, but unprimitive, practice may have come down to our own time, an unsuspected survival of the rites of Sarum.

II.—Oblation of the Bread and Wine after the Alms.

In the early Church, bread and wine were offered by the faithful at the altar as alms in kind; and out of these the priest took a sufficiency for the celebration of the Eucharist. By little and little the custom crept in of substituting something wherewith to buy bread and wine, instead of offering bread and wine itself.[3] A trace of this custom of offering in kind may be found in the rubric at the end of the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer, which directs that "if any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use." The money, then, which is now collected at the Offertory, represents the offerings of bread and wine formerly made at this place: from which the Elements for the Eucharist were chosen. If, therefore, we are to preserve the ancient sequence of rites, the Eucharistic bread and wine should not be offered on the altar until after the representative of the bread and wine, from which they should be taken, shall be there. This is the order given in the Prayer Book, and it is also particularly insisted upon by the French Missals of the last century; but of late years this plain direction has been disregarded. I know perfectly well that the modern practice is said to save time, but I refuse to give this unworthy motive a moment's consideration. Possibly the change may spring from the love that some persons show of making everyone in Church do different things at the same time. Here, for such persons, was an excellent chance, not often given in the Anglican Rite. The priest and his ministers could be setting the elements on the altar, the choir could be singing a hymn, the churchwardens collecting the money, while the faithful could give what attention was possible to the three different acts going on at the same time.

III.—Use of Red Wine in the Eucharist.

In the Roman Church[4] white wine is commonly used, while in England red, with almost

[1] Thomas Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Masse*, Lond., 1637, p. 118. Compare these words with a rubric of the Coutances Missal of 1557. "Evangelium quod lecturus deferat librum ad sinistram partem altaris. Et visitet an sit vinum et aqua in calice, discoperiendo (*sic*) calicem et levando patenam," etc.

[2] *Missale Lugdunense*, Lugduni, 1825. Ritus in missa solemni servandus. Cap. v., § 11.

[3] "A Country Parson," writing in the *Church Times* for Sept. 2, 1887, p. 694, has made the excellent suggestion that the "oblations of bread and wine should be solemnly brought up the nave by the churchwardens." It would be a return to primitive usage, and avoid the necessity of the use of a credence, which appears in this country, at all events, to be Caroline in origin.

[4] See Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Pars iii., Tit. iv., Aug. Vindel, 1763, t. i., p. 334. Observations by Merati, who quotes St. Charles Borromeo as prescribing white wine, so that the linen might not be stained. It would almost appear that if red wine only can be had, the celebrant may be excused from purifying himself with wine, because the purificator would thereby be stained. (Fab. de Albertis, *De Sacris Utensilibus*, cap. iii., § 173. Romae 1783, i. 26.)

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universal consent, has been used until quite lately. This English custom is of very great antiquity. Red wine was used at the Passover, and the remains of the Eucharistic wine found in the Catacombs show a red colour.[1] Mabillon tells us that red wine was more commonly ordered, not only because of its symbolical likeness, but because white wine could easily be mistaken for water.[2] Mabillon thinks there is a reference to the red colour of the Sacramental wine in St. Ambrose.[3] Red wine is also used among the Greeks.[4] There are numerous instances of local synods in the middle ages commanding the use of red wine, including one of the Diocese of Sodor and Man in 1350. This orders red wine rather than white, though it admits white as lawful.[5] This is the opinion of John de Burgo, the great English writer on the Sacraments.[6] A good ritualist like Mr. Maskell speaks of "the old and much more suitable custom of consecrating red wine." From the rubrics at Sarum,[7] Hereford,[8] and Exeter,[9] it would seem likely that red wine was used in these churches; and in Carlisle we find it actually employed, for there is a "grant of two tonnes of red wyn by the hands of the chief buttelere of England, etc., for using divine observances."[10]

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who is well known for his wide acquaintance with English Inventories, tells me that the wine cruet was sometimes distinguished from its fellow by a ruby, fixed in some part of it. This is further evidence in the same direction.

Yet, notwithstanding these English authorities, some have taken to the use of white wine. Had their intent been to cast out of Christian worship the fluids which are euphemistically called wine, either by advertising firms or by Manichæan heretics, not a word would have been said by Catholics who believe that there is but one God who made all things, even alcohol; and who desire nothing more than that the Eucharistic wine shall be the fermented juice of the grape of undoubted purity. But if Our Lord at the Last Supper used red wine, it seems inconsistent to give up its use at a time when much stress has been laid upon the importance of following every detail of Our Lord's action; a pious view, which must not, perhaps, be too much insisted upon, as it would suggest the practice of celebrating the Eucharist in the recumbent posture. But too great care cannot be taken in the choice of both species for the Holy Eucharist; that both are real bread and real wine, which have not been chemically altered so as to lose their right to the name of bread and of wine.

IV.—Cushions on the Altar.

Many old drawings of cathedral or collegiate churches of the last century will show at each end of the altar a cushion on which the altar book is laid. One of the first things that a modern "restorer" does with his altar is to get rid of these cushions. They are the subject of infinite scorn, but notwithstanding this they may boast a respectable antiquity. At the present moment the Church of Rome knows in her rubrics nothing of the fashionable altar-desk, and orders only a cushion to be put under the mass-book.[11] A moderate search in the English wills or inventories will display a number of these *Pillowes* or *quisshens*, though *desks for auters* (whatever they may be) are to be found here and there.[12] At Poitiers, about 1560-70, there were six pillows of cloth of gold and velvet for the high altar.[13] And I remember, when wandering in Bohemia more than twenty years ago, I found every village altar adorned with a cushion at each end in a way that greatly reminded me of old England. And in the French picture book, *Le Tableau de la Croix*, which I shall quote immediately, there is a cushion at each end of the altar in nearly every engraving. (See Figs. 1 and 9.) And I am told that the cushion is, practically, much more convenient than a desk.

Some of us may remember, too, the cap, the gloves, the handkerchief, all carefully placed near, the last under these cushions. The gloves and the handkerchief are quite gone, and I am not sorry for them, but the handkerchief is an old institution. In a Dominican Missal, printed in 1504 at Venice, there is mentioned amongst the ornaments for the altar, the cushion, the candles, the linen, the Epistle-book, and Gospel-book, "aliqua mapula ad tergendas

[1] Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 1875, pp. 605 and 808.

[2] Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i., cap. v. Luteciae Paris, 1685, p. 40.

[3] S. Ambrose, *in Ps.* cxviii. *Expositio*, Sermo 14, § 2. Ed. Benedict. p. 1140. Carpis rosam, hoc est, Dominici corporis sanguinem.

[4] Herm. Adalb. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Lipsiae, 1853, p. 387.

[5] "In albo tamen bene conficitur sacrum." Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Lond. Sec. ed. 1846, p. 33. Note.

[6] Ioannis de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, Argent. 1514, folio xvij. D. "Nec refert an sit album an rubeum . . . quamvis vinum rubeum sit præeligendum."

[7] *Missale Sarum*. Ed. Burntisland, p. 656.

[8] *Missale Hereford*. Ed. Henderson, 1874, p. xxxiv.

[9] *Ordinale Exon*. Cap. xxiii. Ed. H. E. Reynolds.

[10] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Lond. 1830, vol. vi., part i., p. 143. Note b. Cf. de Berlendi, *delle Oblazioni all' Altare*, Venezia, 1736, § ii., p. 32.

[11] "In cornu Epistolae cussinus supponendus Missali." *Rubricae generales Missalis*, xx.

[12] See Dr. Freshfield's valuable paper on St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in *Archaeologia*, 1887, Vol. l., p. 44.

[13] Charles Auber, *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Poitiers*, Paris, 1849, t. ii., p. 277.

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nares, iuxta missale ponenda," but the rule has disappeared from the edition of 1705, and the decency of a rule from the present Roman Mass-book will be appreciated by all, to wit: that nothing shall be placed on the altar but those things that pertain to the sacrifice, or the decoration of the altar itself.[1]

V.—Ample Linen Covering of Altar.

We may deride, too, the old custom of covering up the altar with linen so that the white linen cloth hang down on all sides almost to the ground. But there would seem good reasons to believe that this is a primitive custom, if not *the* primitive custom. Most drawings of the early square altars show the linen hanging around nearly down to the ground. The early mosaics at Ravenna show this well. At the Society of Antiquaries we have in our museum a shrine of Limoges enamel work of the 13th century, on one side of which the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury is shown. The saint stands before an altar covered with linen, and on which a chalice and paten stand. To this day when Communion is given in a Cistercian house, the communicant approaches the altar and wraps his hands in the linen cloth, using it as a houseling cloth, just as Lanfranc in his *Constitutiones* for the monks of Canterbury says, that the boy who is being offered to the order must have his hands wrapped "in palla qua altare coopertum est, et cujus pars anterius pendet."[2] Le Brun Desmarettes tells us that at Angers they only vested the altar just before mass, and that then the linen cloth hung over very much as it does on a table set ready for dinner; while on Good Friday, a survival, he says, of the practice once followed every day, the High Altar at Rouen was covered by a large linen cloth which entirely covered it.[3] Claude de Vert says the same thing.[4] And in the Paris Missal of 1489, there is a view of an altar at which a priest is saying mass. The altar is covered by a linen cloth, shown by its folds, which hangs more than halfway down to the ground. We may also note a cushion for the book, only two lights, and no gradin. (Fig 1.) There are many other such representations of the linen in medieval drawings; but I will give another illustration, later and therefore more interesting, from a little Roman Catholic Prayer Book, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. Willson. The altar is almost square, covered with linen; it has no gradin, but only two lights; and the cross has no figure on it. There is a baldequin over the altar. (Fig. 2.) The date, 1665, should be noted. Also the engraving on the first page of Mabillon's *Liturgia Gallicana*, printed at Paris in 1685, shows the altar of an ancient church, perhaps of Rheims. The linen cloth nearly touches the ground, and there are no candlesticks, cross, or gradin, just as at Lyons (Fig 8), but the altar is surmounted by a baldequin from which the Holy Sacrament is suspended in a dove, and lamps burn around. The custom of covering the front of the altar with linen has not yet entirely disappeared, for in 1884 I saw several altars in Spain vested in this way.

Fig. 1.—Initial letter of the office for Corpus Christi, in *Missale Parisiense*, printed in 1489 (from the library of the Rev. William John Blew) showing, i. The ample linen covering; ii. The cushion for the book; iii. The absence of a gradin; iv. Only two lights.

The Copts also vest the altar in the ample way. "Besides the ordinary covering, which is generally coloured, the altar must have a second vestment, which shrouds the whole fabric at the time of the Eucharistic celebration," says Mr. Butler.[5]

There are two ancient methods of vesting the altar in linen: one, just described; the other, which apparently the rubric of the Roman Missal of to-day contemplates, is the use of a long oblong piece of linen, coming down to the ground ("quae usque ad terram pertingat" says the aforesaid rubric) over the short sides of the oblong altar. There seems to be nothing special to the Eucharist in covering the top and ends of the altar only. In the *Pontificale Romanum*, published at Venice in 1520, there is a drawing of the Pope's coronation dinner; and the table at which the Pope is sitting, and the tables at which the Cardinals are sitting, have linen cloths which only cover the top and short ends. (Folio 52, verso.) Also in the consecration of a church, a table on which wine, salt and

[1] See the rubric quoted above. Though Claude de Vert (*Explication, etc.*, Paris, 1708, t. ii., p. 321) approves of having a special handkerchief, which should only be used at the altar.
[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, t. i., p. 355.
[3] De Meleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1718, pp. 80 and 317.
[4] Claude de Vert, *Explication*, etc. Paris, 1713, t. iii., p. 159, Note 2.
[5] Alfred J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884, Vol. ii., p. 283.

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Fig. 2.—The approach to the Altar from *A manual of prayers and Letanies*, printed at Roan (Rouen) 1665 (from the collection of Mr. Willson), showing, i. The ample linen covering; ii. Only two lights; iii. Absence of gradin; iv. An Altar nearly square.

ashes are put (folio 112 verso) is covered in precisely the same way. Both of the ancient methods seem very good, but unfortunately neither of these is now kept up. The altar is most scantily vested, the linen not hanging down over the long side at all, and only a foot or so over the shorter end, and left on continuously so as to collect all the floating dirt and dust of the church. The use of three linen cloths, two covering only the top, and a large one covering the top and sides, is extremely ancient, but this now seems given up, and only one is used of scanty dimensions. Can all this be merely to save money, or is it carelessness? We know that the "Sarum" sequence (or rather alternation) of colours is urged upon us because it is cheaper; and we see the altar lights themselves made of paraffin, or some other vile modern composition from America, instead of wax, the use of which has come down to us from the first. But wax either costs a little more, or is more troublesome to buy. Truly the Lord's House is now not to be "exceeding magnifical," but "exceeding cheap."[1]

But though the carelessness and the desire to save money, of which Bocquillot[2] complained two hundred years ago, are no doubt still with us, there is another custom, not due to these causes, of late years crept in. The Holy Table has in some cases been left without any decent covering, not merely on Good Friday, but at all times; and to this, I fancy, some have been tempted by a feeling that it is a pity to leave a very handsome altar unseen. Others have done the same because it is a modern French use to have no frontal, although the use of a frontal, like that of a cushion, is certainly contemplated by the Roman rubrics. It seems likely that the disuse of a frontal came in at the same time that the sextons began to leave the linen cloths, with the candlesticks and other ornaments, permanently on the altar; it was a trouble to change the frontal every day to white, or green, or red, according as the saint of the day was a virgin, a confessor, or a martyr, and so the simplest method was to discontinue the use of frontals altogether.

The idea that it is a pity not to show whatever we have that is handsome or rich in a church would be disastrous if carried out widely. Have we not been told over and over again that it is a distinguishing note of Christian art, separating it from that of the Renaissance, to lavish careful work and precious ornaments on the House of God even where they could not be seen? and does not an ultra-montane ritualist, like Dom Prosper Guéranger insist upon the mystery that should shroud all that is done at the altar? I think this idea of hiding the altar is a very old Christian notion. We find mention of veils hung before the altar in the fourth century, which, even if not altar cloths as we mean them, must have served to veil the altar from view; but certainly from the sixth century onwards we read of palls of silk and purple, which certainly covered the altar.[3] In the Middle Ages the altar was undoubtedly covered, as the inventories continually tell us of fronts or frontals. The Canons of 1603 order the Holy Table to be covered with a "carpet of silk or other decent stuff," thus continuing the tradition universal in Christendom down to that time. In Italy, the custom of having a frontal is universal at the present day. As soon as one crosses the Var, which up to 1860 divided France from Italy, one comes into the country of frontals to altars. In Italy it is rare to find an altar without a frontal. All the altars in St. Peter's at Rome have frontals. And even where the altars are very precious and beautiful they still have frontals. I do not remember ever to have seen the altar of St. Ambrose at Milan, which is encrusted with plates of gold, enamel, and precious stones, exposed during divine service. Even at Easter it is covered with a frontal of the colour of the day.

[1] See Dr. Liddon's Sermon at St. Paul's, on Sunday, August 8th, 1886.

[2] Bocquillot, *Traité historique de la Liturgie sacrée ou de la Messe*, Paris, 1701, p. 105. "Il faut l'avoüer de bonne foy, c'est, l'épargne ou la paresse, ou les deux ensemble, qui ont fait éclorre cette invention nouvelle."

[3] See the article on Altar Cloths in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Vol. i., p. 69. Lond. 1875.

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I should think it likely that naked altars, except in the case of the few stone altars which are met with here and there in England, were unknown until some ten years ago. English altars, in accordance with the tradition of Christendom, and the rule given by the Canons of 1603, were hidden from view. We know that the Caroline divines fenced their altars with rails. But the Oratorians dislike the chancel and its screen; they bring their altars down among the people, expose them, and celebrate the Eucharist with the lay folk almost touching the altar. Certainly this is a practical way of teaching that there is no mystery in the Holy Eucharist.

VI.—The Absence of Gradins.

Another thing that the modern restorer puts at once upon his altar is a shallow piece of wood, which he calls a *super altar*, though the word really meant in the middle ages something quite different. This piece of wood is supposed to carry the cross and candlesticks, and is even put on the altar when there are no cross and candlesticks for it to carry. Or there may be two of these shelves, one higher than the other, and one of which will probably be useless. Then in the middle of the gradin a square block is often put, and on it the cross is set, so as in some cases to imitate the tabernacle that is now seen in modern Roman Catholic churches.[1]

I believe myself that the gradin is entirely modern. I have looked over a large number of drawings of medieval altars, both English and foreign, and it is hard to find one in which a gradin is represented. I should not feel surprised if it were shown that in England such an ornament for the altar was unknown before 1840, though it came in on the Continent with the sixteenth century. Thiers, writing in 1688, says it had not been then invented two hundred years.[2]

I am aware that Mr. Micklethwaite,[3] in an admirable paper on *Parish Churches in the year* 1548, gives some instances of a form or shelf on the altar, which he identifies with the modern gradin. I will now quote at length the instances which Mr. Micklethwaite gives more shortly, for I suspect myself that the "schelffe standing on the altar," the "halpas" or "deske" of Hall's were structures like those abundantly figured in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française; sub voce* Autel. These are two or three feet high; in fact, what we should call by the name of reredos, on the top of which were the cross, images, and relics; but the altar candlesticks were always down below, on the altar itself. It carried the upper frontal, as it was called: such I take to be the "frontell for the schelffe standying on the altar of blue sarsenet, with brydds of golde and the frontell of the same sewte," at St. Mary Hill, in 1485-6.[4] Such a sort of triptych reredos may be seen set on the altar in a chromolithograph published by the Arundel Society, after one of the paintings by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library at Siena. It is clearly separate from the altar, as it stands distinctly enough on the white linen cloth.

So at St. Christopher le Stocks in 1488 there was "A nother Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with rooses of goolde and orpharies of red bawdekyn full of the same rooses, for priest, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, with ij stooles and ffanons and iij coopes and a cloth of the sewte to lye upon a forme uppon the high altar undre the juellis."[5] I confess the "cloth of the sewte" seems to me more like the upper frontal than a narrow piece of silk like that used for a modern gradin.

Nor does the description which Hall, and after him Holinshed, gives of the "halpas" incline one to the belief that it was identical with the modern gradin. In the royal Chapels set up when Henry VIII. and Francis I. met at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "the aultare was appareled with fiue paire of Candlesticks of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on the same halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of age all gold."[6] Would a modern gradin take all these? or the following: "On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stoode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde,

[1] It is hardly necessary to say that the custom of reserving the Holy Sacrament for the sick goes back to the very cradle of Christianity; while the western custom of reserving it on the altar is quite modern, for it cannot be traced beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. In the middle ages it was commonly hung in the pyx over the altar, or kept in an aumbry in the wall, or in a special little building near the altar, which the Germans call *Sacramenthaeuschen*. We should long ago have had reservation for the sick in the Church of England if there had not been the well grounded fear that we should at once have such functions as the *Quarant' ore* and Benediction introduced amongst us: functions nowhere older than the Reformation, and in this country probably not in general use till the beginning of this century, for Dr. Murray's staff of workers for the *New English Dictionary* could find no mention of Benediction as a service before 1812.

[2] J. B. Thiers, *Dissertations Ecclésiastiques sur les principaux Autels des Eglises*, &c., chap. xx. Paris 1688, p. 149.

[3] J. T. Micklethwaite, *Archæological Journal*, 1878, vol. xxxv. p. 384.

[4] *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England.* Printed by John Nichols. London, 1797, p. 113.

[5] Edwin Freshfield, *Archaeologia*, 1880, Vol. xlv., p. 114.

[6] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548, vol. ii., fol. lxxiii., verso.

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with an image of the Trinitee, an Image of oure Lady, and twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelstickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes."[1] A halpas can have had but little in common with the modern gradin; and the evidence which Mr. Micklethwaite has set before us, even if it were allowed as proof of the gradin in the cases cited, is yet hardly enough to overthrow the almost unanimous voice uttered by medieval drawings as to ordinary custom. I have not met with any representation of the gradin, that is, a shelf only a few inches high, and carrying the cross or the candlesticks, anywhere before the end of the fifteenth century. It appears in a Mass of St. Gregory, by Raffaelino del Garbo, which bears the date 1501.

It may interest those who take their hints in ecclesiology from the Roman Court to know that the late Pope Pius IX. had a great dislike to gradins, and did all in his power to get rid of them, but was unable to do so; and, unless there arise in England a stronger current of medieval feeling, the gradin is likely to stay among us. In spite of the Pope's objections, I cannot help thinking that the gradin of the Roman Basilica, always single, only two or three inches high, and very unpretentious, may be dealt with gently by a strict follower of medieval customs, though he will show no mercy to the hideous erections, one terrace above another, like the Tower of Babel, which we see in so many tasteless French churches.

It is noteworthy that flower pots and gradins are the most widespread of the new customs that have appeared since 1840, and yet both have very little authority from the middle ages. Both were introduced by the early ecclesiologists, I make no doubt, one to give dignity, the other to give beauty, to the Christian altar. Yet the flowers in pots set on the altar seem to have come in only after the Reformation, being first authorized by Pope Clement VIII., who died in 1604.[2] I am not speaking of floral decorations, which are of very great antiquity indeed.

Fig. 3.—From Christopher Marcellus' *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Libri Tres*, printed at Venice, 1516, fol. lxix, showing:—i. The Pope at an Altar, on which there are only two lights; ii. no gradin, but a reredos.

But if the medieval altar had no gradin, yet it had an adornment which gave it far greater dignity: I mean a reredos, structural, or set on the altar during service, sometimes covered with a rich silk cloth, called the "upper front." (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7). It marked out the altar from the rest of the building; and the idea should not be lost, though there seem some signs that it is no longer appreciated.[3]

VII.—The Two Lights.

Another result of the study of medieval altars is a confirmation of the strong Anglican tradition that two candlesticks, and only two, are to be set on the altar. In nearly all medieval representations of the celebration of Mass there are only two lights on the altar.

[1] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548, vol. ii., fol. lxxiii. recto. Basons are still considered proper ornaments for the altar. We may see them in Royal and College Chapels and other places where the hand of progress has not been too active. In 1449 Sir W. Bruges bequeathed "to the said chirche for ther solemnne feste dayes to stande upon the high awter ii. grete basynes of silver and ii. high candlesticks of silver." See Nichols' *Illustrations* just quoted, p. 132.

[2] Laib und Schwarz, *Studien ueber die Geschichte des christlichen Altars*, Stuttgart, 1857. S. 46.

[3] Such want of a reredos may now be noticed at St. Paul's. The wall which is built across the sanctuary, shortening it out of proportion to the choir, is beautiful and stately, but it has no reredos. The altar could be taken away, and yet the design of the work not destroyed. (May, 1888.)

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Even the woodcut in Marcellus shows the Pope, surrounded by Cardinals, at an altar on which there are only two lights. (Fig. 3.) So the Roman Pontifical, printed at Venice in 1520, has numerous woodcuts which give representations of the different episcopal functions, but there is often only

Fig. 4.—From a *Pontificale Romanum* printed at Venice in 1520, fol. 29, showing:—i. The Consecration of a Bishop at an Altar on which there are only two lights; ii. No gradin.

Fig. 5.—From a *Pontificale Romanum* printed at Venice in 1520, fol. 222, showing:—i. The Altar at a Pontifical High Mass, with only two lights upon it; ii. No gradin.

one light on the altar, and never more than two, even in the illustration of a pontifical mass itself, where the modern rubric requires seven. (Figs. 4 and 5.) And the illustrations of this more ancient Pontifical may be contrasted with those of a modern *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, edited by Catalani, and published at Paris in 1860, in which much the same ground is gone over. In the modern illustrations every altar has six candles besides the cross, and, with one exception, a gradin. At Sens, the metropolitan Church to which Paris was suffragan until the seventeenth century, it was the written rule in 1769 that, according to ancient custom, the altar should have only two lights, except on the three or four principal feasts in the year.[1] Such also was the custom at Lyons at the end of the seventeenth century,[2] though I do not know what the written law was. In the middle ages there was a great difference between the written law and acknowledged custom. And when mass was not being celebrated, all ornaments were formerly taken away. We may see this for ourselves in the drawings of two altars in Westminster Abbey in 1532 (Figs. 6 and 7); and even at the end of the 17th century at Lyons, the happy Church which knew no novelties and no metrical hymns,

[1] *Cérémonial de l'Eglise métropolitaine et primatiale de Sens*, Sens, 1769. Partie i, chap. 3, p. 13.
[2] De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, p. 45.

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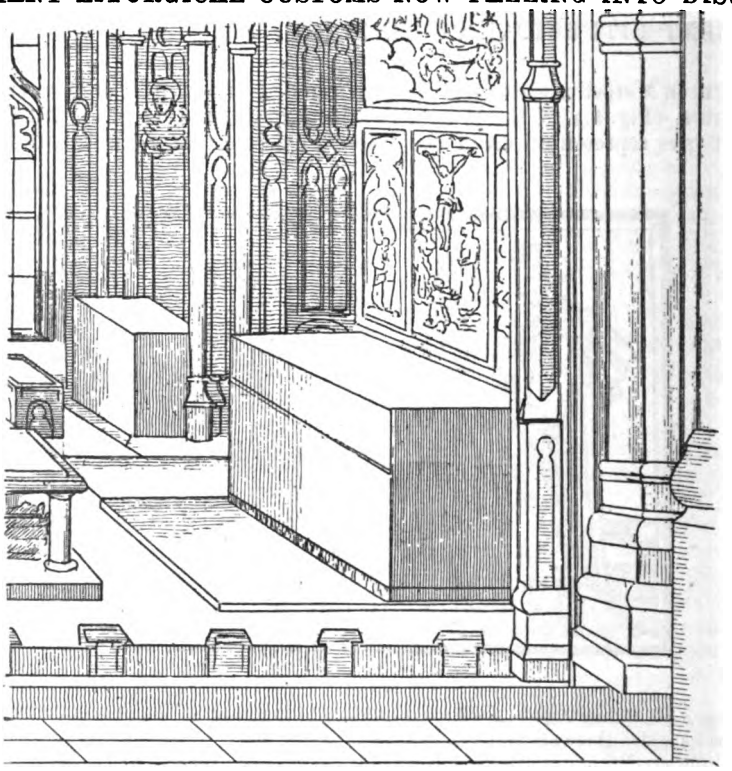

Fig. 6.—The Altar in the Islip (?) Chapel, from the Islip Roll in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; showing the Altar, vested with frontal, but no other ornaments.

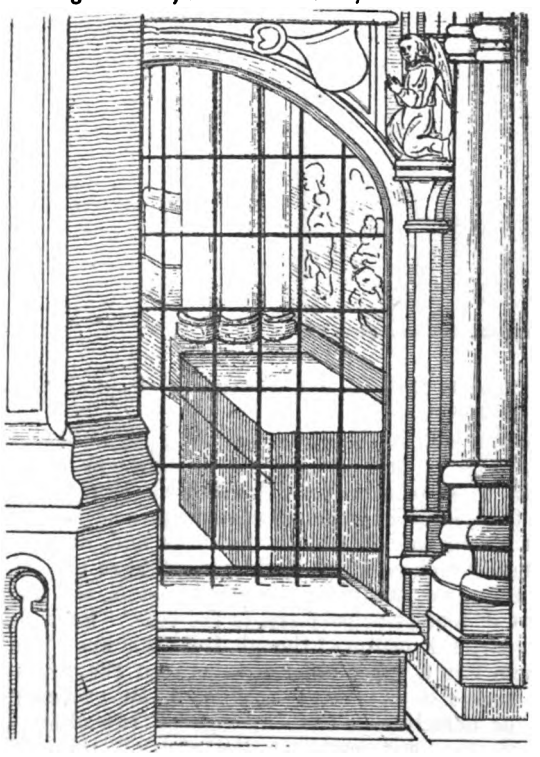

Fig. 7.—Altar of St. John Evangelist in Westminster Abbey, from the Islip Roll, showing same dispositions as in Fig. 6.

the altar had no gradin, no lights, nor cross out of Mass (Fig. 8); and at Tours the priest himself carried the cross away at the end of Mass.[1] In modern times the altars have retained their ornaments night and day, and Claude de Vert attributes this simply to the negligence of the sextons.[2]

The Greek Church has to this day kept the custom which was universal in Christendom to the end of the middle ages. Dr. Neale says: "The altar, though always vested, is, according to the use of the Eastern Church, furnished with its candlesticks and other ornaments during the holy Liturgy only."[3]

In a modern French Church at Benediction the branched candlesticks are only brought in at the end of the *Stabat Mater*, or whatever else has been sung, and set on the altar by the side of the Sacrament; and as soon as the benediction is given, the candles are put out and taken away.

Is it too late to ask for a return to a medieval soberness in the use of candles and other attempts at ornament? It is no addition to the dignity of a service to see alight a number of little candles, a collection of what are unhappily called *vesper lights*. They may be set aside as pure childishness. Now the traditional two lights of the Anglican Church are majestic and simple. No doubt we shall be told in

[1] De Moleon. *Voyages liturgiques*, pp. 44 and 115.
[2] Claude de Vert, *Explication*, etc., Paris, 1708, t. ii., p. 354, and t. iii., p. 159, note.
[3] J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Lond. 1850, Part I. General Introduction, p. 188.

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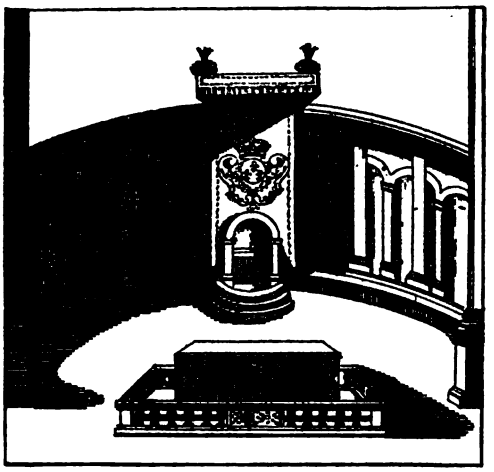

Fig. 8.—From De Moleon (Le Brun Desmarettes), *Voyages liturgiques*, published at Paris in 1718, showing:—i. The High Altar of the Primatial Church of Lyons, vested, but devoid of ornaments; ii. The Metropolitical Throne, surmounted by the Royal Arms of France.

reply that the taste of this last quarter of the nineteenth century is depraved, and that we must accommodate ourselves to it, as other people do. But I fail to see the advantage to religion of degrading its ceremonies to the level of the age.

A dislike of the excessive ornamentation of the altar is not peculiar to Protestants. "How far the altar ought to be ornamented is a question which has been debated with much warmth since the reformation. . . . . The Church of England, when not overawed by the clamors of the sectaries that assail her on all sides, is inclined to favour the practice," says a learned Roman Catholic clergyman, well known in his own day, and he adds that "the Roman Basilican altars, unencumbered with tabernacles, reliquaries, statues, or flower pots, support a cross and six candlesticks; furniture which is sufficient without doubt for all purposes of solemnity, and yet may be endured even by a Puritan. The other ornaments, or rather superfluities, which are too often observed to load the altars of Catholic Churches, owe their introduction to the fond devotion of nuns or nun-like friars, and may be tolerated in their conventual oratories as the toys and playthings of that harmless race, but never allowed to disfigure the simplicity of parochial churches and cathedrals."[1] And in almost the same words, Bocquillot denounces the presence of images, relics, gradins, candlesticks, and flowers on the table of the altar: "Since the nuns, with a piety more worthy of their sex than of the solemnity of our mysteries, have begun to set pots of natural and artificial flowers on the altar, their example has been followed in the churches of the Mendicant Friars, and in country parish churches, where usually devout women tend the altars. This new usage, which I should call scandalous if the Church did not suffer it, has not yet been introduced into cathedral and collegiate churches, nor into those of the monks, at least of those who have any care to keep up old customs. The old customs should be preserved wherever the new have not yet been introduced, determined with the Holy Fathers, that the Holy Table is consecrated solely for the sacrifice, and that nothing superfluous should be set on it."[2]

VIII.—Epistolers and Gospellers.

The variations in the ceremonies practised in the celebration of the Eucharist make a division into two heads easy: *missa solemnis* and *missa privata*. The *missa solemnis* is the public, or High Mass, and gives us the rule for the celebration of the Eucharist. The priest is assisted by a deacon and sub-deacon; or in early English terms which have, through the Canons of 1603, come down to our own time, pistler and gospeller. The private, or Low Mass, on the other hand, must be regarded as the exception, and in this the priest is assisted by a server only. It is the presence of the deacon and sub-deacon which makes the difference between High Mass and Private Mass, and not whether any part of the service be sung. Now, it cannot be too often repeated that it is only High Mass which gives us the ancient, typical ceremonies of the celebration of the Eucharist, and from which we may learn the true idea of the Eucharistic rites. Low Mass only gives us the rite in a maimed and imperfect, not to say corrupt and irregular way. Private, or Low Mass, that is, a celebration of the Eucharist without deacon or sub-deacon, was as little known to the Church at large for the first 800 years, as it is to this day to the Eastern Church. It seems to have come in when Latin ceased to be understood by the people, who betook themselves, therefore, to their private prayers. Low Mass robbed the medieval church of the idea of common prayer, which it is the glory of our Prayer Book to have brought back. This celebration of the Eucharist in private (I am only using the word still used by the Roman Missal) shows but small respect to the Christian mysteries. It may be borne with in country parishes where there is no one in holy orders but the curate himself, but to see in a church with a large staff the altar served by some boy taken out of the street, who probably does not know his Catechism, and has not been confirmed, while men in holy orders are doing nothing in the stalls of the choir, or only come into church to distribute the Communion, shows that there is little or no zeal for the solemnity of the Eucharist.

[1] John Chetwode Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, London, 1813, 4to., vol. i., p. 373.
[2] Bocquillot, *Traité historique de la Liturgie sacrée ou de la Messe*, Paris, 1701, p. 103.

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It shows a contempt for the practices of antiquity, to which in all questions of ceremonial, as well as of faith and morals, the Church of England appeals. Even the more learned Roman Catholic authorities dislike the boy server, and tell us that it is the deacon who is the proper minister of the altar. Pierre Le Brun says that it is only by sufferance that a simple clerk should be allowed to approach the altar; for in ancient times it was the deacon who was properly the minister of the priest to accompany him in the celebration of the holy mysteries even at low mass.[1]

I may add that private masses do not mean masses without a congregation, or with only a server. Solitary masses have been long rigorously suppressed everywhere, and the Eucharist can only be celebrated in an assembly, a *synaxis*, in which there must be some of the faithful present to respond[2]: a rule which makes us understand the limit in numbers given by the rubric at the end of our Communion Service.

IX.—Turning to the Faithful when Saluting or Addressing them.

For years there has been a struggle for a reasonable and ancient custom, viz., that in our prayers both priest and people should turn one way; that the priest, by turning away from the people, should show that he is not speaking to them. This practice loses all its meaning unless the priest, when speaking to the people, turn to them. Accordingly, in the Roman rite, when the priest says: *Dominus vobiscum* or *Orate fratres*, he turns towards the faithful; so does the deacon when he says: *Ite, missa est.* But there are one or two places where this common sense rule is not followed: *e.g.*, between the end of the Canon and the *Agnus Dei*, the priest says to the people: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum;* and yet he does not turn to the faithful. Why is this? Mr. G. G. Scott explains this apparently unreasonable practice as follows: in the basilica, the curtains were drawn around the altar from the *Sursum Corda* to the Communion, and the priest, being unseen, made no change in his posture when saluting the faithful at the *Sursum Corda* or *Pax*.[3] The curtains around the altar have gone long ago, except in the stunted form of riddells, but the practice caused by them survives. This explanation will commend itself to many; and it will be thought impossible that such a survival, now become unsuitable, even in its own home, could be imitated in another rite. But it has been, and in marvellous fashion. The *pax*, it is well known, is in the wrong place in the Roman rite, and it has been further dislocated in the Anglican since 1549, and now exists only as part of the final blessing. The two are now welded together and form a whole. But because in the Roman rite, for some reason or other (whether Mr. Scott's be the real one does not matter) it has been forgotten to bid the priest to turn to the people; therefore English priests are to say that part of the blessing which corresponds with the *Pax*, with their backs turned to the people, and in the middle of the paragraph they are to turn round and finish the blessing. Surely unreasoning imitation never went further than this!

I would also ask what motive can there be for reading with back turned to the people, the Epistle and Gospel, which are addressed to the faithful for their instruction?

This is another instance in which a following of the ceremonies of Low Mass has misled ritualists. It cannot be too often repeated that the ceremonies of Low Mass are, compared with those of High Mass, modern, and that the ceremonies which accompany Low Mass have been greatly influenced by the inability of the faithful to understand Latin. The language of early times clearly presupposes that the portions of Scripture read in public worship were for the instruction of the people. It would be easy to multiply quotations from the Fathers in which the people are bidden to listen with attentive ears; and the author of so late a book of popular devotion as Horst, in the *Paradise of the Christian Soul*, translated by Dr. Pusey, bids the faithful listen diligently to the Epistle as if they heard the Apostle or Prophet himself teaching, advising, or proving.[4] But the reading of the Epistle and Gospel at the altar is in itself

[1] Pierre Le Brun, *Explication, etc., de la Messe*, Paris, 1777, t. i, p. 97. This learned priest of the French Oratory is not to be confounded with Le Brun Desmarettes, the author of *Voyages liturgiques*, who appears never to have been promoted beyond minor orders.

[2] This rule that the Eucharist must only be celebrated in a *synaxis* has been just restated in a liturgical journal appearing at Rome under great authority; but unfortunately the number of the congregation has been reduced to the lowest possible figure (vide *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Romae, 1887, Annus i, p. 641), though the medieval rule was three, or at the least two, as the following passage shows:—"Nullus presbyterorum missarum solennia celebrare presumat nisi duobus presentibus et sibi respondentibus: cum quibus ipse sacerdos tertius habeatur et ratio est quia sacerdos pluraliter loquiter ad populum dicens Dominus vobiscum et Orate pro me fratres." (Petri Cirveli *Expositio libri missalis peregregia*, Compluti, 1528, fol. xxxiiii. verso.) The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. cap. 6) hopes that the faithful [in the plural] will communicate at the celebration of every mass.

[3] G. G. Scott, junr. *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, London, 1881, p. 14, note c. to the Discursus on the Orientation of early Christian Churches. Proofs of the distinct orientation of the early Roman basilicas are given.

[4] J. M. Horstii, *Paradisus Anim. Christ.* de sacram. Euch. Cap. viii. Mechlin. 1875, p. 358.

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modern; in early times they were read in the ambo, pulpit, or rood loft[1]; and an examination of these ancient ambones will show us that the Scripture lessons were, and still are, read in many churches so as to be best heard of all such as are present.[2] In the Collegiate Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, the ambo is in the nave, on the north side of the Church, the reading desk being placed so that the reader faces direct south. The lection (which in the Ambrosian rite precedes the Epistle), the Epistle, and the Gospel, are all read from this desk, an arrangement better than any other for letting both clergy and people hear the words read. The sermon follows from the same place. In the Metropolitan Church at Milan there are two ambones facing each other on the north and south side of the church at the end of the nave, the gospel desk facing south, the epistle north. So in St. Mark's at Venice there are two ambones at the east end of the nave; from which the Gospel and Epistle are read. Sermons are preached from the epistle ambo. At Pisa the same arrangement exists as in the Metropolitan Church at Milan; and instances might be extended almost indefinitely of ancient ambones in Italy and Spain which have their desk directed to the south; or even turned towards the nave, to the south-west.[3]

In the early *Ordines* and liturgical writers we find no trace of reading the Gospel or Epistle with back to the people; the Gospel is to be read by the deacon either with face to the south, as it is to this day at Milan; or in other cases with face to the north, as at High Mass the rubric in the Roman Mass book directs to this day. The *Ordo Romanus*, printed by Hittorpius, speaking of the standing up, and other marks of respect at the Gospel, says: Ipse vero diaconus stat versus ad meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere, alias autem ad septentrionem.[4] Another ancient document also printed by Hittorpius says: Diaconus autem Evangelium legens ad meridiem versus.[5] And in *Gemma animae* we read: Diaconus secundum ordinem se vertit ad austrum dum legit Evangelium.[6]

The ambo in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople was on the central point of the church, apparently under the dome, so that a reader standing towards any point of the compass could be well heard. I have myself heard the Gospel in an Orthodox church sung just outside the holy doors, the reader with back turned to altar, and facing the faithful; and I am told by an eminent Orthodox priest that this is always the custom with the Greeks.

As a reason for reading Holy Scripture not facing the people I have been told that the liturgical Epistle and Gospel are acts of worship, and therefore properly read as if Almighty God Himself were being addressed. I have never met with this reason in print, and I cannot but fancy that it has been forced by the necessity of finding some explanation after the act itself had been determined upon, as so many of the so-called "mystical" reasons are. But the Epistle and Gospel occur in the *Missa Catechuminorum*, the period of instruction and of sermon when Eucharistic worship has not yet begun; a fact which seems to me to destroy the theory of the Gospel being an act of worship. In the national rites, though not at Rome, the priest and deacon sit during the Epistle, a posture which ill accords with the idea that it is an act of worship.

X.—The Recitation of the Ten Commandments with the Kyrie Eleison.

It is now by no means uncommon for the Ten Commandments, with the invariable collect, to be left out; because it shortens the service. It was a favourite theory of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (whose authority on all liturgical matters, especially on those connected with the Sarum Rite, is undoubted) that the Ten Commandments represent a medieval farce; and being introduced between the recitation of the *Kyrie*, just as those long and (to speak the truth) somewhat foolish interpolations of the Sarum Missal were. By leaving out the Ten Commandments, we lose one survival of our old pre-Reformation usages, and a custom which is not altogether unedifying in itself; and at the present moment specially useful, when there seems some danger of the Ten Commandments being forgotten in many parts of the Queen's dominions. In old French dioceses, the Ten Commandments were recited at the end of the Bidding Prayer, or *Prône*, just before the Epistle and Gospel were read in the vulgar tongue.[7]

[1] In 1547, just on the eve of the change of ritual in England, there was made at St. Margaret's, Westminster a "stone in the body of the church, for the priest to declare the pistills and gospells." (*Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, London, Nichols, 1797, p. 12.)

[2] "The ambon of this church struck me as evidently proving that at the time of its erection the laity must have been able to take a more intelligent part in the public service than they can now in the later Western Church. No one pretends that these ambons were merely pulpits for sermons. But if they were anything more, it follows that an arrangement so obviously adapted for a real use, namely, to enable a congregation to hear parts of the divine service, shows such an use to have then existed. Nowadays the congregations cannot understand a word of the Gospels; and (as might have been expected) the use of the ambon is almost wholly dispensed with." (Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, London, 1848, p. 306.)

[3] In speaking of north and south, I suppose that the altar is at the east end of the church.

[4] Hittorpius, *de divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae officiis*, Parisiis, 1610. Ordo Processionis, p. 4 A. Micrologus almost quotes these words. (*idem.* p. 737 A). [5] Idem. p. 1172 D. Expositio missae.

[6] *Gemma Animae*, lib. i. cap. 22, apud Hittorp. p. 1187. A.

[7] See the *Pastorale Parisiense*, Paris, 1786. Ed. Le Clerc de Juigné Archiep. t. iii. pp. 480 and 484. I find the Ten Commandments at the end of the Prône, or Bidding Prayer, in the Rituals of the following dioceses:—Alet, 1667, ii., 264. Lisieux, 1744, p. 400. Soissons, 1755, iii., ix. Toulon, 1780, iii., 101. St. Omer, 1606, iii., 6. At Mentz (*Agenda*, 1551) the Ten Commandments were read on Sundays, with the Lord's Prayer and Angelical Salutation, before the Sermon. The same at Würzburg (*Agenda*, 1564.)

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XI.—The Collects for the Church and Queen.

The attempt to make a difference between the Collect for the Church and King and the Collect for the day is sufficiently amusing. Both are said under one *Let us pray;* and, therefore, must be in one series. But it pleases some to say one at one end of the altar, and the other at the other. Why should this change of position be made? Up to Charles II.'s time, the Collect for the King followed the Collect for the day; and this is just the place where a general Synod of the Church of Scotland, in the thirteenth century, ordered to be said[1] a Collect for the King and the Queen, *Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum.* It is also the place in which, in the Roman Missal, is found a prayer for the Pope; in our rite, instead of praying for one bishop, we pray for "the whole Church," and then for the more particular part in which we find ourselves. Has the Pythagorean superstition that there must be an odd number to the collects anything to do with this omission? At Liège, it may be noted, it was distinctly ordered that when the number of the collects was even, one was not to be added to make the number uneven.[2] And at Palencia, in Spain, it is remarked that there has been a custom to read only an uneven number of collects, not from necessity or Church law, but rather from a common custom which need not anxiously be kept. And at the same church a prayer for the King, Queen and Royal Family is inserted at the end of the last collect.[3]

Though it be true that in the Sarum Missal the beginning of the Creed was said in the midst of the altar, yet it may be noted that in an allied rite, that of the Black Friars, the celebrant leaves the middle of the altar, and says the rest at the north side; in the older-fashioned churches this custom of saying the Nicene Creed at the north side may still be seen.

XII.—Surplices without Cassocks.

We all know that one of the most frightful breaches of ecclesiastical etiquette that can nowadays be committed is to appear in a surplice without a cassock. And it will astonish many to hear that there can be no doubt that surplices were worn without cassocks, and on important occasions. For example, I have among my books a little tract[4] printed in Paris in 1653. It is mainly a collection of engravings illustrating the various ceremonies of the Mass. The frontispiece shows the Pope, vested in chasuble and tiara, carrying the sacred vessels: before him walk two boys, in surplices without cassocks, their hosen appearing most plainly below the surplice. One is carrying a book, the other the wine and water cruets in a dish (Fig. 9). I have also a Roman Missal printed at Venice in 1561, and adorned with little wood-cuts, which take the place of initial letters. One of these shows a priest vested in an alb and stole standing before an altar, and ready to sprinkle holy water out of a vessel which a colet holds before him. The colet wears a surplice, but no cassock that can be seen (Fig. 10). Mr. Micklethwaite found on the ends of the pews at Trull an odd representation of the Sunday procession, where the cross-bearer and the torch-bearer have surplices, and no cassocks.[5]

Fig. 9.—From *Le Tableau de la Croix*, printed at Paris in 1653, showing—i. Surplices without cassocks; ii. Altar cushions.

I have lately come across a little Roman Catholic prayer-book, much used in Scotland, written by the Rev. W. Gahan, O.S.A. It has the title of *The Path to Paradise*, and was published at Glasgow in 1868, by Hugh Margey. At the end of the book are several illustrations of the ceremonies of the Mass. I

[1] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, vol. ii., p. 32.
[2] *Rubricae Generales Ecclesiæ Leodiensis*, Leodii, 1769, pars ii., p 139.
[3] *Missale Pallentinum*, 1568, fo. ccclvii., verso.
[4] *Le Tableau de la Croix représenté dans les cérémonies de la Sainte Messe*, printed by François Mazot. The colophon runs: "Acheué d'jmprimer ce 20e Septembre, 1653."
[5] *Archæologia*, 1885, vol. xlviii., p. 343. See especially plate xxvi.

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should think they must have been cut very early in this century, and they show signs of having been used many times for many editions. In these drawings, whenever the servers are standing, it can be distinctly seen that they wear rochets, but no cassocks. There may also be noticed the long chasubles, the cushions for the book, and the absence of gradins, of which last two points mention has already been made.

Fig. 10.—From a Roman *Missal*, printed at Venice, in 1561, showing—i. The server in surplice without cassock; ii. The Altar, with ample linen covering; iii. Two lights not on a gradin.

Mr. Everard Green tells me that in one of the MSS. exhibited at South Kensington, in 1885, in the Historical Music Loan Exhibition, there was a like representation in an illumination. So that, as four or five instances have been found by chance within so short a time, it seems not unlikely that a wider and more diligent search would discover many such.

In these examples it may be noted that it is not the priest who wears no cassock, but the colets or the clerk. The reason of this seems to be that the surplice was worn over the ordinary dress. The surplice of the clerk was put over his doublet and hose; the surplice of the priest over his cassock, which was worn abroad as the ordinary dress of men in holy orders. The cassock continued to be the ordinary clerical dress in England until late in the last century. In Fielding's time every parish priest, even on a journey, wore cassock, if not gown; and the custom appears to have gone out in this century, probably owing to the influence of the Evangelical movement.[1] These views explain the fact that until quite lately the singing men and boys wore surplices, and no cassocks; while the clergy in holy orders, as a rule, wore cassocks as well. The practice of wearing no cassocks will not, I hope, be encouraged by what I say; for a short surplice without a cassock is hardly a picturesque dress. But if we come to what is decent, and not to what is old, what can be worse than the short surplices that are now sometimes to be seen? I hear that an English Roman Catholic Bishop has forbidden the use of cottas in his diocese on the ground that they do not fulfil the first requirement of clothing, which is to hide that part of the body which should be covered. I must own that if I had to chose between the medieval surplice and no cassock, and the modern cotta and cassock, I should vote for the medieval custom, uncomely as it is.[2]

The long surplice is old enough, but there is one feature in the long surplice that is not old, and that is, slitting up this ornament in front so as to put it on like a cloak. If Mr. Pepys is to be understood literally, it is later than the Restoration. In his *Diary* of Oct. 26, 1662 (ed. Mynors Bright), he says: "To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpitt, to preach without it."

XIII.—Covers to Fonts.

St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century, ordered, in his provincial constitutions, that fonts should be decently covered, and kept under lock and key;[3] and the same direction may be found elsewhere in diocesan and provincial Synods. The canons of 1603 order that the font shall be of stone; the Puritans using basons. During the rebellion there is evidence that the covers were destroyed, though restored after 1660. Cosin enquires whether there be "A font of stone with a comely cover."[4]

There is thus a marked feeling in English history for the retention of covers to fonts, and one fails to understand why architects should now so rarely recommend a cover for the font. There is no doubt that the practice is growing, but it should, if possible, be checked. One advantage, in these days of overdone floral decorations, that would follow the use of a cover securely locked, would be that the font could not be periodically profaned by the devout women of the parish. Only last July I saw the bowl of a font elaborately befouled with earthenware pots, and plants growing in them, and I am told that my experience is not singular.

If time allowed, other changes, not altogether welcome, might be noted. The loss of the parish clerk, an officer almost as old as the parson himself; of the college cap, which when run to earth shows it has precisely the same origin as the Italian birretta[5]; of the square east end to our

[1] The history of the cassock and the chasuble bears several points of resemblance. Both *casaca* and *casula* are derived from *casa*. Both, to begin with, were worn by soldiers and women, but have now become exclusively ecclesiastical. The cassock also seems now on a fair way to become a sort of *vestis sacra*, which can only be worn in church, and is a sign of the wearer being engaged in some sacred function. Whereas, it is really nothing but a clergyman's every-day dress, somewhat out of fashion. It has thus exactly reproduced the history of the chasuble.

[2] At Malta surplices are worn by the native clergy, and cottas rejected as being English; because the chaplains to the forces wear them.

[3] See Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Oxon. 1679, p. 12 of second appendix. Gibson, *Codex*, Lond. 1713, pp. 435 and 225.

[4] *Hierurgia Anglicana*, London, 1848, p. 358. See also p. 79.

[5] See Claude de Vert, *op. cit.* t. ii., p. 263. The French for birretta is *bonnet carré*, which is a mere translation of square cap.

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Churches, an architectural feature which goes back, in these islands, to a time before the landing of St. Augustine; of the passing bell, regretted by an eloquent Canon in a recent sermon at our neighbouring Cathedral Church; of the use of bands, the dislike of which seems to have passed into France; last Christmas the French papers announced that the Bishop of Marseilles had forbidden in his diocese the use of the old Gallican *rabat*, with which we are all familiar in the portraits of Bossuet and Fénelon; of black for Lent, one of the most ancient of the liturgical colours, but of which the Sacred Congregation of Rites at Rome shows an almost superstitious horror. The musicians deserve a paper all to themselves. They have altered the old divisions of the *Te Deum*; and interpolated preludes between the Preface and the *Sanctus*, which destroy the continuity so necessary between the words of the priest and the voices of the choir; but the particular misdeed which we have to complain of, at this moment, is their discontinuance of the antiphonal singing, which we know has been in this Church of England for many hundred years, and which can be traced back to St. Ambrose and St. Ignatius of Antioch. This ancient custom is now exchanged for alternate singing between men and boys, a practice which I strongly suspect has been imported from some foreign Church, where, having no architectural choir for the singers, an attempt has been made to hide the deficiency by this method of singing. Standing at the psalms has also been discontinued, and the attitude of the Presbyterians while singing their metrical versions has been taken instead. Natural reverence would teach us that the praises of God should be sung standing, and this is the rule given by the better Roman Catholic authorities.[1] I fear this is an instance of change due to imitation of vulgar foreign custom, without a single good reason for its adoption. Turning to the East at the Creed has not yet been discontinued; but as soon as it becomes known, in certain quarters, that it is not done at Rome I feel sure that it will go.

The nineteenth century has been an age of destruction. The mischief that it has done may be compared to that wrought by the Reformers in the sixteenth century, or by the Saracens and Turks at the fall of Alexandria and Constantinople. Its spirit has entered even into those who, we might think, lived to resist it. We have seen in this paper some instances of the destruction done by those who would tell us that their motto is: *State super antiquas vias.* One of the greatest liturgical misfortunes[2] that has befallen the Church of England since the days of Queen Elizabeth, has been the passing of the Act which allows shortened services. This Act has destroyed the idea of Matins and Evensong. It might have been drawn up by the same hand that disfigured the Irish Prayer Book. The consequence is that now in the daily service[3] of our parish churches, it is hard to follow the connexion between the older liturgical forms and that actually in use. The liturgical conception has been lost; and all this havoc has been wrought, not by our open enemies, but by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

The practical lesson which the study of these ancient customs teaches us is the caution which we should use in forming a judgment as to the source of the practices which some of us are old enough to remember in our youth. They are not all due to Puritan neglect, "the soft, easy, and comfortable pillow which ignorance and indifference make for a well-disposed head"[4]; but many of them are part of the inheritance which has come down to us from our medieval forefathers. Sometimes we have suffered reproaches for belonging to a communion in which such slovenly practices could be found; just as we have been told that the *Sundays after Trinity* were brought in by Queen Elizabeth, instead of *Sundays after Pentecost;* whereas *Trinity* comes straight from the Sarum Missal, and may be found in many medieval German and French missals; and even to this day in the Dominican Breviary. Now the middle ages are thought to have been unrivalled in the dignity of their worship, and there is nothing to be ashamed of in customs which trace their lineage back to so noble a time. Indeed it is to the middle ages that the Prayer Book bids us look for our ecclesiology. It declares that "the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past," that is, in the times which went before the edition of 1552. So that as a general rule we may take as safe guides medieval customs in ecclesiology, and also in ritual when not opposed to the present rubrics of the Prayer Book. Now the earlier ecclesiologists thought they might gain some knowledge of the customs of the middle ages by a study of modern Roman practices, receiving the assertion that Rome never alters with a too confiding generosity; and accordingly proceeded to change some of the inherited

[1] Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Sect. v., Cap. viii. Aug. Vind. 1763, t. ii., pp. 127 and 130. "Standum esse ad Psalmos."

[2] The new Lectionary has destroyed some of the links that bound us to the past. "In crastino post circumcisionem Domini incipiant legere epistolas S. Pauli" say the Constitutions of Lanfranc: and this was the rule in the Church of England, down to the revision of the lessons some ten or twenty years ago.

[3] I know more than one English clergyman, therefore bound to the daily recitation of Matins and Evensong, but compelled to give up attendance on the daily services in the parish church, because the office is so mutilated that attendance thereon can no longer satisfy the obligation. The *Venite*, the greater part of the Psalms, Lessons, and Canticles (and the Lord's Prayer if said more than once) are all gone.

[4] Montaigne, *Essais*, iii. 13.

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medieval customs in accordance with the dictates of modern Rome. But from modern Rome we can learn next to nothing of the practices of the middle ages. A very little study soon convinces us of the deep division there is between the practice of modern Rome and of medieval England, and that modern Rome will only lead us astray if we trust to its liturgical decisions. Because a practice is Roman, it is not therefore of necessity good, or ancient, or Catholic. In the first place, the liturgy of modern Rome is the liturgy of the Franciscan Friars, while that of the national medieval Churches is the old Liturgy which was used in the parish churches of Rome before the days of Nicholas III. Theologians often tell us of the mischief which these Friars have caused in their science, and to philosophy; and the harm they have done in ecclesiology is certain. They are credited with the introduction of the Stations of the Cross, which even Mrs. Jameson can see set forth unworthy ideas.[1] Further, how little of antiquity remains in practice in the Roman Communion may soon be gathered by those who will attend a few popular functions. Liturgical services, with the exception of the Mass, have well-nigh disappeared; and the seasons of the Christian Year, which we prize so much, are but little thought of. Lent has given way to the month of Joseph; Easter and Whitsuntide are swallowed up in the month of Mary and the Sacred Heart. A distinguished Fellow of the Royal Society told me that the only sign by which he now knew of the presence of Whitsuntide was the red colour of the vestments. If then the more conservative in the Roman Communion have been unable to save from the wreck the Breviary services and the Christian seasons, are they likely to have kept anything ancient in such comparatively unimportant things as the details of the ornamentation of the altar? They are rather likely to have been overwhelmed by the Oratorianism which, in the early days of the ecclesiological movement, was shown to be destructive of a scientific ecclesiology.[2] As in Germany, in philosophy, the cry has been of late years *Back to Kant*, so in ecclesiology I am sure we must raise the cry of *Back to Pugin*, to the principles which Pugin advocated; we must throw away the worldly spirit of the Renaissance, and take our inspiration from the Middle Ages, remembering the direction of the Prayer Book that the chancels shall remain as in times past, and holding fast to a medieval liberty of practice as contrasted with the attempts of the Congregation of Rites to establish all over the world the iron uniformity which is the aspiration in most things of the nineteenth century.[3] The end of this paper will have been attained if I should succeed in persuading some ecclesiologists that all that is Roman is not ancient, and all that is English is not Puritan.

I cannot end this paper without expressing my best thanks to Mr. Blew, for his goodness in allowing me to copy the woodcut in his Paris Missal; to Mr. Everard Green, for procuring for me from Mr. Willson a like permission to copy; to Mr. Micklethwaite, for his assistance in all that relates to Westminster Abbey; and to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. All these friends have been ready with suggestions and criticisms, but I must not be thought thereby to imply that they approve of all or any of the opinions which I have expressed in these foregoing paragraphs.

[1] Mrs. Jameson, *History of Our Lord*, Lond. 1864. Vol. ii. p. 115. The Stations are very modern; about the same age as the gradin.

[2] *Ecclesiologist*, 1852. Vol. xiii., p. 112. The Oratorian idea of a church is "a big hall with an altar at one end." We are going through a recrudescence of this idea at the present moment.

[3] I am told that, despite their best efforts, they have not been able to secure uniformity in so small a detail as the size of the singing-bread.

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THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

PART I.

BY CHARLES BROWNE, M.A.

To understand the origin, the objects, and the very *raison d'être* of the Knights Templars, on whose constitution and doings I wish to address to you some observations this evening, it is necessary to carry our thoughts back to that dreadful year A.D. 70, when Titus accomplished to the letter, by the destruction of the sacred city of Jerusalem, our Lord's prophecy, that not one stone of that holy place should be left upon another; and when Rachel was in very deed left mourning for her children, for they were not. So complete was the devastation and ruin of the place that, in a very different sense to Isaiah's announcement of the preparation for the advent of our Lord, every valley was filled up and every hill made low; so that all the landmarks of the place were entirely obliterated, and Jerusalem became a mere heap of stones.

This was the state of things during a period of upwards of two centuries and a half. For, although in the meantime the Emperor Hadrian had founded a settlement upon the site, to which he gave the name of Ælia Capitolina, the new buildings had served only to render the confusion of the old sites of all that by Jew and Christian alike was held most holy, still worse confounded. And so matters remained until, in the year 326 A.D., the Empress Helena (whom, alas! the fierce historical criticism of modern times will no longer allow us to think of as a native British princess), in the fervent zeal of a recent convert, and supported by all the power of her great son, the Emperor Constantine, visited the Holy Land for the express purpose of tracing, so far as possible, the exact sites of those places which had been especially hallowed by the presence of our Lord during his stay on earth, and paying to them that reverence and devotion which they were calculated to inspire in pious and devout persons like herself.

Her first efforts in this direction, as we know, were devoted to the recovery of the exact spot on which the Crucifixion had taken place; under or close to which she was led to expect that she might find the very actual and true cross on which the redemption of the world had been accomplished. And when the spot fixed upon, amidst the heaps of rubbish which had accumulated there during two hundred and fifty years, had been verified by the discovery of the three crosses that were recognized (how truly or not it is not any part of my present object to inquire or discuss) as the cross of Christ and those of the malefactors crucified with Him, the spot so pitched upon served as the key to all, or nearly all, the other holy places in, and in the neighbourhood of, Jerusalem.

The sites thus recovered, not only in the city itself, but in many other parts of Palestine, became at once the object of enthusiastic veneration to Christians of all nations and ranks, who immediately flocked in great numbers to the Holy Land, in order to pay their devotions and prefer their prayers on the self-same spots where our Lord Himself had prayed and preached, had been born, and suffered death. And so the practice of pilgrimage to the holy places became such an established usage that scarcely any who had health and strength, and means sufficient to enable them to do so, would omit to pay, at least, one visit to the shrines marked out for their devotion.

Succeeding emperors and princes continued and increased the work which St. Helen had thus begun; and in time all the recognized spots connected with the special events of sacred history were marked out with stately buildings or highly ornamental shrines, dedicated to, or rather in memory of, the saintly personages who, or the solemn events which had rendered them remarkable.

Amongst these structures was one which deserves special attention in connection with my subject, as it became in time the principal home and head-quarters of the Knights Templars. This was the magnificent church and surrounding buildings dedicated in honour of the *Panagia* —the Blessed Virgin—which were erected by the Emperor Justinian within the precincts occupied of old by the Temple of Solomon and its surrounding courts; adjoining to, though not actually placed upon, the central site of the Temple itself.

Matters remained in this condition for about three centuries; until, in the year 637, the followers of Mahomet, under the Caliph Omar, in the first outburst of enthusiasm for universal

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conquest, with which their leader had inspired them, rushed like a swarm of locusts upon the Holy Land, captured Jerusalem, and overran the whole district of Palestine.

Jerusalem was hallowed in the traditions not only of the Jew and the Christian, but in those of the followers of Islam also. And the first care of Omar was to erect a most splendid Mosque over the central spot of the Temple site, the threshing-floor of Araunah; the rock from which Mahomet himself had been caught up into the seventh heaven, where he held those 70,000 conferences with Allah the Almighty, which supplied him with the principal materials for the revelations contained in the Koran. The Church of the Blessed Virgin, built by Justinian, which I have just mentioned, lying to the south of this building, Omar at once despoiled of its cross and other Christian emblems, and converted it into a Mosque, which was called Djamé al Acsa. Great controversies have, indeed, of late raged with respect to the identification of the sites of these several buildings with that of the actual Temple of Solomon; but with that burning question I have no intention of intermeddling—"I know not how the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'tis told to me."

But although Omar had thus appropriated to the service of Islam the site which was of equal interest to Mahometans as to Christians, he nevertheless determined, for good and sufficient reasons, to enforce the milder of the two alternatives which the Koran permitted to the Giaour—the sword or tribute; and he entered into a compact with the patriarch Sophronius, under which the Christians were permitted, upon payment of a not excessive tribute, to retain possession of the two spots of the most hallowed character to them—namely, the place of the crucifixion on Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, with the Church of the Resurrection erected over them by the Emperor Constantine the Great; and at the same time he allowed them to occupy one quarter of the city, which would serve the double purpose of providing lodgings for the bands of pilgrims, who would furnish a large supply of tribute money, and, by keeping the Moslems and Christians apart from each other, preventing disturbances, which it would have been troublesome to quell.

This policy was followed by Omar's successors, and proved so advantageous for both parties that no interruption in it occurred for a period of over three hundred years. Indeed, so friendly were the relations between the Mussulman Caliphs and the Christian Emperors of the West, that on one occasion it is said that the Caliph Haroun al Raschid (he of the "Arabian Nights") sent to the Emperor Charlemagne, as a complimentary present, the keys of the City of Jerusalem, indicating, not the transfer of the sovereignty over the place, but only the right of free and uninterrupted entry for him, his subjects and friends to the holy places within the walls.

During this period of tranquillity the practice of pilgrimages to the Holy Land enormously increased; and it is recorded that bands of many thousands were in the habit of visiting the sacred places in each year; and many and loud were the complaints of the idle, wandering life to which this practice led many of the apparent devotees. Indeed, we have in the words "*to saunter*," and "*saunterer*," derived from the French *la sainte terre*, a standing evidence of the loafing, indolent fashion in which many, if not most, of the pilgrims were in the habit of paying their visit to the land of Judæa.

But suddenly, in the year A.D. 1065, only one year before the Norman invasion of England, all this was changed. The Turcomans, including several wild and savage tribes of Tartar origin from the high lands of Central Asia, who had recently been converted to the religion of Mahomet, in the fierce enthusiasm of new converts, swept down like an avalanche upon the regions of Syria and Palestine, and with indiscriminate fury massacred every man, woman, and child who refused, and indeed many who assented, to utter the formula of their creed—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God."

When the news of this massacre, which for the time had exterminated Christianity throughout its central and dearly-cherished seat, reached Western Europe, it at once roused a corresponding fury in the breasts of all that heard it; and, under the vigorous and vehement preaching of St. Bernard and Peter the Hermit, the most enthusiastic of their hearers formed themselves into bands devoted to the one object of recovering possession of the sacred places, especially of the Holy Sepulchre and its surrounding buildings; and so was organized the first crusade, which was so far successful that in the year 1099 Jerusalem was recovered from the power of the infidel, and, together with so much of the land of Palestine as the crusading force could hold, formed into a kingdom under the rule of the warlike and chivalrous, as well as pious, Godfrey de Bouillon.

Then arose the institution of the Knights Templars. It was, as many, perhaps most, of those things which have ultimately had the most influence upon the world's history, very humble and modest in its origin.

Jerusalem had, indeed, been captured, and was in Christian holding; but the whole surrounding country swarmed with bands of Mahomet's followers—Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, and other nationalities—who had been broken and dispersed, but by no means exterminated, by the crusading force; and these, hiding in fast places in the hills and amongst the rocks of the

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deserts, pounced down upon the bands of pilgrims that now again were flocking to the holy places, and with massacre, and robbery, and violence of every kind, rendered the journey to the holy city one that could only be undertaken at the risk of life and limb.

This state of things aroused in the most chivalrous of those who had assisted in the capture of, and were now maintaining the sovereignty over, the City of Jerusalem, the determination to devote themselves to the delivery of Palestine from these swarms of robbers and cut-throats, and to clear the way for the bands of pilgrims who were pressing forward to reach the Holy Sepulchre.

Amongst those who were animated with this desire, the most prominent and ready for action were nine noble knights, who, for the better and more effectual carrying out of their design, resolved to form themselves into a brotherhood or community in the fashion of a monastic body—bound by the three regularly recognized monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience—but dedicated to the special object of military service in defence of the Holy Land and its pilgrim visitors. These vows they took in the sacred Church of the Resurrection, in the presence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and then proceeded to carry out their object as fervent members of the Church Militant. Their first step was to elect a head, and to this position they unanimously appointed Hugues, or Hugh de Payens (Hugo de Paganis), a member of the noble family of the Counts of Payens Champagne, who of all the band had the most remarkably distinguished himself for valour in the previous conflicts.

The community thus formed called themselves at first by the humble title of "*Pauperes Commilitones Christi*"—the Poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ; and, although having at first no particular organization or rules of conduct, and no special home for their residence as a body, they did such excellent service during the first nineteen years of their existence that, at length, in the year 1118, Baldwin the Second, the then King of Jerusalem, determined to form them into a more regularly organized body. And accordingly, as the first step towards this design, he granted to them, for a fixed habitation, that large and magnificent church originally built by Justinian, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which had for centuries been occupied as a Mahometan Mosque, under the title of Djamé al Acsa, but since the re-conquest of Jerusalem had been restored to its original purpose as a Christian church; and as this church and the adjacent buildings stood within the enclosure of Solomon's Temple, though not on the actual site of the central sanctuary, the community now adopted as its corporate style and title the name of "The Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon," and Hugh de Payens, as head of the Order, received the dignified title of "Master of the Temple."

The next step to secure the firm establishment of the Order was to obtain the sanction of the Pope, so as to give the community the *locus standi* of an ecclesiastical order of regulars, and to provide them with a constitution and set of rules for their conduct; and for this purpose Baldwin recommended them to the notice and patronage of the great St. Bernard, who, recognizing at once the value of the services of such a monastic military body in promoting the object which he had so greatly at heart, the preservation of the recovered dominion over the Holy Land, and the protection of the pilgrims who were desirous of visiting the sacred scenes of the life and death of Christ, immediately used his influence with the Pope to grant them his approbation; and, accordingly, Hugh de Payens, accompanied by five members of the Brotherhood, proceeded to Rome, where they were received with great favour and distinction by the then Pope Honorius, who immediately, in A.D. 1128, summoned an Ecclesiastical Council at Troyes, at which Hugh and his companions attended, by special invitation, to explain their objects, and the constitution by which they desired to be governed. And thereupon St. Bernard himself was requested, and undertook, to revise and settle the rules or statutes of the Order, which the whole community bound themselves to abide by and observe.

These statutes, which were promulgated under the title of "Regula Pauperum Commilitonum Christi et Templi Salomonis," were drawn up upon the model of the rule of an austere Monastic Order, with such relaxation and modification only as would be required to enable the members efficiently to discharge their military duties. By these rules it was directed that the Knights—the full members of the Order—should wear white habits, with white mantles, to remind them of their vow of chastity and purity; but the esquires and retainers, who were considered as companions of the Order, were to wear black or dark-brown habits, to remind them of their duty of practising humility and mortification. Besides the regular members of the Order, the rules provided for the admission of associates, who, without being actual members, or in any way required or permitted to share in the military exploits of the Knights, were bound to render assistance and support by gifts of money or land, arms, and other matters that would be of service to the community, and in return were to be placed under the special care and protection of the Knights during their lives, and to enjoy the privilege of burial within the precincts of the Templars' own churches and chapels after their deaths—a privilege which, when the whole nation was under an interdict, as it was in the time of King John, with a special exemption of the churches and chapels belonging to the Templars, was esteemed of the

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highest value. And this body of associates might include even married men and their wives; provided that the latter never came within the houses of the Knights, and that neither they nor their husbands should wear the white habits or mantles appropriated to those who had taken the vow of chastity. So strict, indeed, was the rule against holding communication with females, even the closest relations, that the Knights were expressly forbidden to gaze on the countenance of woman; or to presume to kiss even mother, or sister, aunt, or any other woman whatsotever. As "through feminine kisses men have very often been drawn into danger."

The rules of the Order, when thus revised and settled by St. Bernard, were confirmed by a Papal Bull. And immediately after receiving this most important sanction, in the year 1128, Hugh de Payens, accompanied by several members of the Order, made his way through France to England and Scotland. On his way he had an interview with our King Henry I., in Normandy, and received from him, and also from the nobles and people, large grants and gifts of lands and money, arms, and other valuables, for the support of the Order; and in addition to this, he persuaded a vast number of enthusiastic adherents to enlist as recruits under his standard, and to join the forces of the Crusaders in, or on the way to, the Holy Land.

But as it was necessary not only to carry off those who were already prepared for active military service, but also to establish depôts from which supporters might be drawn in future, and where in the meantime younger men than those already in the field might be trained for full membership, and put under the severe discipline required before they could be trusted in the field, Hugh de Payens established branches of the Order in the different countries that he visited; and, amongst others, he founded a "Temple" in London, that had its first house and home on the south side of Holborn, nearly on the spot where now stand Southampton Buildings; and over this establishment he set a deputy, as head, under the title of "Prior of the Temple" —a title however, which, as houses of the Order gradually increased, and were placed under the direction of "Sub-Priors," was expanded into "Grand Prior," "Grand Preceptor," and ultimately "Master" of the Temple in London.

Amongst the austerities which they were required to, or actually did, practise, was one that we can hardly be called upon to admire, although St. Bernard puts it forward as one of their principal attractions. According to him they never combed their hair, and seldom washed themselves; and considered it more becoming to appear covered with dust, and with skins browned or blackened by exposure to the sun, and stained by the armour which they wore so constantly, than to show themselves with fair complexions and trim locks; but it is permissible to our generation, perhaps, to fancy that through indulgence in this practice the odour of sanctity proceeding from the members must have been at times of a very powerful description.

After settling matters in this fashion, and founding several establishments in the different countries of Western Europe, Hugh de Payens returned, with a large following of enthusiastic members of the new Order, to their head-quarters at Jerusalem, where he soon afterwards died, without having had any opportunity of displaying his martial prowess at the head of his now large force; but leaving to his successors the task of making the name of "Templars" formidable to their infidel foes, and for about two centuries the most famous Order of Chivalry in Christendom.

From this time forward the history of the Templars is almost identical with the history of the Crusades—a subject far too wide to be dealt with in an address like the present; and, therefore, I shall confine myself to the mention of those events only in which the exploits of the Templars were specially noticeable.

Their first adventures were far from meeting with that success which all Christendom had expected would infallibly attend upon their arms. For the spirit of religious fervour and enthusiasm was no longer confined to the Christian hosts. A new General of the Saracens—Noureddin—"Light of the Faith," had arisen, who combined the most consummate generalship with the practice of most severe asceticism and the most enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Islam. And his energetic action, in his vigorous attacks upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, drove the Christians to such extremities, that they were compelled to solicit aid from all their supporters in Europe; and thus, in the year 1146, the second Crusade was organized, mainly through the efforts of the Templars, who held a General Chapter of the Order at Paris, which was attended by the Pope Eugenius III., and Louis VII., the King of France, and many other chiefs and nobles, as will as bishops and heads of monastic orders. And in preparation for their warlike achievements, the Templars, with the sanction of the Pope, adopted, as the special badge of the Order, the red-cross, to be worn on their habits and mantles, on the left side, immediately over the heart. And then, under the leadership of Everard des Barres, the then Grand Master of the Temple, the Knights put themselves at the head of the crusading forces, and performed prodigies of valour, which called forth the admiration of the Christian kings and chiefs who witnessed them; but notwithstanding all these efforts, and after numerous severe fights, in many of which it is recorded that every single Templar who was engaged

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perished under the overwhelming numbers that Noureddin opposed to them, and in one of which the then Grand Master, Bertrand de Blanquefort, himself was taken prisoner, success deserted their side; Noureddin's forces overran the kingdom, and encamped within bow-shot of the city of Jerusalem, and the second Crusade ended in disastrous failure.

It was at this time, and during these conflicts, that the Templars, with the sanction and approval of the Pope, adopted their famous Banner *Le Beauséant* the name of which became so famous in their annals, and which indeed they adopted as their war-cry. This banner was made of two pieces of woollen stuff, one black, and one white, with the Red Cross of the Order displayed in the midst. The black was designed to represent the mortification of their passions under the severe discipline to which they were subject; whilst the white portion symbolized the purity of their lives, and the chastity to which they were bound by their vows. Another interpretation of the symbolism of the banner was that the white indicated the favour they bore to their Christian friends, whilst the black showed the deadly hatred they entertained towards all the enemies of Christ. The name *Beauséant*, or as it was originally spelt *Baucéant*, which was given to this banner signifies, in old French, *a piebald horse;* being in fact derived from the actual name of a celebrated horse of that colour, to whom it was given possibly to mark the good seat which he afforded to his rider. And very terrible to the Saracen foe was the cry of *Beauséant to the rescue*, which often rang out through the conflicting hosts, as a body of Templars charged furiously down upon the Pagan foe and turned the scale of victory in favour of the Christian force.

But as time went on the efficiency of the Templars, as indeed of the whole of that mixed assembly that fought under the banner of the Cross, was grievously marred by the jealousies and rivalries which sprang up between, not only the different chieftains and leaders of that motley array drawn from all nations that bore the name of Christians, but also between the several bodies that were banded together in different societies, under different names, all with, ostensibly, the same common object, but each desirous of establishing its own supremacy, and refusing aid to, and even opposing the efforts of, any other body that seemed likely to surpass them in the glories and honours to be won in the field. And nowhere was this jealousy more frequently displayed than between the Templars and that other great and important body, about whom perhaps I may be permitted to say something to the Society on some future occasion—I mean the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or "Knights Hospitallers," as they were also called.

The Templars always maintained their own independence of all other authorities, whether spiritual or secular, except the Pope, and in one remarkable instance they asserted this independence in a very practical way. One of the Order, Walter du Mesnil, in flagrant violation of every rule of chivalry, and all the recognized usages of war, had violently attacked and killed an envoy who had been sent by the well-known "Old Man of the Mountain," the head of the tribe of "Assassins" to the Grand Master of the Templars to treat of terms of peace; and to make the matter as bad as possible, the "assassination"—(to use the term which we have borrowed from the tribe to which the luckless envoy belonged)—took place whilst the envoy was not only proceeding under the guarantee of a safe-conduct, furnished him by the King of Jerusalem, but was yet within the borders of the kingdom which, to an Ambassador under a flag of truce, was absolutely sacred and inviolable. The chieftain of the "Assassins" of course remonstrated with the King, and he in turn in great indignation sent a message to the then Grand Master of the Templars, Odo de St. Amand, to demand the surrender of the knight who had been guilty of this breach of faith and honour. But Odo haughtily refused to comply with the demand; declaring that the Templars owned no jurisdiction, either civil or ecclesiastical, to which they were subject, whether in Palestine or Europe, except only that of the Pope, whom they regarded as their only direct and immediate superior. But nevertheless, in order to show that the knights were not insensible to the claims of justice and honour, he caused the offender to be at once arrested and sent to Rome, that he might suffer whatever punishment the Pope might think proper to award for so dastardly and disgraceful a crime.

But now another and more famous champion of el Islam came upon the scene. This was the renowned Saladin—(*Salah-ed-deen, Defender of the Faith*). He was the immediate successor of Noureddin; and like him he had begun by leading a very loose and profligate life in his early youth; but as soon as he was entrusted with a military command, and a share in the political counsels of the Sultan, he became at once remarkable for a most austere asceticism, and the most enthusiastic piety and devotion to the cause of Islam. And ultimately on the death of Noureddin in the year 1175, he not only succeeded him in the Sultanate of Syria but made himself master of Egypt also; and so was able to bring into the field larger forces than even Noureddin had employed against the Templars and the other Christian warriors. But even Saladin was not, at first, uniformly successful, and was himself on more than one occasion in extreme peril, and only escaped death or captivity by precipitate flight.

Still, however, the increasing languor of the European nations, who were beginning to get

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wearied with the constant drain upon their resources both in men and money, which was required to sustain the efforts of the Templars in the field, began to tell upon the success of their arms; and towards the end of the 12th century the victories gained by the Saracens over the diminished numbers of the Christians, to all appearance threatened the expulsion of the Crusaders from Palestine and the extinction of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

But at this crisis fortune came to their aid, and once more gave the Christians at least a breathing time to repair their losses, and make preparation for a renewal of their old exploits. Saladin having domestic troubles of his own, and being moreover compelled to quell some rebellious risings among the wild tribes whom he had brought under his sway, found it convenient to agree to a truce for a period of four years; which, however, he conceded only upon the payment of a heavy tribute by the Christians, who were only too glad, even upon those terms, to procure a temporary cessation of the conflict.

The truce once agreed upon the Templars were not slow to avail themselves of it, for the purpose of stimulating the flagging zeal of the nations of the West. And accordingly it was at once determined that the Grand Master of their Order, Arnaud de Torroge (Arnoldus de Turri Rubrâ) accompanied by the head of the Knights Hospitallers and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, should forthwith proceed to Europe, and stir up the people there to renewed exertions to maintain the sovereignty over the Holy Places, and to secure the safety both of the permanent residents at, and the innumerable pilgrim visitors to, the Sacred City.

Unfortunately, the Master of the Temple fell ill and died on the way, leaving the Patriarch and the Grand Master of the Hospitallers to continue their journey alone through Italy and France to England, where Henry II., then on the throne, who was nearly related to both the late and the then reigning kings of Jerusalem, received them with great distinction and display of zeal for their cause. This indeed he was in an especial manner bound to do, as it was a part of the penance laid upon him for his share in the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, that he should at his own expense maintain 200 Templars in the Holy Land for its defence, and should himself proceed thither at the head of a large and effective force to support the Templars in their warlike operations; and on their way the Patriarch and his companions had taken care to obtain from the Pope some very pressing letters to the English king, insisting, under threats of the most grievous spiritual penalties, on the performance of his promises.

The arrival in England of the two surviving emissaries in the spring of the year 1185, occurred at a very interesting period in the history of the Templars. Though it was most unfortunate that owing to the death of the Grand Master, one of the most notable events in their annals had to take place without the presence of the Supreme head of the Order, and in fact under the superintendence of the Head of the rival Order, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This event was the consecration of the church recently erected by the Templars in London, at the place where it still stands, a little off the Strand, and within the precincts of the large area which the Order had just acquired for themselves, and appropriated to the purposes of their principal establishment in England.

The original house of the Order in London, which, as I have before mentioned, stood a little to the south of Holborn Bars, nearly where now stand Southampton Buildings, was but a small place, and had within its precincts a proportionately small chapel, the foundations of which were not long since exposed to view during some building operations on the spot, and which show, as indeed was previously known, that this chapel, like its successor, and like many other of the churches of the Templars, and of the Knights Hospitallers, was circular in plan—a form derived probably from that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, which itself seems to have been designed so as to allow the greatest number of spectators to view the ceremonials taking place there at one time.

The body of the Templars, however, had now so greatly increased in numbers, that it had become necessary very considerably to enlarge the places appropriated for their accommodation; and, accordingly, the Knights had acquired a large plot of ground along the south side of the Strand, extending from White Friars on the east to what is now Essex Street on the west, and from the Strand on the north, to the river on the south; whilst on the opposite, or north side of the Strand, they had a large piece of land laid out for use as a tilting ground, where they practised their military exercises, and which occupied very nearly the same site as that on which the Law Courts now stand, where their nominal successors may be found engaging in tournaments of a different description, where "arms have yielded place to the gown"; but in which as hard blows are often exchanged with tongue and subtle brain, as ever were exchanged with lance and sword in the time of the original Templars themselves.

On a part of this ground the Knights had erected the circular part of that building so well known to us as the Temple Church. Upon its construction I shall not attempt to dwell, as our good friend Mr. Birch, the most competent person I believe who could be found to do so, has promised to give us some papers upon the round churches in general, which, in themselves, form a most interesting branch of ecclesiology.

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This part of the church, however, was consecrated by the Patriarch Heraclius, with very great and imposing ceremonial, on the 10th of February, A.D. 1185. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, as was shown by the inscription which formerly stood over the door leading into the cloisters, and which ran thus, "Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°.C°. LXXXV°. Dedicata hec ecclesia in honorē. Beate Marie a Dnō Eraclio Dei Grā. Scē Resurectionis Ecclesie Patriarcha. IIII. Idus Februarii. Q^{t}. eā. Annatim Petētib. Penitētia LX. Dies Indulsit." And let us hope that those who visit the Temple Church in the spirit of penitence, not once a year only, but every week, or perhaps every day, may still, even in these degenerate days, derive some benefit from the gracious indulgence conceded by the Patriarch on this occasion.

As soon as the consecration of the church was finished Heraclius set about to press the King to perform the promise which he had made to visit the Holy Land in person at the head of a large armed force, to which the English Templars were to furnish a considerable contingent. But Henry was getting old, and not at all disposed for a long and perilous journey by sea and land, with plenty of hard knocks and vigorous blows to be given and received at the end of it; and so, acting upon the principle, which has since been formulated in the adage, that "a council of war never fights," he summoned a meeting of the Great Council of the Nation, before whom he laid for their consideration the serious question whether his duty to his people and his God required him most to join the Crusaders in Palestine, or to stay at home and look after the interests of the nation, by Providence committed to his sovereign rule and care. The Council, possibly not without hints from high quarters of the way in which the King's own inclinations tended, reminded him that however weighty might be the obligation he was under to perform the promise he had made to the Pope, and to discharge the penance laid upon him in satisfaction for the murder of St. Thomas, he was under a still heavier obligation to abide by his solemn Coronation Oath, and to perform the duties then undertaken by him; and which now required that he should use all his energies to protect his people from the violence and ferocity of those barbarian French who were now pressing them so sorely. Henry, of course, with many protestations of the sincere and deep regret which he felt at being compelled to yield to the decision of his Great Council, announced the result of their deliberations to the Patriarch, gilding the bitter pill which he gave him to swallow by promising to send a handsome contribution, through the Templars, to the funds of the Crusaders. Heraclius, however, was not appeased by the promise. He was furious; and denounced the King for his treachery and breach of vows in language so violent that Henry was obliged to tell him that none of his own subjects would dare to speak to him in such language, to which the Patriarch retorted that that was because they regarded only his body, and the temporal advantages that he could bestow upon them, but cared nothing for his soul; which, if he would not obey the Pope's injunctions, and so escape the spiritual penalties attached to disobedience, was infallibly doomed to eternal perdition.

Even these forcible denunciations, however, could not withdraw Henry from his resolution to remain at home and compound for his personal penance by an ample *largesse;* but to soften the asperity of Heraclius as far as possible, he accompanied him on his way back as far as Normandy, where, after a conference with the King of France as to the best way to help the Crusaders by other means than by their own personal presence, the Patriarch and King, with no great love lost between them, parted company; and Heraclius returned to Jerusalem, to carry back the bad tidings that no assistance was to be expected from the Sovereign on whom, amongst all the monarchs of the West, they had most relied for personal aid, and the protection of the kingdom of Jerusalem was left to the military bodies, principally the Templars and Hospitallers who were already on the spot, without any reinforcements to fill up the vacancies occasioned in their ranks by battle, plague, famine, and other casualties.

Heraclius appears to have been a man of a very singular character, combining in his own person many most opposite qualities. His devotion to the service of religion, his energetic exertions on behalf of the cause of the Crusaders, his asceticism, and even his reputation for sanctity, were such as befitted the *ex officio* custodian of the True Cross; and yet scandal said that he owed his promotion to the dignity of the Patriarchate, to the fact that the mother of the then King of Jerusalem fell in love with his handsome person, and that he responded to her affection in a manner very unbecoming to an ecclesiastic; and even after attaining to the Patriarchate, he is said to have notoriously and openly supported in great style, and with most luxurious surroundings, a lady, formerly, and at the commencement of their acquaintance, the wife of a tradesman in the neighbourhood, whose widowhood, it was obscurely hinted, was in some way owing to the intervention of her Patriarchal lover.

Besides all these disastrous circumstances, the whole kingdom of Jerusalem was now subjected to a new set of troubles through a disputed succession to the throne; in which, at first at least, as usual, the two great bodies of the Templars and Hospitallers took different sides; and when, ultimately, the dispute was settled, after a long series of conflicts, which it is out of my way now to go into, in favour of Sibylla, the sister of the former king, Baldwin IV., and

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mother of his immediate successor, Baldwin V., who died in infancy; and the golden crowns with which the sovereigns of Jerusalem and their consorts were customarily crowned, and which were kept in the joint custody of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, were required for the coronation of Sibylla and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, a French noble of handsome person, but of very weak and unstable character, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers refused to produce the key which was in his possession, of the chest in which the crowns were kept under two locks, the keys of which were in the custody of the two Grand Masters, each holding one; and at length, when persuaded or compelled to produce it, he flung it from him with a contemptuous gesture, indicating the view which he held of the character of Guy de Lusignan, whom Sibylla had chosen to be her associate in the sovereignty, and who was then accordingly crowned along with her, as king of Jerusalem.

But the worst result of these unfortunate disputes as to the succession to the very uneasy crown of the kingdom was, that they led to the treason of one very powerful noble, whose treachery was the primary cause of the most disastrous defeat that the arms of the Crusaders in general, and especially of the Templars, ever sustained; and ultimately led to the capture and loss of the Holy City itself.

The noble to whose treacherous conduct these calamitous events were attributable, was Raimond II., Count of Tripoli, who had been appointed Regent of the kingdom, and guardian of the royal person during the minority of the infant sovereign Baldwin V.; and when the premature death of this unfortunate child deprived the Count of the office of Regent, which he had expected to hold during a long minority, he not only refused to submit to the lawful sovereignty of the rightful successor to the throne, Sibylla, and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, but set up rival claimants to the dignity in the persons of Sibylla's younger sister, the princess Isabella, and her husband, Humphrey de Thoron: and when these latter disclaimed and repudiated the pretensions which the Count of Tripoli had advanced in their name, and had themselves sworn allegiance to Sibylla and Guy de Lusignan, the Count in furious indignation, retired to his own castle of Tiberias, which he fortified strongly, and there maintained the position of an independent chieftain, claiming and exercising independent sovereign-power within his own domain; and actually (so it is said by some of the chroniclers of the time, though denied by others) entering into a secret treaty of alliance with Saladin himself; and if some historians are to be believed, turning Mahometan, and as such, submitting to the rite of circumcision.

Saladin, the truce being now at an end, and having greatly extended and established his dominions, and quelled the rebellious rising of his factious subjects, was preparing, (acting, so it is said, on secret information supplied to him by the Count of Tripoli) to make a dash upon the Holy Land, which was now left almost entirely to the guardianship of the Templars and the Hospitallers; who, fortunately, were, at this crisis, acting in greater harmony than was generally the case with them. A considerable body of Saracens, under the command of the Prince Afdhal, a son of Saladin, was pushed across the Jordan in the spring of the year 1187, and commenced plundering and ravaging all the country on the other side. When the news was first brought to the Grand Master of the Temple, he was on his way to join the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, in a mission to the Count of Tripoli, to induce him to give up his separate position, and to return to his allegiance. At the moment when the message announcing the raid of the Mussulmans, and praying for succour, reached him, he was just sitting down to supper at one of the houses of his Order—the Castle of La Feue. He immediately sent to another Castle of the Templars, called Caes, some few miles off, requiring all the Knights that could be spared to join him. The Knights had all retired to bed; but they immediately obeyed the call, armed themselves, saddled their horses, and, to the number of 90, joined the Grand Master. As soon as it was dawn he marched on with this small force to Nazareth, where he was joined by the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, with a force of 40 Knights of his Order. The united body, together with a force of about 460 footmen, making altogether a body of something less than 600 men in all, at once marched out to meet the enemy, who were found, to the number of 4,000 or 5,000, at about six or seven miles from Nazareth. The impetuous charge of the Templars and Hospitallers at first almost routed the Mussulman troops; but after a short time, perceiving the very small numbers of the Christian force, they rallied, and turned the tables upon their assailants with such effect, that the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, the Marshal of the Temple Jacqueline de Mailly (who, mounted on his white charger, performed such prodigies of valour, that even the Moslems themselves cried out that the Christians' champion, St. George himself, had come to their assistance), and every one of the Templars engaged, with the exception only of the Grand Master and two of his Knights, who cut their way through the surrounding hosts of Mussulman cavalry, were all killed on the field. And to add, if possible, to the distress which this disastrous engagement brought on the Crusaders who received the news of the defeat, the irony of fate so arranged matters that a very large body of Templars, who, without knowing of the impending affray, were on their way to join their brethren at

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Nazareth, and who, if they had been up in time, might have been sufficient, if not to gain a victory, at least to have kept off such a calamitous defeat, halted on their way to hear mass at sunrise; and, by reason of this delay, arrived on the field of slaughter only in time to hear the Bishop of Tyre say the funeral office over the dead bodies of the slain.

But bad as this terrible affair was for the arms of the Christians, it was but the prelude to another far more terrible and disastrous engagement; in fact, the most disastrous that the Christian forces, and especially the Templars, ever sustained. This was the battle of Tiberias, which was fought under the command of Saladin himself, during the whole of one, and part of two other days, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of July, 1187. Raimond, the Count of Tripoli, in whose lordship the battle was fought, had, in appearance at least, made his submission to the king, and was admitted to his council; where, according to the accounts of those writers who always speak of his conduct with disparagement, he exercised a most fatal influence over the weak and vacillating mind of the king, Guy de Lusignan, who had now taken the command in person, and was joined by the Grand Master of the Templars, Gerard de Riderfort, and the newly-elected Grand Master of the Hospitallers. To insure victory over the Mussulman foe, Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem, though himself remaining behind in the city, sent that portion of the true cross which had been retained at Jerusalem, under the guardianship of two bishops, those of Ptolemais and Lidda.

The battle began in the afternoon of Thursday the 3rd of July, 1187. The king, at nightfall, under the advice, as it was said, of the Count of Tripoli, made the terrible mistake, instead of cutting his way through the enemy to the lake of Tiberias (the sea of Galilee), of halting for the night on a spot where no water was to be had, for man or beast. The effect of this fatal error in such a climate, and at such a season, the beginning of July, was sadly obvious when the fight was renewed on the next day. Saladin's troops who had the command of the lake came on refreshed and invigorated by their night's repose, with their strength and spirits all renewed by their copious draughts of water from the lake, and their refreshing baths in its waters. The Crusaders, on the other hand, after a sultry night, fainting with thirst, and with all the dust and sweat of the previous day's fight still clinging to their bodies, had to meet a foe immensely outnumbering them, and ready to resume the fight with all the freshness of a first engagement; still the fight was renewed and lasted through the whole of that livelong, weary day; at a most critical moment of the engagement the Count of Tripoli, with a band of his own immediate followers, broke through the ranks of the Saracens, who opened to let them pass, and made his way to Tyre. This caused a panic amongst the Crusading host, and a general "Sauve qui peut" ensued amongst those who were in a condition to do anything towards saving themselves by flight: amongst these was the Grand Master of the Hospital who cut his way through to Ascalon, but died shortly afterwards of his wounds: the general mass of the Christian hosts, however, got merely jammed together, like a huge flock of sheep being driven helplessly into a slaughter house; and in the mêlée, the True Cross itself, the Palladium of the Kingdom, the most highly venerated relic of all that Christians adored, was torn from the grasp of the two Bishops who supported it; one of whom, he of Ptolemais, was slain, and the other, the Bishop of Lidda, was made prisoner; and passed, never again to be recovered from them, into the hands of the Infidel foe. The king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, the Grand Master of the Temple, Gerard de Riderfort, and a vast number of the Knights of both Orders, the Temple and the Hospital, as well as a large body of their followers, were made prisoners. A few made their way to the neighbouring summit of Mount Hittin, where they still held out for some hours until the next morning; but the Saracens, finding the wind set that way, fired the long grass, dried by the summer sun, that clothed the sides of the hill; and they too were obliged to give in and yield themselves prisoners.

So ended the great and terrible battle of Tiberias, or Hittin, as it is sometimes called; but so ended not the slaughter of the Christians and their leaders. Saladin spared the King and the Grand Master of the Temple, for whom he expected to receive a heavy ransom; but one of their companions, Reginald de Chatillon, who had incurred his wrath by treacherously attacking, during a time of truce, a band of pilgrims on their way to Mecca, Saladin cut down with his own hand, as he was about to drink from the bowl of sherbet, which had been offered to the King and the Master of the Temple, to quench their thirst, and as a token of hospitality, which implied an assurance of safe conduct; and then, as the third day drew to its close, all the members of the two Orders, the Templars and Hospitallers who remained alive after the carnage in the field, were led out to an eminence overhanging the lake, and there were offered the prescribed alternative of apostasy or death; and, having to a man chosen the latter, they were all beheaded in the presence of Saladin himself, who applauded the dexterity with which his executioners performed their deadly task.

Saladin had now nothing to do but to push on with vigour to accomplish that which was the main object of his campaign—the capture of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

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The Templars, who had sent into the field every man who could be spared, with the exception only of a few left in each castle or fortress belonging to the Order to garrison the place, were all but exterminated upon the bloody field of Tiberias; and even those who had escaped by being left behind in garrison were soon reduced to almost nothing; for, Saladin having offered a reward of fifty pieces of silver for every head of a Templar which was brought to him, the result was that each of these outlying fortresses was stormed one after another, and the unhappy defenders, without any chance of escape, were ruthlessly massacred as, one by one, their strongholds fell into the hands of the enemy.

At length the siege of Jerusalem was formed; and Saladin having divided his force into two bodies, surrounded and attacked the city on both sides at once. All the Christian inhabitants of the villages and towns on the way were purposely and politicly driven into the city, with a view to embarrass the authorities there by increasing the number of the miserable creatures who had to be fed and provided with lodgings of some kind, without being able to contribute anything to the defence of the place; and, as the fugitives evacuated one after another the holy places, so venerable and so venerated, the Saracen hosts indulged themselves by defiling and despoiling all that Christians throughout the world regarded as the objects of the most devout veneration.

The inhabitants, including the few Templars and Hospitallers who formed part of the garrison, made the most frantic efforts to defend the place; but all was of no use; and on the memorable 2nd of October, 1187, after the Christians had threatened to set fire to and destroy the Mosque of Omar, occupying the site of the Temple, as much venerated by the Mahometans as by the followers of Christ, together with all the treasures in the place, and to massacre every Moslem prisoner whom they held in captivity, Saladin consented to a capitulation, by which it was stipulated that he should at once be put into possession of the City, and that every man, woman, and child in the place should be put to ransom or reduced to slavery. The price to be paid for each man being ten golden bezants; for each woman, five; and for every child one.

The Templars employed all the funds at their disposal in paying the ransom for as many of the poor inhabitants and fugitives as, after discharging the price required for their own members, their money would extend to set free. But multitudes still were left to endure the miseries of slavery; and although domestic slavery was never very severe amongst the Oriental tribes, yet the violent breaking-up of families, the separation of husbands, wives, and children from one another, brought an amount of wretchedness that rendered the capture of Jerusalem one of the most disastrous events that history has ever recorded.

So perished, practically, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, after enduring for about 188 years. For although a great deal of fighting had yet to be done before the Mussulman conquest of the whole of Palestine was complete, and although the nominal title of "King of Jerusalem" was borne down even to our own times by the descendants and representatives of Guy de Lusignan, yet the kingdom, as a whole, was never again under the sway of a Christian Monarch; and, with the exception of those strongholds in which the Templars and the Hospitallers, and some of the local Barons and Chieftains were enabled to hold out, the country reverted to the condition in which it was before Godfrey de Bouillon had rescued it from the Infidels' hands.

Saladin, now master of the city, set to work in the first place to desecrate and defile all that the Christians held most sacred, pulling down the crosses and destroying the Mosaics and other ornaments with which the churches and chapels were adorned. He then proceeded to re-establish the several buildings, and re-dedicate them to the purposes of his own religion, and with this view he had no less than six camel loads of the otto of roses, which, when diluted would make an enormous quantity of rose-water, brought from Damascus, with which every place contaminated by the performance of Christian rites, was rubbed and scrubbed, until it had lost, or was supposed to have lost, all taint of the hated worship; and then the Temple of the Lord, with its holy rock, was once more devoted to Mahometan worship as the Mosque of Omar, whilst the "Temple of Solomon," originally the Church of Justinian dedicated in memory of the Blessed Virgin, and latterly the principal home and head-quarters of the Templars, became again the Mosque of "Djamé al Acsa." And so ends the first, and in many respects the most important, chapter in the history of the Knights Templars.

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THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

PART II.

By CHARLES BROWNE, M.A.

Before proceeding to recount the exploits of the Templars after the capture of Jerusalem up to the time of the final suppression of the Order, it may be as well to give a short review of their constitution and organization, as well as of their possessions and emoluments, as they gradually developed and increased during the two centuries of their existence as an order of military monastics, devoted to the service of Christianity and the maintenance of the interests of the Latin or Western Church.

It will be remembered that at their origin they started with a profession of poverty, which they made not only in the conventional monastic sense understood to be involved in the vow of poverty, which meant only that the individual members could not claim any private possessions of their own, but permitted the Order, in its corporate capacity, to get and to hold whatever wealth in the shape of lands, money, jewels, arms, or other valuable property they might be able to acquire; but the original founders of the Order, both as individuals and as a community, were in real earnest what their earliest title expressed, *Pauperes Commilitones Christi* (the poor fellow-soldiers of Christ). And this fact was indicated in a somewhat remarkable fashion by some of their early seals, which bore upon their obverse the effigy of two men riding upon one horse—signifying, as was supposed, that their poverty was such that they could only afford to supply one horse for every two men.

But very soon, as their prowess and valiant deeds began to attract the attention and excite the admiration of Christendom, their possessions were largely increased by donations of considerable estates, and gifts of money and costly valuables, which in time had swelled to such a total that at the best period of their existence they were able to reckon 9000 "*maneria*" (that is, not exactly *manors* in our use of the term, but distinct estates or properties in land or houses) as belonging to them; and they were able, almost alone, out of their own revenues, to raise nearly the whole of the immense sum which was demanded for the ransom of Louis IX. of France (Saint Louis) when he was made prisoner by the Saracens, which amounted to no less than 800,000 bezants, or £400,000 sterling, the purchasing power of which would be equal to at least five times that amount in modern money—say two millions sterling; and all over Europe, as well as in various parts of Palestine, they possessed, very often in complete sovereignty, estates which are said to have brought them in a steady annual revenue of six millions of pounds sterling; whilst their exemption from the payment of tithes, and many other imposts and dues, reduced their outgoings in respect of their estates to a comparatively trifling amount.

To manage these enormous estates, and to secure their vast revenues, the Order had in all the countries of Western Christendom, as well as throughout the land of Palestine, a very large number of separate establishments, which had originally the name of "Priories" (in accordance with the original idea of the Order, being a monastic body), but which afterwards were more generally known as "*Preceptories*," or "*Commanderies*," which were presided over by superior members of the Order, who bore the title of "Preceptors," or "Commanders"—not as we should have supposed, from their giving their own precepts or commands to their subordinates, but from the opposite fact that they received from head-quarters the mandates which they and those under them were to obey, and which were issued to them under the formula "præcipimus tibi," or "commendamus tibi ut," &c.

These preceptories, or commanderies, differed very much in size and importance; some of them were mere farm-houses, or granges, with a few acres of land attached to them; whilst others were castles, or fortified manor-houses, with estates of considerable extent in their neighbourhood. The larger provinces, which comprised several of the lesser houses, or commanderies, were under the government or superintendence of superior officers, who were styled Grand Priors, or Grand Preceptors; and some of these Grand Priories, or Grand Preceptories, such as those of England, Ireland, and Scotland included, each, a whole nation; whilst in France, Spain, and Palestine, there were, in each country, several Grand Priories.

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The Order was originally divided into two classes only—Knights (Equites, Chevaliers) and Serving Men, or Esquires (Servientes ad Arma, Armigeri, Scutigeri, Sergens, or Escuyers). The former class alone were entitled to wear the white mantle and surcoat with the red-cross, from which their common name of "The Red-Cross Knights" was derived. The latter wore a dark grey or brown habit, with the red cross upon it. At first, there were no clerical members of the Order; and the priests who performed the different religious services for them were merely employed and paid by them, like any other class whose services they needed. This was one prominent distinction between them and the Hospitallers, who, from the very first, admitted as actual members of the Order clergy as well as laymen. But the inconvenience of having only strangers to the Order to minister to them in spiritual things, was so much felt that, ultimately, in the year 1162, Pope Alexander III., by the Bull entitled (from its first words, as all Papal Bulls are) *Omne datum optimum*, gave them permission to have chaplains admitted as actual members of the Order.

At the head of the whole community was the Grand Master (Magnus Magister), who was regarded as a sovereign prince, and as such, was summoned to attend several General Councils of the Church. The Grand Priors also, in the different countries in which their Provinces were situate, were reckoned as barons and nobles, and entitled to all the privileges which attached to that rank. Thus in England, the Master of the Temple in London, who was the Grand Prior, or Grand Preceptor of England, sat in Parliament as a Baron, having precedence next after Bishops and Abbots, but before those Priors who had seats in Parliament.

But besides the dignities thus conferred upon the superior officers of the Order, the whole community, as a corporate body, was regarded as a ruling Sovereign Power, having and exercising regal jurisdiction over various countries or regions, which were placed under their sway. Thus, the sovereignty of Gaza, which was the strongly-fortified outpost of the Crusaders between Palestine and Egypt, and the most important bulwark of the Holy Land against the Saracens, was made over to them by the King of Jerusalem. Our Richard I., having conquered Cyprus, on his way to join the Crusaders, sold the sovereignty of the island to the Templars for 100,000 bezants, though they afterwards re-sold it, partly to re-pay themselves the purchase-money, and partly to heal one of the numerous dissensions which arose about a disputed succession to the throne of Jerusalem to Guy de Lusignan, the exiled and deposed king of that kingdom. And one sovereign, Alfonso I., King of Arragon, by his will actually bequeathed his whole kingdom, and all his sovereign rights to the all-powerful Order. But this was a measure a little too strong for even such an obedient set of subjects as the Arragonese; and after some negotiations on the subject, the Templars at length consented to withdraw their claims to the sovereignty of the kingdom in exchange for some large estates, and some very valuable privileges, which were bestowed upon them by the Arragonese nobility.

Lastly, amongst their most valuable privileges was that of being, like the rival Order of the Hospitallers, exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, except that of the Pope. And it was one of the boasts of the Order that, amongst their actual members on the roll was included one Pope in person, namely, Innocent III., whose legate, Pandulph, played such an important part in the history of our own country during the reign of King John.

Upon the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Templars found themselves expelled from the home which they had occupied as their head-quarters ever since the year 1118, within the precincts of the Temple, from which they derived their name. But they still retained the possession of very many strongly-fortified houses and castles throughout Palestine, as well as in other countries, amongst which they were dispersed, and from which they set themselves to recover the lost possession of the holy places, or, at any rate, so to harass the Saracen forces, who now spread themselves as conquerors over the country, that their possession should be anything but a source of quiet and undisturbed enjoyment to the victors.

Amongst these strongholds, the city and castle of Tyre was one of the most important; and the Templars accordingly set themselves to the task of energetically defending it against the forces of Saladin, who were besieging it with great vigour. And so stoutly did they, in company with the Hospitallers, and under the leadership of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, sustain the defence, that Saladin was obliged to raise the siege, and leave Tyre in the possession of the Christians.

But with that ill luck which seemed to beset every piece of apparent success which the Crusaders achieved, the victory at Tyre only served to bring about fresh troubles, through a new dispute as to the succession to the uneasy throne of Jerusalem. For Conrad, having succeeded in preserving the city, maintained that its defence having been achieved by the arms of himself, and the Templars and Hospitallers as his allies, he had preserved it, not for the unworthy and pusillanimous Guy de Lusignan, but for himself alone, and so he claimed the absolute sovereignty over the fortress. And not content with that, he proceeded to claim the whole kingdom for himself; and to strengthen his claim he contrived to obtain a divorce of Isabella, who, upon the death of Queen Sibylla, became the next heiress in a direct line to the

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throne of Jerusalem, from her husband, De Thoron, and married her himself, and then proceeded to set himself up as King in her right: and if he had not been soon afterwards cut off by the dagger of one of the fanatical "assassins," there is no saying what might have happened in the way of the recovery of the city, and the restitution of the kingdom, under the leadership of so vigorous, and, to say the truth, so unscrupulous a commander.

After the capture of Jerusalem, Saladin applied himself to the task of reducing under his sway all the strongholds the possession of which was still retained by the Christian forces, now represented almost solely by the two great orders of the Templars and Hospitallers.

The strongest of these fortresses at that time held by the Templars was the Castle of Saphet, which for a time they occupied as their head-quarters; and Saladin accordingly used all his efforts to make it his own. He was, however, notwithstanding his vigorous endeavours, unable to take the place by assault, and was compelled to withdraw the main body of his forces; and it was only after a long blockade, during which many sorties of a brilliant character were made by the besieged, that the garrison, weakened by their numerous losses, which could not be repaired, and reduced to the utmost extremities by starvation, were driven to surrender the castle, upon honourable terms, to the Saracens, who thus removed one very serious source of annoyance and trouble to them out of their way.

Driven thus again from their home in the Holy Land, the Templars next threw themselves with ardour into the attack which was made by them, in union with the Hospitallers, upon the strong and very important fortress of Acre. The siege, one of the most remarkable amongst even those remarkable sieges which the history of the Crusades records, lasted for upwards of two years. During its progress, the besiegers became, in turn, themselves besieged; for after they had encircled the city, and were every day pushing their military engines nearer and nearer to the walls, Saladin gathered an immense host together, and with them surrounded the Christian army, the outer ranks of which had thus to face about; and whilst their inner ranks were still pressing on to the assault of the city, the outer circle had to do their utmost to prevent the Mussulmans from turning the tables upon them, and storming the trenches which they had thrown up to cover their approach to the city.

The struggle was remarkable for many things. During it the Templars exhibited themselves in the somewhat new character of a naval force, their galleys being constantly engaged in blockading the town on its sea-side, and having several very severe encounters with the ships with which Saladin was continually striving to break through the blockading force, and relieve the besieged.

Another remarkable feature of the siege was the great number of the Christian soldiers who, driven to desperation by the sufferings which they had to undergo during the apparently hopeless struggle, deserted to the enemy, renounced their Christian profession, adopted that of the followers of Mahomet, and with the usual enthusiastic energy with which new converts turn upon their old friends, enlisted under the banner of Mahomet, and attacked, both by sea and land, the Christian forces which remained true to their faith and allegiance; so that Saladin was induced grimly to observe that it was most refreshing to him to see how ready the Christian dogs were to devour one another whenever they got the chance.

During the siege, the Grand Master of the Templars died of a pestilence engendered by the number of dead bodies of the slain, which were only very imperfectly buried; and it was only upon the arrival on the scene of the Lion-hearted Richard of England, that at length Acre was forced to surrender, and after being entered by the Templars it became thenceforth, for just one hundred years and to the end of the chapter, so long as the Templars had any foothold in Palestine, the head-quarters of the Order.

It was part of the terms on which Acre capitulated that the prisoners captured by the Christians, over 2,000 in number, should be released upon payment of a heavy ransom, and in exchange for the True Cross, or that principal portion of it that had been captured at the battle of the Lake Tiberias, and had ever since remained in the possession of Saladin. Unfortunately, a doubt (certainly not without some reasonable ground for it) was suggested to Saladin whether the Christians, if they should first get possession of the ransom money and of the Cross, would be ready to perform their part of the bargain by surrendering the prisoners; and Saladin, before doing anything further in the matter, required the Templars to pledge their faith, on which alone he was ready to rely, that the terms of the compact should be honestly observed on the part of the Christians. This pledge the Templars (also, probably, not without good grounds for their refusal) declined to give; and the consequence was that there was a hitch in the progress of the negotiations, which drove King Richard into a fit of fiery impatience and furious indignation, under the influence of which he had all the prisoners marched out and beheaded in the sight of the Saracen camp; and so renounced the hope of recovering the most venerated of all the relics remaining of the Passion of Christ; which indeed was once again, in after times, offered to be given up as the price of a much desired truce, after a heavy defeat of the Mahometans in one of the Egyptian Campaigns, but was then refused: and so this portion of

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the True Cross was lost to Christendom for ever; and what has become of it is now utterly unknown, even to tradition or conjecture.

After the capture of Acre, Richard, with the whole force of the Crusaders, the Templars leading the van, and the Hospitallers bringing up the rear, made his memorable march towards Jerusalem, with the object of recovering the Holy Places, and putting them once more under Christian sovereignty; but a combination of several causes, the desertion of nearly all the troops that had been got together from Western Europe, except the Templars and Hospitallers, the tempestuous and stormy weather, his own bad health, and the similar failure of that of Saladin, the bad news from England about the goings on of his brother John, and other circumstances, all combined to render both the chiefs of the opposing forces desirous of a respite from the further prosecution of the struggle; and at length a treaty of peace was arranged, by virtue of which, although Jerusalem was to remain under the sovereignty of the Sultan, free access to visit the Holy Places without hindrance, or the payment of any tribute, was secured to the Christians, and the strong places held by each party were to remain in the possession of the then holders, whether Saracens or Christians.

This truce set Richard free to start upon that disastrous journey homeward, in which, in the guise, or disguise, of a Templar, whilst passing through the dominions of the Duke of Austria, he was treacherously seized and detained in captivity, until his response to the minstrel Blondel's song disclosed the place of his captivity, and led at length to his release, but only upon payment of an enormous ransom extorted from his unfortunate subjects.

Jerusalem, indeed, was on several occasions after this time for a short period actually in the possession of the Christians; but on only one of those occasions did the Templars resume the occupation of their old home in the D'jamé al Acsa, the Church of St. Mary, built by Justinian within the precincts of the Temple of Solomon. For on the first occasion, in the year 1228, the City was occupied for a very short time only by the Emperor Frederick II., who claimed to be King of Jerusalem in right of his wife Violante, and got possession of the City under a treaty with the Saracens. But he, being at the time under sentence of excommunication by the Pope, was rejected alike by the Templars and the Hospitallers, by whom he was regarded as, on the whole, a worse enemy than the Sultan himself; and so neither of the great Orders attempted to resume possession of their old quarters under the sovereignty of a heathen man and a publican; and the City, after a short period of anarchy and confusion, was again take possession of by the Mahometan forces.

Another occasion on which the Holy City was once more occupied by the Christians was in the year 1241, when, after the usual disagreement between the Templars and Hospitallers as to the policy to be pursued in conducting the campaign, the Templars, despite the opposition of the Brethren of the Hospital, marched into the place, which had been stripped of all its fortifications and means of resistance, and once more re-established it as a Christian city, reconsecrating all the churches, cleansing and purifying the Holy Sepulchre and other sacred places, and re-occupying with great joy and exultation their old quarters.

But this state of things was fated to last but a very short time, for in the year 1244 the Sultan of Egypt, having called in the aid of a horde of wild savages from the interior of Asia, known as Kharismians, very speedily marched through the intervening parts of Palestine, and attacked the Holy City; which, being now entirely defenceless through the destruction of the fortifications, was evacuated by the Christian inhabitants, and given up, without resistance, to the rapine and devastation wrought by these fierce and utterly uncivilized hordes of barbarian invaders.

It was in one of the battles fought with these savages that one of the Templars, an Englishman, though from his name apparently one of a Norman family (Philip d'Argenton), is reported to have performed the astounding, and almost incredible, feat of holding up the Beauséant and sustaining it against the foe after, not only his legs, but *both his arms* had been cut off—a feat which must have surpassed even that of the celebrated warrior in Chevy Chase, that "Widdrington in doleful dumps, who when his legs were cutten off still fought upon his stumps." And it was in another of the fierce battles fought with these same Kharismians, on St. Luke's day, the 18th of October, A.D. 1244, that the two Grand Masters, Armand de Périgord, the Templar, and Pierre de Villebride, the Hospitaller, with nearly all their followers of each Order, were killed on the field.

So, again, in the campaign in Egypt, under the command of St. Louis (Louis IX.), in the battle fought near Damietta, the King stood with the Grand Master of the Temple on his right, and the Grand Master of the Hospitallers on his left; and in the course of the fight, or shortly after it, the Templar, who in a previous engagement had lost one eye, first had the other shot out by an arrow, and then was killed; whilst the Hospitaller, who was amongst the missing, was at first reported to have shared the same fate, but afterwards was found to have been only taken prisoner and put to heavy ransom; and a few days afterwards the unfortunate king himself was caught, and released only upon payment of the enormous ransom of 200,000 golden bezants; nearly the whole of which was raised out of the coffers of the Templars.

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But to recount the exploits of the Templars during the rest of their stay in Palestine, would be only to go through the history of the Crusades in detail, which would be quite impossible in an outline sketch like that which I am attempting to present to you; and I can only touch lightly upon the most remarkable features in their history before we come to the last scene of all with which their wonderful career is brought to its close.

In our own country, indeed, from which a very large proportion of recruits for the Order was drawn, not only Richard, but his immediate successors, John, Henry III., and Edward I., were all great patrons and favourers of the chivalry of the Temple. John often took up his residence with them, especially when he was in serious apprehension for his own personal safety during his contests with his rebellious Barons. Henry III. made them the largest grants of any of the English kings; and it was during his reign, and in his presence and that of his court, that on Ascension-day, in the year 1240, the Church of St. Mary in the Temple at London, was completed by the consecration of the rectangular chancel, which had been added to the original circular nave, erected during the preceding century. Whilst Edward I., before he had succeeded to the throne, joined the Crusaders in Palestine in person, where he received that wound from the poisoned dagger of an "assassin," which gave occasion to the exhibition of that self-devotion of his consort Eleanor, which, to our great advantage as ecclesiologists, was, in after years, commemorated by the erection of the "Eleanor Crosses," some of which still remain as "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever."

One of the most remarkable things to which our attention is drawn by the accounts of the numerous occasions on which Templars and Hospitallers shared a common fate in battle, coupled with the mention of the, at least, equally numerous occasions on which they were to be found in hostile, and sometimes deadly, conflict with each other, is the frightful state of dissension and discord that prevailed during the whole period of the Crusades amongst the different bodies or communities that contributed to make up the army of the church militant in the very place, both city and kingdom, which bore in its name the sound of "*Peace*." It would almost seem that, although when any real fighting was to be done with the common enemy, public spirit and religious enthusiasm were sufficient to bind together the different bodies engaged in the common struggle, yet during the intervals of truce, and what should have been repose and recreation, the spirit of pugnacity was so great as to be quite irrepressible; and so to keep themselves in practice, as it were, they must needs get to quarrelling and fighting between themselves—and so it came to pass that on almost every occasion of importance, when there was any possibility of diversity of opinions, the Templars took one side, and the Hospitallers the other. Thus on all the many occasions which occurred of a disputed succession to the uneasy throne of Jerusalem, the two Orders (although by the constitution of the kingdom the two Grand Masters were joint guardians of the royal person and authority during an interregnum, or the minority of the Sovereign), were found taking opposite sides, and sometimes with such vehemence that they came to blows over the dispute; and still worse when questions as to the rights of property of the respective Orders arose, as they frequently did, the claimants who were out of possession of the disputed territory laid formal siege to the *locus in quo* with the same warlike apparatus, and in the same spirit, as the united bodies would have done to Acre, or Tyre, or Ascalon, had they been trying to wrest them from the Saracens when in their possession. And on one occasion, at least, upon some mere point of honour, or paltry dispute as to precedence, the one Order sent a formal challenge to the other, in pursuance of which a detachment of each met in mortal conflict, *à outrance*, and fought with such ferocity that it is said that of the Templars not one, and of the Hospitallers only two or three, survived the combat. At length, however, these perpetual conflicts were causing so much mischief to the common cause, and so wasting the forces that ought to have been employed solely against the common enemy, that Innocent III., the strongest prelate that ever filled the Papal chair, and the common Superior of both Orders, was compelled to interfere, and read to both of them a severe lecture upon their disgraceful and ruinous conduct, which he commanded them at once to abandon; an admonition which, like some other Papal allocutions of more recent times, was received with the most profound respect, and obeyed in the same way as those modern rescripts have been obeyed by those who "are willing to take their theology from Rome, but altogether decline to accept its ruling in matters of politics."

And so things went on, with fluctuating alternations of success and defeat, but always, upon the balance of the results, progressing on the downward grade, until the beginning of the end began to appear, when a new conqueror on the Mahometan side arose—a more consummate General, and a more determined and vigorous antagonist than any that had commanded the Moslem forces since Saladin.

This General was Bendocdar, a Mameluke Bey, who, after attaining great popularity by achieving some very notable victories on behalf of his master, the Sultan of Egypt, thought it would be better worth his while to reap the fruits of victory for himself, than to bestow them upon another; and so he, with his own hand, killed his sovereign, and got himself elected

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Sultan in his place. Having, then, to a great extent, consolidated and re-united, under his own command, the many fragmentary principalities into which the great empire of Saladin had been divided since his death, Bendocdar proceeded with the greatest vigour, and the most relentless ferocity (flaying alive those commanders of fortresses who refused to capitulate at his first summons, being with him a favourite mode of admonishing the others not to do likewise) to capture and destroy, one after another, the towns, and castles, and fortified places still held by the Christians, and to massacre the inhabitants—men, women, and children alike.

But Bendocdar did not live to complete the work he had begun, and had so far prosecuted with such vigour. He was carried off by poison, administered by his own people. His son, who succeeded him, was immediately deposed, and a successful general—one Kelaoun—elected in his place, who, and whose son and successor, the Sultan Khalil, completed what Bendocdar had left to be done to exterminate the Franks from the whole region of Palestine. Khalil, who was as fierce as Bendocdar himself, after destroying a multitude of the smaller castles and fortified places still held by the Templars and Hospitallers, in the spring of the year 1292 laid siege to Acre, which, since the capture of the place after the fall of Jerusalem, had been the head-quarters of the Knights of the Temple, and latterly of the Knights of St. John also.

The siege, as might be expected, was of the most vigorous character, and was resisted in the most valiant manner by both Orders. But the defence was all in vain. After the exhibition of prodigies of valour on the part of the besieged Templars and Hospitallers, the small remnant of both Orders cut their way through the assailants to their galleys, and made sail for Cyprus, where both Orders were allowed to establish their head-quarters at Limisso, or Limasol, a principal town on the island.

A few of their fortresses in Palestine still remained to fall before the forces of Kelaoun. One of the strongest, and the last to yield of these was one named "The Pilgrims' Castle," which had been erected by the Templars after they had taken up their head-quarters at Acre, upon the road between that city and Jerusalem, for the special purpose of affording a safe resting-place for the pilgrims on their passage between the two cities. It was a fortress of enormous size and strength, the ruins of which still remain to indicate, to some extent, the grandeur of its former state. One of the most remarkable features of the place must have been the church, or chapel, within the walls, which (as well as one can make out from the accounts of some tourists, who were not very familiar with the peculiarities of Mediæval Gothic architecture) seems to have been of a polygonal, rather than of the usual circular form, with projecting chapels surrounding the central decagon, or dodecagon.

But, although deprived of all their fortresses in the land of Palestine, the Templars, by allying themselves with some of the petty princes who had got hold of the fragments into which the Syrian and Egyptian Sultanates had been broken up, contrived still, even whilst their head-quarters were established so far off as Cyprus, to make some spasmodic raids upon the Mahometan possessions; and one gleam of passing sunshine illuminated for a moment the darkness and gloom which since the fall of Acre had settled down upon them and all their doings. It was in the year 1299 that, in conjunction with some large bodies of Mogul Tartars placed under the command of the Grand Master by their Khan, the Templars once more made themselves masters of Jerusalem, now, through the destruction of its fortifications, entirely defenceless; and once more went through their Easter ceremonies at the Holy Sepulchre.

This last occupation of Jerusalem endured but for a very few months: for being deprived by circumstances of the support of their Tartar allies, the Templars were gradually compelled to give up all their recent re-conquests, and ultimately, at the end of the year 1299, to evacuate the Holy Land and retire to Cyprus, where the Grand Master and all his Court had established their final retreat.

This Grand Master, the last of those who were destined to bear that title, was Jacques de Molay, a nobleman of the family of the Lords of Longvie and Raon, in the Province of Burgundy, who had been elected to that office in 1298. Previously to his election as Grand Master he had filled the office of Grand Prior or Preceptor of the English branch of the Order and Master of the Temple in London; and he had been held in such esteem by Philip le Bel, King of France, that he had stood as godfather to one of that King's sons. The sequel of his history, however, was but little in accordance with the favour thus shown him in the earlier part of his career; for it was under his Grand Mastership that the Order over which he presided received its death-blow and final extinction.

It was, no doubt, to a great extent owing to the unpopularity and disfavour both with clerics and laity, and with the mass of all the European populations generally, into which their want of success in preserving or reconquering the possession of the Holy Places had brought the Templars, and especially the anger against their Order with which the heavy taxes and imposts levied for their support, all thrown away without any advantageous result, had inspired clergy and laity alike, that the materials for a fire had been laid ready to blaze up into a devastating flame as soon as a spark was applied to kindle the whole mass.

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That spark was struck out by the joint action of the King of France and the Pope, each of whom had his own reasons for seeking the destruction of the Order. In the summer of the year 1306, the two Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital were invited, or summoned, by Philip to meet him and the Pope, Clement V. (a Frenchman by birth, and a close ally, if not a mere tool, of the French king), at Bordeaux, to consult together on the best steps to be now taken for the recovery of the Holy Land. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers, fortunately for himself, made some excuse, and declined the invitation. De Molay, less fortunate, accepted it. With a small retinue of only sixty of his Knights, he came over to France at the beginning of the year 1307, and was received by Philip with great show of respect and esteem. He remained for several months without any indication of the storm that was about to burst upon him. But in the meantime a terrible conspiracy was being concocted, between Philip and Clement, for the entire destruction of the Order. Informations were obtained from two wretched creatures, one of whom was a former Templar, who had been expelled from the Order for his impiety and dishonesty, and was then confined in prison for his many crimes; the other was a citizen of Bézières, bearing the very ugly name of "Squin de Florian," a man of the vilest character, who was actually lying under sentence of death for his crimes, of which he obtained a remission as the price of the information which he offered to give of the alleged evil-doings of the Templars.

These informations charged the whole Order with the systematic commission of the most frightful crimes, with heresy, blasphemy, apostasy, and the most abominable and unspeakable immorality. In fact, one is very much reminded of the charges brought against the monks by the Commissioners of Henry VIII., when that very zealous guardian of morality, and pious Defender of the Faith sought the ruin and destruction of the Monastic Orders in England.

Armed with these secret informations, Philip le Bel sent private letters to the different Baillis and Commanders of fortified towns throughout the Kingdom to get together, in the most secret manner possible, a sufficient armed force to overcome all resistance on the part of the Templars, and on one particular night, at the same moment throughout all France, to seize all the Templars residing, or to be found within their different Bailiwicks, and put them in close confinement, under a sufficiently strong guard to render all attempts at rescue futile and hopeless.

These directions were carried out to the letter. On the night of the 13th of October, 1306, all the Templars then in France, from which country the largest supply of Members of the Order had always been derived, were seized and committed to prison to await further proceedings against them.

Not content with thus acting against those within his own dominion only, Philip sent letters to all the other European sovereigns, urging them to do the same with those Templars who were residing within their several kingdoms. But his appeal to them was not immediately responded to by all his brother sovereigns in the way that he wished or expected. Amongst others our King Edward II., frivolous and unsteady youth as he was, nevertheless at first made a show of defending the Templars from the charges brought against them. But he was very soon compelled to alter this tone, and assume a strongly hostile position against them upon receiving a sharp letter from the Pope, hinting not obscurely at excommunication or even interdict as the certain consequence of maintaining the cause of deadly heretics, blasphemers, and sorcerers.

The imprisoned Templars within the French King's jurisdiction were forthwith required to confess the truth of the charges made against them, under promise of pardon and release to those who should do so at once, and threats of torture and the severest punishment to those who should refuse to acknowledge their guilt.

It really passes our comprehension to imagine how, for centuries, human beings possessed, some, or even many, of them of some share of reasoning faculties, should have conceived that putting accused persons, or witnesses in their favour, to torture, was a means of extracting truth from the unhappy victims of the process, or anything but a ready admission of everything the admission of which would save them from further suffering which they were unable to endure. However, such was not the view entertained of the use of torture in the fourteenth century, or during many centuries both before and after it; and, accordingly, large numbers of the Templars, who indignantly denied the charges made against them, were subjected to torture of the most cruel and atrocious kinds, such as roasting the soles of their feet until the flesh, and even the bones, dropped off; and to even more horrible torments, in comparison of which the rack and the thumbscrew might almost be termed tender mercies.

Under the infliction of these tortures, several of the victims died at once, without making any of the admissions required of them. Others, under stress of intolerable pain, did utter confessions of guilt in the terms dictated to them by their tormentors. But a great number of these, when once released from the agonies of the torture chamber, only exchanged them for the still greater agonies of conscience, which reproached them for having, through their own desire to escape pain, given utterance to false testimony, which would be used to condemn their more

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resolute companions; and, accordingly, they immediately retracted the confessions they had made under torture, and then were declared to be in the condition of relapsed heretics, and, as such, condemned to be burned alive.

Amongst this latter class was included the unhappy Grand Master, Jacques de Molay himself. Under the stress of torture, he had been led to make admissions of guilt as regarded some of the charges brought against the Order. On the 18th of March, 1313, he, together with three other of the highest officials of the body, the Grand Preceptor of France, the Visitor-General of the Order, and the Grand Preceptor of Aquitaine, were brought forward in chains, and placed upon a scaffold in front of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, that they might publicly avow and ratify the confessions that had been wrung from them by the intolerable pains that had been inflicted upon them during their examination under torture. Two of the number, the Grand Preceptor of Aquitaine and the Visitor-General, renewed in public, when called upon to do so, the avowal they had already made in their dungeon; but De Molay, instead of following their example, advanced to the edge of the scaffold, and there openly revoked the confession he had made, and declared that the only fault of which he was really guilty was that of having been so weak as to allow himself, under the infliction of torture, to admit what was entirely untrue, and to give false testimony against his brethren. In this withdrawal of his former confession he was joined by Guy, the Grand Preceptor of France, and both were immediately remitted to the prison from which they had been taken.

This retractation of their confessions drove the king, Philip, into a frenzy of rage; and, without any further trial or process, either civil or ecclesiastical, he gave orders for the immediate execution of sentence of death by burning of both. And accordingly, at sunset, both were once more brought out from their prison, and upon the well-known island in the Seine, near the foot of what is now the Pont Neuf, they were fastened to the stake, and both burned to death over a slow fire that protracted their torture during a period of lingering agony, to satisfy the demoniacal malice of Philip and his accomplices.

It was when first attached to the stake that, according to some accounts, the Grand Master, after repeating his protestation of the innocence of himself and his Order, uttered a solemn challenge to both King and Pope, within a year and a month to stand with him before the throne of the Almighty Judge of mankind, and there to leave their respective conduct to His judgment and sentence. A challenge which both the accusers were compelled to obey. The Pope, within the time named, died, almost suddenly, of an internal complaint; and, strangely enough, his body, which was being removed for burial, was, on the way, placed in a church which caught fire, and the corpse was, in the conflagration, consumed to ashes. Philip, within the same time, was smitten with an obscure disease, which terminated in his death, and he sunk under a load of bodily pain and torment, of domestic trouble, and political disturbance, that rendered his sufferings during his last days almost as agonizing as those he had inflicted on the unfortunate Templars.

So perished the last of the Grand Masters of this renowned Order. The Order itself, however, had been abolished, and its possessions confiscated, a year before the death of the unfortunate De Molay. In October of the year 1311, a General Council was held at Vienne, near Lyons, under the presidency of the Pope, Clement V., at which the confessions, extorted by the means which I have before referred to, were publicly read out before the members of the Council. A few Templars presented themselves, and demanded to be heard on behalf of themselves and their brethren; but their claim to defend themselves and the Order was at once stifled by committing them to prison, from whence their voices were not allowed to reach the members of the Council. Still, the majority of those members objected to pronouncing a decree of condemnation without hearing what was to be said in defence of the accused; and as it seemed likely that the protests of the majority of the assembled prelates, if the opinion of the Council were formally demanded, would prevent the passing of the sentence which the King and the Pope had summoned the assembly to pronounce, Clement determined to give the Council the go-by in the matter; and on his own authority merely, without expressing it to be with the advice or concurrence of the Council, on the 22nd of March, 1312, published an ordinance, whereby the Order of the Chivalry of the Temple was finally and for ever abolished; and all their possessions, subject to a charge of 200,000 gold crowns, which were assigned to Philip, to re-pay the expenses he had been put to in the prosecution of the condemned, were directed to be handed over to the rival Order of the Knights Hospitallers, who had just two years before made themselves masters of the Island of Rhodes, where they were erecting fortifications of great extent, and gave good reason to believe that it would be dangerous for any Pope, Prelate, or Sovereign to interfere with them, or attempt, on any pretext whatever, to deprive them of their property.

This decree, it appears, was read out to the assembled Council, but it was not allowed to be discussed, or voted on; and it was merely formally published in this manner so as to give it the appearance, though it had not the substance, of a regular conciliar judgment.

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In the meantime, the persecution against the Templars in other countries than France had proceeded with very different measures of success. In Germany, Spain, and Portugal, although the ruling powers could not ignore the Papal decree abolishing the Order, they refused to inflict capital or any other punishment upon the members of the disbanded community within their jurisdiction. In Germany, many of the *ci-devant* Templars became absorbed into the third of the Great Monastic-Military Orders that had been instituted for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land—the "Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem," or "German Knights of the Cross." In Spain, the lands and treasures of the Templars were transferred to the Order of the "Knights of our Lady of Montesa," in which body nearly all the surviving members of the Order in Spain procured themselves to be enrolled, whilst in Portugal they only changed their name, and under the style of "Knights of the Order of Christ" continued to maintain their old organization, and devoted themselves to carrying on the work of fighting against the Moors and other Mahometan and Pagan races, whether in their own country or in any other, where the opportunity of such conflict might present itself.

In England, however, it was not so: Edward II. was, from various causes, completely under the influence of both the King of France and the Pope; and after the failure of his first remonstrance in favour of the Order, he simply became the tool in the hands of Philip and Clement to carry out their dictates. The Templars in England, accordingly, were subjected to very much the same treatment as those in France, except that, although committed to close prison, starved, put to the torture, and subjected to all kinds of privations, it does not appear that any of them were burnt alive, or, except as the result of their cruel treatment, actually made to suffer capital punishment. The last Grand Preceptor of England, and Master of the Temple in London, William de la More, after suffering a long and lingering solitary imprisonment in a foul and loathsome dungeon in the Tower, at last died of his rigorous treatment; but to the very end he maintained the innocence of his Order of the charges laid against them.

Those charges were so monstrous and extravagant in themselves, many of them so grotesque and absurd, and all of them advanced upon such utterly untrustworthy evidence, that it is difficult to believe in the truth of any of them.

The various "processes," however, or records of their trials, or the proceedings against them, have been carefully examined in recent times by Michelet and others; and the impression left upon their minds after such examination seems to be that, after making every allowance in favour of the accused, still there could not have been so much smoke without some fire to account for it; and that, although possibly and probably admitting of explanation, some at least of the facts alleged and testified to by numerous witnesses, individually untrustworthy, but carrying weight by their numbers, may or must have been true.

Amongst those charges which had the largest amount of testimony in support of them was the allegation that it formed part of the ceremonies of initiation into the Order, that the neophyte was required to deny Christ, to spit and trample upon the Crucifix, and to utter blasphemies against our Blessed Lord and His Virgin Mother. This charge was so often reiterated in the various depositions, that it cannot but be supposed that there must have been some truth in the allegation. But it has with, I think, great probability, been suggested that the meaning and explanation of this practice was that, in analogy to the oldest form of the Baptismal rite which commenced with the exorcism of the Evil Spirit, as a preliminary to the admission of the Candidate into the Communion of the faithful by baptism, so the candidate for admission into the Order of the Chivalry of the Temple was required to present himself first in the character of an utter Pagan and infidel, the enemy of Christ and His Holy Mother, who was to be reformed into a pious, God-fearing, and stalwart soldier of Christ by taking upon him the vows, and obtaining admission to the privileges of the venerable and illustrious Order of "The poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ."

Another charge which was very seriously pressed against them, especially by their clerical adversaries, admits of a more ready explanation. It was charged against them that the Grand Master and the several Grand Preceptors and Grand Priors, were in the habit, although only laymen, of impiously pronouncing absolution from their sins upon the Brethren of the Order on their confession. It was admitted by the accused that the Superiors of the Order did, in fact, pronounce a form of Absolution from their offences in the case of their erring brethren. But it was, even at the time, explained over and over again that the Absolution so pronounced was not, and never pretended to be, a Sacramental Absolution, or an equivalent for the Absolution pronounced by a priest in the confessional. It was, and it professed to be, only a pardon and remission of the special penalties which, under the rules and constitution of the Order, were attached to breaches of its discipline, or special ordinances; but it left these offences, so far as they were sins or violations of Ecclesiastical order, to be dealt with by the chaplains or other priests in the same way as they would, in the exercise of their office, have to deal with them without regard to their being contrary to the special requirements of the "Regula Templariorum."

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The charge of witchcraft, sorcery, and magic, one can well believe may have originated from, and certainly may have been greatly encouraged by, the Templars themselves, who well knew what an influence over the minds and feelings of the people they would acquire from the belief that they were possessed of the awful and mysterious powers with which they were credited. But as to the details of the charge, the worship of an idol of hideous form with flaming eyes (possibly a mummy with its case brought from Egypt, and set up as a curiosity in some dark recess in their home), the anointing of this idol with the fat of roasted babies, the offspring of illicit amours between the Templars and the demons in the guise of beautiful women, who joined them in their orgies, the visits of Satan himself in the shape of a black cat, the brazen head that gave forth oracles of unholy wisdom, by which they guided their conduct—all these and a hundred other details of a similar character, which were testified to by scores of persons, who solemnly swore that they had been eye-witnesses of these enormities, will hardly find anyone in these days to give that credence to them which, upon *à priori* grounds, was almost universally accorded to them in the fourteenth century.

That they did, in their later days, make alliances with the followers of Mahomet and other infidel powers, was perfectly true. It was the only course by which they could hope, by setting one section of the Moslem forces against another, and so preventing the Empire of the East from being again unified and consolidated, to recover Jerusalem itself, or any of their lost conquests. But in entering into these alliances, they never gave up for a moment their own position as the special supporters of the Christian Faith, or made the slightest approach towards joining in the cry of their coadjutors in their military enterprises that "Mahomet is the Prophet of God"

In short, the heaviest charge against the Templars, and that which was the principal cause of their destruction, was the immense wealth which they possessed, which, at the same time, excited the cupidity of the sovereigns like Philip le Bel, who thought to acquire the possession of it for themselves, and the jealousy and anger of the people, clerical as well as lay, from whom that wealth had been extorted by repeated exactions, and so-called voluntary, but really compulsory, donations, which had all been thrown away upon expeditions which had never produced any return for the cost bestowed upon them. As there is nothing that succeeds like success, so is there nothing that fails so completely as failure.

Notwithstanding the decree of the Pope promulgated at, rather than passed by, the Council of Vienne, the possessions of the Templars in England were not at first handed over, in accordance with that decree, to the Hospitallers. Edward, when called upon to carry out the decree, replied that, according to the law of England, by which he was, of course, bound, land and other possessions could not be transferred from the rightful owners without the consent of Parliament, and, according to the law of England, the property which had been granted to a community which had become extinct, for purposes which had failed, reverted to the original donors, if living, or to their representatives if dead; and numerous claims on this footing had been made and allowed to the derelict possessions, late of the Templars; and, in accordance with this principle, the Temple in London, with all its buildings, gardens, grounds, and appurtenances, was at first made over to Aylmer de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke. By him it was transferred to the Earl of Lancaster, in exchange for another estate. But, upon his attainder, it reverted to the Crown, and was afterwards granted, forfeited, and re-granted several times over. But all this was more than Papal blood could stand, and after some very severe threats of excommunication and interdict, Edward was compelled to procure an Act of Parliament to be passed vesting the property of the Templars in the Hospitallers. In the meantime, however, a lease had been granted by Lancaster of the site and buildings of the Temple in London to the professors and students of the law; and as the Hospitallers were willing to adopt and confirm this lease, what passed to them by the concession in respect of the property was only the reversion expectant upon that lease, with the benefits reserved to the landlords during its currency. On the suppression of the Hospitallers in England, in A.D. 1540, the reversion was again annexed to the Crown. During the reign of Mary the Order of the Hospitallers in England was resuscitated for a short time, and their possessions restored to them. But upon the accession of Elizabeth an Act was passed by which that Order was again abolished, and their possessions finally vested in the Crown. Ultimately, in the year 1609, James I. was prevailed upon to grant the reversion then vested in him to the lessees who then held the property under the lease for the use of the professors and students of the law, with whom it remains to this day, and who thus fulfil the prophecy or command that might, with some degree of appropriateness, be adopted as the common motto of the Middle and Inner Temples—"*Cedant Arma Togæ.*"

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THE RITUAL OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

In April, 1883, I read a paper to the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society in which I tried to show what are the principles upon which good English ritual should be based, and that from neglect of them the ritual of our churches, and especially of those where a high ritual is practised, is generally very bad. That paper was printed twice, and I received many letters about it, both from friends and strangers, which showed that there are many laymen who are dissatisfied with the ritual now used, and many priests who would be glad to use a better if some one would teach them it. They generally asked to be referred to some book that would guide them right. Unfortunately I do not know any such book. If I did there would have been no need for my paper. The pamphlet called *Ritual Conformity*, put forth a few years ago by a Committee of which Mr. Berdmore Compton was Chairman, is an excellent comment on the rubrics of the Prayer Book, and a careful reading of it is enough to convince any thinking man of the badness of many modern practices. But it is not a directory, and so far as I know none that should be used exists. There are many manuals of ritual, and some are written by well-learned men; but their object is not to set forth our English service in the most noble and impressive manner of which it is capable, but to make it resemble, as much as they can, some foreign or obsolete service of a different form. The books are used for lack of better, even by men who admit that they are altogether wrong in their aim, and who do not follow them in their wildest extravagances. But there are men who take them for authorities, to be obeyed even though it be in defiance of the Prayer Book itself. Thus they do great harm by setting up an *unreasonable* service, which is repulsive to reasonable men, and by making weak places open to the attack of the Church's enemies, whether Papist or Protestant. I believe that if no more be done common sense will prevail at last, and the worst of the bad ritual will be given up, and a tradition will be formed good enough for working purposes. But this will take time, and meanwhile much mischief is being done. And at the best, a ritual tradition, which has been allowed to grow up wild, can not be so good as one that has been well cultivated. There is danger that some things will be kept which it would be better to leave, and it is certain that much will be lost that it would be better to keep. It is, therefore, a good work to try and train the growing tradition into good lines. And that is my excuse for bringing the matter before you again to-night.

I am not putting forth a directory. I have sometimes been asked to do that, but have refused for several reasons, and, chiefly, because it is impossible that the finally acceptable scheme of ritual can be drawn up by any one, and least of all by a layman, sitting at his desk with a pen in his hand. Every point must be tried by use, and only after that can it be recommended for general adoption. I only suggest lines upon which the trial may be made. If it be objected that my suggestions are strange, I answer that at least they are not more strange than the practices which have been adopted at some churches. And I claim for them that they are in harmony with the letter and spirit of the Book of Common Prayer, which the others often contradict. I am prepared to be called *eclectic* by those who hold eclecticism to be the unpardonable sin. And, if to refuse the evil and to choose the good is to be eclectic, then I am well content to be eclectic.

He who would guide the ritual of the future must needs know something of that of the past; and in this respect some of the directory-makers have not been wanting. What I complain of in them is that they altogether overlook the fact that ritual is an art. They try to make up a ritual, just at a bad architect tries to make a design, by patching together bits of what has been done before, without respect to their relations one with another, or to their fitness for what they have to do in their new places. A house so designed can not be either beautiful or convenient, nor can a ritual be either stately or edifying.

Where our service is still the same as it was in the Middle Ages it is likely that the ritual then used with it, which was the result of many centuries of experience, may still be the best.

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But even this does not necessarily follow; for the use of the mother tongue in the service, whereby all the people are made to take an intelligent part in it, has so altered the conditions, that what may have been a very good usage then may chance to be a bad one now.

Let us trace the pedigree of the service as we now have it. Up to the year 1548, the old service, according to the use of Sarum, continued in use. In that year Communion in both kinds was restored, and some additions in English were made to the service. But the greater part of it continued to be in Latin, and it was explicitly ordered that it was to be performed "without varying of any other rite or ceremony of the Mass," except such as were directed with respect to the new additions. This it should be remembered was done "by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward the Sixth," and is therefore important in view of the rubric in our present Prayer Book, which orders the retention and use of all ornaments retained by that authority at that date. My subject is not the lawfulness of any particular ritual, but I mention this matter here to meet objections which may possibly be raised to some of the proposals which I have to make further on. I have been very careful not to propose the use of any ornament which can not be proved to have been in use at the time in question. And whereas the rubric speaks not only of the retention of the ornaments, but by the words "at all times of their ministration," implies that they are to be used at the same time as they were before, I have endeavoured to keep them so wherever the present structure of the service will allow it. And for the rest I have tried to make only such changes as will correspond to the changes already made in the service itself.

In the third year of Edward VI. there was put forth the first of the two Prayer Books that go by his name. In it the order for Holy Communion is made up of the same parts and arranged in the same way as the old Latin service, and the old ornaments are ordered to be used. It was therefore possible to keep on the traditional ritual; and we know that this was done, sometimes even in very minute details. But the party then in power were striving hard to cut the English Church adrift from her ancient traditions, and they did all they could by fair means and foul to stop the ancient usages, and to bring in new, of their own devising or copied from those of foreign Protestant bodies. They went so far as to forbid even what was plainly ordered in the Prayer Book lately issued, and in 1552 they published a book of their own to supersede it. This book, though it was unlawfully forced upon the Church and only used for a few months, is important on account of the share it had in the forming of our present book. We owe to it our chief difficulties in the adaptation of ancient ritual to modern use. The service in the Second Book contains much of the matter of that in the First, but it is arranged in a new order so as to make the old way of using it impossible. There is no doubt that this was done on purpose, and the directions given in the book show plainly that the intention of the authors was to depart as far as they dared from ancient use. The altar was done away with, and a board on trestles set amongst the people to serve instead, and ornaments ordered to be used in the First Book were forbidden in the Second. The essentials of a valid service remained indeed, but the surroundings were made bare almost to indecency.

They who had done this meant, when men's minds were sufficiently unsettled, to do still more, and if they had continued in power they would have reduced the English Church to a Zwinglian sect. But the death of the king fortunately put an end to their career.

Then came the reign of Mary, and with it not merely a return to the ancient state of things but a formal acknowledgment of the claims of the see of Rome, which England had never made before. Real reformers, such as Stephen Gardner and Cuthbert Tunstal, joined in this, being convinced by what they had seen and suffered in Edward's time that there was no other way of saving the Church. And indeed it did save it; for though the English Church has often since passed through perilous times, and has again and again suffered from the unfaithfulness of its rulers, it has never been so near destruction as it was in the last year of Edward VI.

The accession of Elizabeth did not put things back as they had been at Edward's death. Her position compelled her to seek the support of the Genevan party, and the highest offices in the Church were filled by them. But some of the worst of them were dead and others had committed themselves to political opinions which could not be tolerated here, and so had to remain in exile. The other side was also strong enough to make itself felt. And instead of further descent below the level of Edward's Second Book, the story henceforth becomes one of rise above it.

The form of the Second Book was kept, but the ornaments of the older days were ordered to be retained, and then, for the first time, the second year of Edward VI., the year before the appearance of the first English Prayer Book, when the old Latin Service, after the use of Salisbury, was still the law of the land, was named as the date which was to fix the standard for future use. And so there arose the same difficulty as now. The old ornaments were to be used, which implied some ritual in the using; but the order of the service was new, and the old ritual would not fit it. We have not the means of knowing exactly what was done, but, as every church then possessed the ornaments in question, there can be little doubt that in many

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places they were used for a time, after some fashion, with the new service book. The bishops, however, set themselves against the ornaments, disregarding the law which ordered them, and by their own authority enforcing their disuse and destruction. It is difficult now to say how soon or how far they succeeded. But we know that before the end of the century they had brought down the character of the service to something very like what it was at Edward VI.'s death. Some old observances may have been kept up in some places, but they were the exceptions, though they may have served to keep alive the tradition until the revival came, as it did early in the seventeenth century. At that time churches were repaired and adorned, and the services better cared for, and the bishops, no longer of the Genevan faction, were amongst the chief advancers of the reform. But a new power had meanwhile grown up, which was destined greatly to influence the history of the English Church. The Puritans were enemies of Church order and depravers of Church doctrine, but they accepted Church preferment, and, openly defying the law themselves, they, with a brazen effrontery which we have seen repeated in our own times, clamoured for the punishment and ruin of better men for the offence of honestly trying to obey the law. The railing accusation brought against the "scandalous malignant priest" was, perhaps, more sonorous, but neither more honest nor more polite than that which has lately been hurled at the "lawless Ritualist."

I think that the Puritans were not, at any time, the most numerous party in the country, but they were the most noisy, and the most active, and they were helped by many who cared little for their religious opinions, but who opposed the Church as part of their opposition to all then ruling authorities. With their aid the Puritans were strong, and for a time they overthrew both Church and Realm. But their triumph opened men's eyes, and after a few years Church and King were restored with the almost unanimous consent of the nation. The Puritans never rose to credit again as a party; but they had succeeded in so leavening the national mind with some of their ideas, that even now we are only at what seems to be the beginning of the end of the great struggle which began in Queen Elizabeth's days.

As a strict obedience to the orders of the Prayer Book has been general at no time since the Genevan bishops first led the way to lawlessness, the history of the book tells us little of the history of the manner of using the book. And it is only by casual references to it that we can find out what it was at any particular date. I wish some one who has leisure would gather and classify them. They would reveal a state of things which, I think, would astonish some of us.

In the days of Charles I., the manner of conducting the services differed in different churches even more widely than it does to-day. On one side, there were churches where no altar was seen, not even a surplice used, and where the service was mangled and said any way or not at all. On the other side, there is evidence that all the "six points" of recent controversy were then in use. Some of them were used differently from what an exact following of the rubric would have required, which no doubt partly came, as some modern mistakes do, from want of proper liturgical study; but there was also then a curious tendency to adopt details from the ritual of the Eastern Church, which has not received much attention.

At the Restoration all was chaos. The church buildings were in the hands of sectaries of different sorts, who had worked their wills upon them. The first task was to put matters upon a legal footing, and great care was taken about this. It may be disputed of many things done in the century before, whether they were lawfully done or not. But there can be no doubt as to the settlement of 1662, which had every sanction that the formal acts of Church and State could give it. And under this settlement we still live. It included a new revision of the Prayer Book, which brought it into its present form. The changes made were not very great, and are for the most part improvements. The order of the service is as in Edward's Second Book, but the rubic ordering the ornaments of his second year was again enacted. It can be shown that this was not done by accident, and is not a mere repetition of what was in the earlier book, without thought as to its meaning.[1] The revisers knew perfectly well what they were doing, and we must give our highest admiration to the far-seeing faith of those good men, who, looking beyond the difficulties of their own time, sowed seed which is now bringing forth glorious fruit after lying dormant and almost forgotten for two centuries.

A very important general advance was made at the Restoration, and the average condition of churches was much better than it was at the breaking out of the Civil War. We hear no more of the worst forms of Puritan profanity: the altars were put back and fenced in, and the surplice was everywhere used. A general level of decency was reached, and something more was attempted in cathedrals and some collegiate churches, where regular choral services were kept up, copes used at the altar, and sometimes incense. The later history is one of gradual decay, due more to carelessness than to any wish for change. And I need not attempt to follow it in detail. You all know the state into which the services had sunk in the middle of this century.

[1] But even if it had been so, its legal force would have been the same.

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Things are much amended now, but a few examples of the old style still survive to show what it was like.

We have seen in this slight sketch that the rule of the Church as to ornaments has been clear enough, but that for some three hundred years it has never been generally obeyed. Now we are trying to obey it. The times we live in are the most important in the history of the English Church since she recovered her lost rights in 1662. It is a time which posterity will look back to as the beginning of a new life. Churchmen, no longer content with a dull tradition, now seek their whole birthright, and they will get it, but much depends on their power to use it well. We are, as I said before, now making the traditions which will rule the English Church, and the Church of all the English race, for centuries yet to come. And it is surely worth our while to try and make what we must pass on as good as we can.

It is the first necessity of a reasonable ritual that it add point and dignity to the service which it has to clothe, and our difficulty is that the form provided for us differs in its order from that in use at the time to which we are referred for the ornaments, the use of which makes a great part of the ritual. There can be no doubt what the ornaments in question were, and the rubric implies that they are to be used now as they were then; and in a broad way this is done; but there are many details, the right ruling of which is necessary to the well going of the service, and which can not be settled without that exercise of the faculties of reason and taste which the pedants are pleased to condemn as eclecticism. There are parts in our service which are not in the older, and yet which need to be brought out in the best way; and there were points in the old ritual which belonged to passages not in our service, and the use of which now does but cumber it. Again, there are parts—and they amongst the most important—which are in both services, but which are arranged so differently that the old manner of using them is quite out of keeping now.

When the new service and the old ritual are discordant there ought to be no doubt that it is the ritual which should give way. But the directory-makers have generally thought otherwise, and have taken great liberties with the service, transposing, omitting, and especially adding long passages, some of them particularly objectionable because the use of them implies a doubt as to the validity of the form in the Prayer Book.

The text of the service ought not to be tampered with. The priest may use private prayers, if they do not interfere with his ministry, but he must remember that he is the people's minister, and therefore has not the same liberty that they have. The priest need concern himself only with what is in the book. But there is a custom handed on to us from our fathers, and used by all, of adding hymns and anthems, and such matters, which belong to the choir and people only. The omission of such from the book comes of its having been drawn up for use chiefly at plain services. It contains all that is wanted for them, and it was not even until our own time possible for ordinary parish churches to keep up any other. The parson and clerk duet came down to us by tradition from times when often none in a parish but the parson and the clerk could read the service. English or Latin made little difference in this matter. Now with an English service, which everybody can read, it is easy to do what was impossible then, and even little country churches have their choirs, and keep up song services, at least on Sundays. This alone makes the conditions so greatly different from the old, that if the old services had come down to us unchanged in all else, some modification of the manner of using them must have been made to meet it. The change that has been made has been to increase the people's share in the service by the introduction of hymns and anthems in different parts of it, and, if these be rightly managed they are most useful additions.

Anthems are ordered to be sung before the psalms on Easter morning, and suggested, rather than ordered, after the collects at mattins and evensong daily. We are left free in the selection of the last, and for any beyond these equally free as to the places in which to use them. We are not bound to use the old hymns and anthems which are not in the technical sense "ornaments" of the church, but we are free to do so if we like, and if any will, I make no objection, so long as they do not sing nonsense or bad English. But I must protest against the harsh translations that are sometimes used. The Book of Common Prayer contains some of the finest English ever written, and if we supplement it at all we ought, at least, to try to be in literary harmony with it. Yet often has one heard even the familiar words of a psalm travestied into a horrible creaking sentence taken from the Latin, when there is a right good and euphonious version ready to hand in the Prayer Book itself.

Most congregations, however, get on better with metrical hymns than with the verses and responds of the ancient fashion, and that is, I think, a sufficient reason for using hymns for introits and such like. Care is necessary in the selection, and the more so because of the great quantity of rubbish in the popular hymn books.[1] But there are good hymns, and a well-chosen

[1] People are strangely careless about the meanings of the hymns they sing. Some of the oftenest used, as for example that called *Pilgrims of the Night*, appear to have no meaning at all. And there are worse faults. Last

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one is as good a prelude to the service as an anthem of the old sort; or a chanted psalm may do for an introit, as was ordered in the Prayer Book of 1549. There is no reason why in matters that we are free to choose about, the use in all churches should be the same. Though I think it is not well to vary much the use of the same church.

I will now go on to what is the main object of my paper, viz., my suggestions for the solemn presentment and ritual clothing of our Prayer Book service, again reminding you that I am not putting forth a directory. There are many details which a directory ought to lay down which I must now pass over, and all I attempt to do is to give some hints which may be useful when a proper directory is drawn up. I also would have it understood that I do not want to see such a service as I am going to describe used in every church. I have supposed myself to be dealing with a well-appointed town parish church, with a sufficient staff of clergy. Churches with fewer advantages must have a simpler service, though the spirit of all may be the same.

I have worked a good deal from the ornaments, because their use is explicitly ordered; and by determining what is the proper way to use them, a good deal of the ritual is settled. I have tried to bring in all the ornaments which I know to be in use in English churches now, and were so in the second year of King Edward VI. Indeed, I believe I have mentioned in this and my former paper all the ornaments which were used about the altar in an ordinary English parish church at that time except the holy water vat, the holy bread skep, and the paxbrede. The holy water vat properly belongs to the procession before the Celebration, and not to the Celebration itself; the holy bread skep was a basket or tray in which bread was blessed at the end of the service and distributed to the congregation. This blessing and distribution of bread during or after the service is of primitive antiquity, and we may well regret that we have lost it. But it can not be restored now, because Protestants, whom we wish to teach and win to the Church, would confound the bread so distributed with the Sacrament, as they do when they see it in France, the only Western country, I believe, which still keeps it. The paxbrede was not one of the most ancient ornaments, though the kiss of peace, for which it was used, was a primitive custom. If used at all, it should be before the Communion, and no place for it is provided in the service, nor could it well be introduced without causing confusion. I think these are sufficient reasons for not trying to restore it.

I will suppose the Celebration to follow after Mattins, which is now the most usual plan. If it followed after the Litany or a procession, the beginning would be rather different, as the clergy would not have to leave the church to vest. But it will be most convenient now not to treat of variations, so I will only call attention to an excellent paper on the right use of the Litany, by my old friend, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, of Denstone College, in which the history and meaning of that rather neglected form of devotion are well explained.

Mattins being done, let the priest and ministers withdraw to the vestry, and there vest for the Celebration, and say any private preparation which they think right. The preparation to be said in the church is provided in the Prayer Book, and none other should be said in the presence of the congregation. Meanwhile let the choir begin a hymn, psalm, or anthem, as may be appointed, for the introit, and all things being ready, let the priest and ministers enter the choir in such time that they may be in their places ready to begin the service when the introit is ended. This is the ancient order of entering:—First the clerk with the cross, then two boys with lighted tapers, then the thurifer, followed by the epistoler, the gospeller, and last the priest. By a very old custom, which might well be followed now, the gospeller brought in the Gospel Book at the beginning of the service.

On entering the presbytery let all bow to the altar and remain below the altar step until the choir have done singing the introit, the priest being in the middle next the step, with the gospeller on his right, and the epistoler on his left, the other ministers being in a row behind them. And here it should be noted that however plain the service be, if there be one or two priests or deacons present besides him who celebrates, they should always be with him and minister to him, and if there be only one, he should do the office of the epistoler as well as that of the gospeller, his standing-place being that of the gospeller.

The ancient custom was to say the preparation below the altar step, and in the book of 1549, the same was ordered. The *Our Father*, and the collect *Almighty God, to whom all hearts be open*, then, as still, appointed for the preparation, were to be said "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," and only after the *Kyrie* is the priest spoken of as "standing at God's board." The order in the present book is for "The priest, standing at the north side of the table," to say the preparation. This order is a survival from the book of 1552, and its meaning has changed since the altar has been put back everywhere into its old position. It is but a small matter, but, the order being there, it ought to be obeyed. And I think it

Ascensiontide I heard at St. Alban's, Holborn, of all places in the world, a line in a hymn which was flatly heretical, and which needed no more than a Board School knowledge of the meaning of English words to detect it as such. Yet folks sang it out lustily and with a good courage, and I doubt not the clergy will select that hymn again as they have done often before.

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may properly be done, and the spirit of the old ritual kept at the same time, if the priest say his preparation "standing humbly" at the north side, but still remaining below the step of the altar. This position was, indeed, chosen for the preparation in some places in ancient times. The monks of the Charterhouse use it to this day, and their ritual is said to preserve that of the diocese of Grenoble in the twelfth century. I would therefore say, let the priest, standing below the altar step on the north side, and facing towards the altar, say the *Our Father* and the preparatory collect, the gospeller and epistoler attending him on the right and left, and the other ministers remaining as before.

In 1549 this preparation was said privately by the priest during the singing of the introit, and the lawfulness of so using it now might be argued, but the present custom of saying it in the hearing of the people seems to be better, and therefore to be kept.

"Then shall the priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly the ten commandments." It has been well remarked that the commandments, as they stand in the Prayer Book, with the people's answer to each, form a *Kyrie cum farsura*, as the old saying was. Let the priest in rehearsing them, turn round to the people, the gospeller and epistoler turning with him, as they ought always to do when he turns to the people. And seeing that sometimes a man may get confused as to the order of the commandments, it would be a reasonable precaution if the epistoler were to hold a tablet or card, from which they might be read, or even to have them hung or painted up on the wall somewhere within view.

When the last commandment is said, let the priest, with the gospeller and epistoler, return to the middle of the altar step, and thence ascend to the altar, bowing as they approach it, and let the clerk lay aside the cross against the north wall of the presbytery,[1] and the taper bearers set down their candlesticks on the altar step, and retire into the choir. Meanwhile, let the gospeller lay the gospel book, which so far he has held, upon the altar, and make ready to minister to the priest in censing the altar.

According to ancient precedent, the altar ought not to be censed at the first entry into the church, but after the preparation has been said, when first the clergy should approach it. Formerly it might be done during the singing of the *Kyrie*, but as the priest has now to rehearse the commandments, he is not free until after the last has been said.

Let the priest cense the altar after the old manner; first in the midst, then on the right hand, and then on the left, and again in the midst: and afterwards let the priest himself be censed by the gospeller. This done, let the thurifer take back the censer into the vestry.

I think it will be best that all lay-servers leave the presbytery when they are not engaged in it. The clerk, who should not be a boy, may look after them, and see that they be ready to perform their ministry, and the eastern places of the lower row in the choir may be kept for them as they were of old. After the sermon the clerk's place may be by the credence.

After the priest has been censed, let him go to the south side of the altar—the gospeller and epistoler standing behind him each on his own step—and there let him say one of the collects for the king, followed by those for the day and season.

In the old service the collect was said at the south, and if the preparation be said below the altar step, it is as convenient to go to the south for the collect as to the north, and therefore I think the old rule should be followed. But if the preparation is said at the altar, and the collects follow at once after it, there does not appear to be sufficient reason for crossing to the south for them, so all up to the epistle should be said at the north.

I see no reason why a man should trouble himself about the number of the collects, whether it be odd or even, and so would have him say just those that belong properly to the time and occasion without regard to their number.

The collects ended, let the epistoler read the epistle standing on the south side of the presbytery, and turning towards the people, the priest and gospeller meanwhile sitting in the seats provided for them, or else standing in their places before the altar and turning to the reader.

In the old service when it was solemnly sang certain anthems were always used after the epistle. In the book of 1549 they were forbidden, more, it may be, because suitable English words had not been provided for them, and it was not thought well to allow the use of the old Latin words, than from any objection to the singing itself. Our present book does not forbid it, and I think it may properly be used. And if the old style is kept in one place rather than another, this perhaps is the one; and where the choirs are able to sing them, the old grail, *Alleluia* and sequence, or tract, according to the time may well be revived. But with most choirs it will be better to use a hymn only. Call it sequence if you will, though the word has not much meaning when the *Alleluia* is not sung.

[1] This place for the cross when not in use is ancient and convenient. It is now often hooked to the end of a desk in the choir, where it is too much in view, and is not convenient except where the cross is only carried as a verge in front of the choir as they come in and leave.

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During the singing the priest may remain seated, and the gospeller and epistoler with him until near the end when they make themselves ready for the singing of the gospel.

At the last verse of the hymn, or towards the end of whatever else may be sung after the epistle, let the thurifer fetch the censer from the vestry, and the taper bearers return to the step, where they set down their candlesticks, and, taking them up, stand there ready to attend the gospeller.

This is the manner of singing the gospel according to the old directions. First the gospeller taking the censer, censed the altar in the midst only, which I believe meant that he censed the gospel book lying upon the altar. Then he took up the book and received the priest's blessing, and carried the book himself to the place of reading, the taper bearers, thurifer, and epistler going before him in order, and, if it were a feast, the clerk with the cross going first. The place of reading in a parish church was always the north side of the presbytery. In choirs the epistle and gospel were, at certain times, sung in the *pulpitum* or loft at the west end of the choir, but it was never done in the rood loft of a parish church. When he reached the place the gospeller gave the book[1] to the epistoler to hold, or laid it upon the lectern if there was one. The taper bearers stood right and left of the gospeller, and the thurifer behind him. If the cross was carried it was held at the left hand of the epistoler. All stood facing the reader.

This is not so elaborate in working as it may seem in description, and as it fits well with our service it may well be followed, care being taken that the reader so turn as to be heard by the people. Then let the gospeller announce the passage to be read as is directed in the Prayer Book, and the people answer, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, all turning to the altar. It is curious that this ancient respond, which was left out of the Prayer Book in 1552, has continued in use by tradition ever since. The answer, *Thanks be to thee, O Lord*, can be traced to the seventeenth century. The traditional use of it existed in some churches up to the days of the revival, but it was not general as that of the first respond was.[2]

When the gospel was ended the reader used to kiss the book, and then carry it back to the altar, the others going before him as before, and after the creed was begun he censed the priest, and the epistoler presented him the gospel book to be kissed, after which the whole choir was censed, each man separately according to his degree, and the book offered to each. Such at least was the use at Sarum in the twelfth century, and if the rubrics were obeyed it continued so in the Northern Province so long as the York Mass-book was kept. But the later Sarum rubrics show that in the fifteenth century the censing of the choir was done after the offertory as is the modern Roman custom. In my former paper I mentioned this general censing as an old ceremony which I think it is best not to revive now. It has no teaching value—though the kissing of the book may have—and it does not add to the dignity of the service. On the contrary, it makes a great deal of aimless fuss which is distracting and therefore evil. Perhaps there would be no harm in recognising the old use of incense at this place by allowing the thurifer to remain before the altar at the lowest step till the creed is sung through. But, I think, it would be better for all lay servers to leave the presbytery before the creed, and I would have the taper bearers then take away their candlesticks into the vestry.

The creed should be begun by the priest standing in the midst of the altar with the gospeller on his right and the epistoler on his left, and there it is best for them to remain until it is all sung through by the choir. But if perchance the music be very long they may perhaps be allowed to sit down. I think, however, that such music is not conducive to devotion, and that it is better not to use it. The custom of the clergy saying parts of the service privately, and then waiting till the choir has sung them, is contrary to the spirit of the Prayer Book, one great and peculiar merit of which is, that by the right use of it priest, choir, and people all take their parts together, and join in *Common Prayer*, instead of carrying on two, or even three, independent lines of devotion, as they did, and do, with a service in a tongue not understood by all.

"Then the curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days or Fasting-days are in the week following to be observed, and then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion and the Banns of Matrimony published, and Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read." So runs the rubric. The custom of giving public notices at this part of the service is very ancient. It was the time when most people were present, and in days before printing it was the surest way of making known any information which it was wished to publish. For this reason it was used for secular notices, which was an abuse, and to stop it the rubric goes on "and nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church during the time of Divine Service

[1] In rich churches two books were used, one the *Textus*, a richly ornamented copy of the Gospels, which was laid upon the altar, and taken from it by the gospeller, and only used ceremonially; and the other a simpler book used for the reading, and carried by the epistoler. This was only a custom of convenience caused by the great richness and weight of the *Textus*, and was never general. There is no reason why we should imitate it.

[2] The *Laus tibi Christe* of the Roman Missal is not found in the old English books, but that does not prove that it was not used, and the use of a respond here is more likely to have come down to us from our own use in the middle ages than to have been adopted from a foreign source.

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but by the Minister, nor by him anything but what is prescribed in the Rules of this Book or enjoined by the King or by the Ordinary of the Place." In our time some priests take a large licence here. Such things as school feasts are often announced, and I have heard notice given of a cricket match. It is a wise policy to make men's secular interests centre round the church, but care must be taken lest the secular interests become the more important.

Note the words, "if occasion be," with respect to notice of Holy Communion. There is no "occasion" to do so for the ordinary services of the week which do not vary; but when changes are made, or extra services added, it should be made known by simply stating what is to be done, and not by reading here the Exhortation which we shall consider further on.

This is the proper place for publishing the Banns of Matrimony. In many modern Prayer Books the rubric has been altered without authority. The rubric before the marriage service says that the banns are to be published "immediately before the sentences for the offertory." But this rubric, which took its present form in 1662, was probably intended to have the same meaning as that in the Communion Service, and the sermon is left out of account, because even so late as that its use was not general in the smaller parish churches.

"Next shall follow the Sermon," and I think that it would be well for the preacher to begin by reciting the *Bidding Prayer*, the use of which is now almost confined to cathedral and university churches. Of old it was used week by week in every English parish church, and we have forms for it in English going back through nearly nine centuries.

"When the Minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion (which he shall always do upon the Sunday or some holy-day immediately preceding), after the Sermon or Homily ended he shall read this exhortation following: *Dearly beloved on ——day next*," &c. I think we may take the words "if occasion be" of the former rubric to apply here also. But the exhortation is a good one, and should not be altogether lost. There is a good custom in some churches to read it only before the great feasts, when all the faithful are called on to communicate. This gives point to it, and might be generally followed with advantage. But the exhortation should be read after the sermon, which is just as convenient as reading it before, as is done sometimes by a mistake coming of confusion between the two notices mentioned in the rubrics.

The alternative exhortation for use if people are "negligent to come to Holy Communion" is seldom used now, and if there be need for it an intelligent priest can put the substance of it into the form of a sermon with more effect than if he read it as it stands.

The other long exhortation printed next to these in the Prayer Book, and intended to be said after the offertory may also be included under the clause "if occasion be," and may be used as the correlative of the first on days of general Communion only.

When the sermon and the notices and other matters which group round it are done, the priest is ordered to return to the altar, and there begin the offertory, reading one or more of the sentences provided at his discretion. For this the singing of a sentence or more by the choir is often substituted, as was allowed in the book of 1549, a harmless custom and quite in accordance with old usage, but it may be doubted whether it ought to be done with the rubric standing as it does. There is, however, nothing to forbid the addition of a hymn or anthem by the choir after the appointed sentence has been said, and whilst the collection is going on. And the sentence itself may give the words of the anthem.

In all but very small churches it is necessary that the collection be made by several persons at once, and, therefore, the "decent bason" of the rubric is used to receive what each one has collected before presenting it at the altar. The collection from the people is made by different means in different churches, but the best, and now the commonest, is to do it in purses or bags, which can be placed in the bason without the noise which is made when boxes or plates are emptied into it. It is suggested in *Ritual Conformity* that the purses should be formally given out to the collectors by him who afterwards receives them in the bason. And I would further suggest that it will be most convenient for this to be done by the epistoler, who as soon as the offertory sentence is begun, should take down the purses to the chancel door at which the collectors should come together as soon as the preacher leaves the pulpit. Then let him return to the presbytery and prepare the chalice, which done, let him take the alms bason from the credence, and, going again to the chancel door, there receive in it the purses with their contents, and then carry it to the altar, delivering it to the gospeller, and he to the priest, who is directed to "humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table." The manner of presenting is, that the priest turning towards the altar shall first slightly raise the bason in token of offering, and then place it thereon. It should not be placed in the midst of the altar, where as we shall see soon the corporas is already spread, but upon the south side, and it should not be left there to the end of the service, but taken to the credence by the epistoler after the prayer for the Church Militant.

The real offertory is the oblation of bread and wine, and it should not be made until after the alms are offered. This is plainly laid down in the rubric, and the reason of it was well explained by Dr. Wickham Legg, in a paper which he read to this society a few months ago.

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The vessels with the bread and wine should be put ready on the credence before the service is begun. The Sarum books contain directions for bringing them in, with some ceremony, during the service. But this is part of the ritual of the Mass *cum tribus ministris*, which seems not to have been used in parish churches, as we find that they were not provided with the requisites for it. It is done now in a few churches, where care is taken to follow the old English ritual very exactly; and in a large church served by many clergy, and partaking of the collegiate character, it is not out of place. And there is nothing in the ceremonies which clashes with the Prayer Book service. But if they are used, the *acolytus* of the old rubrics ought now to be a man in holy orders. I will not stay to describe the ceremonies, as they are very clearly set out in the old books, where those who wish to use them can find them.

After the priest has said the offertory sentences at the altar, he may return to his seat during the collection of the alms, the gospeller and epistoler meanwhile making ready for the offertory. The old custom was for the epistoler to prepare the bread and wine at the credence, or other place as might be appointed, immediately after the epistle. It seems better to do it now after the sermon than before it, and the time of the collection of the alms is convenient for the purpose. The breads should be put upon the paten, or, if the number is too large for that to be convenient, the bread intended for the priest upon the paten, and the rest in some convenient pyx or vessel provided for that use only; or, if none such belong to the church, into a chalice. The wine should be poured into the chalice, and a little water added, care being taken to remove any dust or other accidental impurity.

Meanwhile, let the gospeller take the corporas from its case, and spread it in the midst of the altar. It was the custom in the middle ages to have two cloths of similar form, one of which was spread upon the altar, and the other laid folded upon the chalice. The words *palla* and *corporale* were used for both of them, and the small square of pasteboard, cased in linen, now called the pall, is a debasement of the folded cloth, and I think no more worthy to be accepted by us than the wooden candles, paper flowers, and like things, which have come into use in continental Churches during the last three hundred years, but were not used in the English Church till they were introduced without authority in our own time. The pasteboard pall is, indeed, uncanonical, because it is not of linen. It is condemned by anticipation by Lyndewode, in a note on a constitution of Archbishop Walter Raynold, of Canterbury. (V. *Provinciale ti: De cele: mis: c: Lintheamina*). Let the pall be used in its old form, and I would suggest that it may be the "fair linen cloth" of the rubric, used folded until after the Communion, and then opened and used as directed in the book. But this is a point which needs the test of use before the convenience of it can be fairly judged.

After the offering of the alms, let the gospeller bring the bread and wine in the paten and chalice to the priest, who shall place them upon the altar, the paten on the top of the chalice. And then let the priest taking them in both hands, slightly elevate them together, in token of offering the oblation to God. When the chalice is replaced upon the altar, let the paten be taken off it, and each of them be covered, the former with the folded pall, and the latter with part of the corporas turned back over it. And if any vessel besides the paten is used to contain the bread, it also should be covered either with a lid, or with another pall; or, if it be a chalice, with a paten.

"Then let the priest receive the censer from the gospeller, and cense the offering thrice above it in the form of a cross, and round it in a circle, and on either side; and then thrice between himself and the altar." Such is the old direction, which may still be followed. I have already spoken of the censing of the choir at this place as a ceremony which I think it best not to restore.

After censing the offertory, let the priest wash his hands at the south corner of the altar, the gospeller and epistoler ministering to him; and then let him return to the midst of the altar, and proceed, "*Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church*," &c.

Up to the offertory the order of our present service is little altered from that of the old, and we are able to keep very closely to the old ritual; but after it, though much of the matter is old, the arrangement is new, and, as the ritual has to be fitted to the new arrangement, we have to use our own judgment, not merely to choose the best from the old, but sometimes to devise new, which will suit our present conditions. But still the old is our best guide, and should be followed in all things convenient. And any new ritual which we are obliged to add should be framed in the spirit of the old, and so as to emphasize and adorn the service as it stands in the Prayer Book.

Having said the prayer for the Church before the midst of the altar, let the priest turn to the people and say the longer address, if it is to be said that day, and if not let him go on at once to the short address—*Ye that do truly*. This, and the Confession and Absolution which follow, belong only to those who intend to receive, and were much better placed when they were first introduced into the Latin service, in 1548, and in the English book of 1549, when they stood with the *comfortable words* and the prayer of humble access after the consecration and

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before the communion of the people. I am not one of them who desire a revision of the Prayer Book. The order for Holy Communion in it is a very good one as it stands, and though it might be mended in some things, the gain thereby would not equal the loss which might come of unsettling that which has been settled for two centuries. But, if revision must be, the putting back of this part of the service to its former place is one of the changes most to be desired.

The rubric directs the intending communicants at this time to be "conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament." No notice is taken of this order now, and there are practical difficulties in the way of obeying it exactly except when the numbers are very small. But when they are no more than can conveniently kneel at the altar rail without stopping free access to the presbytery, I think they might take their places there at the *Ye that do truly*, and remain till the end of the service; and in other cases the spirit of the rubric might be obeyed by reserving certain seats near the chancel for the use of those who intended to receive. This would make their approach to the altar later on more orderly than when they are scattered irregularly amongst the congregation, and would enable the priest to know how many intended to receive, which he can now only guess at, since the notice before hand required by a former rubric has ceased to be enforced.

It should be noted that the Confession is not ordered to be said by all the communicants, much less by all the congregation, but by "one of the Ministers" in the name of the communicants. It may properly be said by the gospeller. The direction for the Priest or Bishop to stand up before he gives the Absolution seems to imply that he should kneel with the others at the Confession.

After the Absolution let the Priest, still turning to the people, go on with the *comfortable words* and the rest till the response, *It is meet and right*, when he must turn again to the altar, and so continue to the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, which should be sung by the choir.

Up to the year 1552 the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, was followed by the words, *Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Glory to thee, O Lord, in the highest.* And these, or similar words, are often sung now, but generally by themselves, just before the consecration prayer, as, indeed, they did come in the old order of the service. I think their use in either place comes fairly within the liberty allowed as to anthems.

A colourable defence might be made for saying the prayer of humble access privately, the choir meanwhile singing the *Benedictus*, but I think the principle of Common Prayer is best recognized by saying it audibly, though in a "humble voice." The priest is ordered to kneel during this prayer. But after it, to the end of the service, he should stand.

Amongst the ornaments used in the second year of King Edward VI. were torches, to be held by the clerks at the time of the consecration, and such are used in some churches now. They are not mentioned in the old English rubrics, but are often shown in pictures and carvings. They are mentioned in the modern Roman rubrics more than once, but their use is not general in continental churches. The bringing in of torches is intended as an act of worship to the Divine Presence in the Sacrament, and it is a ceremony of great teaching power, worth keeping on that account alone. But it should be used properly. The torches should not be brought in long before the consecration, and taken away directly it is over, but should remain as long as the Sacrament is present.[1]

The number of the torches may vary according to the size and means of different churches, and to the dignity of the day. One seems to have been the commonest use in the English Church in the Middle Ages, just as only one light was often put upon the altar. But I think the same reasons which make us use two altar lights apply also to the torches; and that two, four, or six will generally be the best numbers. Many more than that are sometimes used abroad.

We have often been told that the old English ritual differed from the Roman in that incense was not used at the elevation, and for this reason it is not now used at that time in some churches where it is used at others. Now, it is true that the Sarum rubrics make no mention of incense at the elevation, but it is not safe to argue from silence that it was not used even at Salisbury itself; still less at other churches, which, as Clement Maydestone tells us in his *Defensorium directorii ad usum Sarum*, followed their own traditions in ceremonial matters, though they used the Sarum service. By such argument it might be proved that in the diocese of Hereford incense was only used before the gospel, for it is only mentioned there in the Hereford Mass-book, and that in a rubric which is evidently borrowed from Sarum. We have proof that at least as early as 1304 incense was used at Chichester at the elevation,[2] and what by mere chance we know of

[1] This appears to be really the meaning of the Roman rubric. Although it is said in one place that they are to be put out after the elevation, it is twice said that they are to remain until after Communion. See Rubric *Ritus Servandus*, viii. 6 and 8. And this is the practice in most of the foreign churches in which I have seen the torches used.

[2] *Archæologia*. Vol. XLV. p. 212.

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that church is, probably, true of many others; and if we are to use incense at all now, it should certainly be done in this place, where its fitness is more evident, and its meaning more easily understood by the people than in any other.

Therefore let the torch bearers and the thurifer—or two thurifers if time and place make that better—go into the vestry when the priest begins the prayer of humble access, and there make themselves ready; and before the consecration let them enter the presbytery and kneel, the torch bearers in a row before the altar, and the thurifers at the sides facing inwards.

The directory makers have cumbered the consecration with a multitude of small ceremonies, some of which are trivial even in the services from which they are taken, and nearly all fit awkwardly, to say no more, upon our service. It is well to be rid of all such. I shall not attempt to lay down rules as to what should be done at the consecration. Every act should be carefully arranged, but only the experience of a thoughtful priest can determine what is the best. I shall only speak of a few matters, and chiefly in a negative way, to show that some customs, even though they may have the sanction of antiquity, are not suited for use with our present service.

One of these should, perhaps, have been mentioned before. It is the taking of the paten from the altar after the offertory, and holding it up behind the priest until the "Our Father." This is a very unmeaning ceremony, and as there must always now be other breads besides that prepared for the priest, which is placed on the corporas, it is much better to leave the paten on the altar to hold them.

I showed in my last paper that the custom of saying the prayer of consecration in an inaudible voice is a comparatively modern one, and that it comes from a state of things which does not exist now. The prayer should be said quietly and reverently, but audibly to all who are within reasonable distance of the altar.

The sakering bell, a small bell rung inside the church at certain parts of the service, may be claimed to be amongst the ornaments of 1548, notwithstanding that the ringing and knolling of bells during the service—except before the sermon—was forbidden in the Privy Council's "Injunctions" of the year before. For the acceptance by the Church of changes irregularly made by Parliament, up to a certain date, does not carry with it the acceptance of changes made by the Privy Council. But if the service be properly performed, the bell has now no use, except, perhaps, in a few very large and well-attended churches, arranged as St. Paul's Cathedral is so that many of the congregation can not well follow the service at the altar with either the eye or the ear. And there is no beauty in the ringing itself to make one wish for it. The shrill sound of the little bell breaks harshly through the solemn quiet, which should pervade the church at the moment of consecration; and, except to men who, by association, have ceased regard its incongruity, it is distracting.[1] In some churches a sort of rattle is used, which is far worse than the bell; and in some, a gong, which is less offensive; but there is no good English authority for either of them. There is not the same objection to the tolling of a bell outside the church, whereby those who have not been able to attend the service are called to join in the worship within.

The elevation of the Sacrament is, in the first place, a formal pleading of the Sacrifice before God. The exhibition to the people is a secondary idea, which has been attached to the action. The Host and the chalice should each, in turn, be reverently lifted up, and at once, without pause, placed again upon the altar; and, especially, the Sacrament should not be waved about or figured with, which is very unseemly.

I will mention one other matter about the consecration. It is the fraction of the Host, and dropping of a particle into the chalice. This is a very ancient custom, but I believe it was at first simply utilitarian. In the old days, when the cup was still given to the laity all over Western Europe, they received it in a different way from what is done in England now. The chalice was not handed to them as they knelt, but was placed upon the altar at the north corner, where the deacon held it with one hand, and a tube, called the reed, upright in it, with the other. The communicants approached one by one, and received there standing, through the reed. If the number was so great that the contents of the chalice would not serve them, it was the custom to fill it up from time to time with unconsecrated wine, the belief being that it would receive consecration by contact with the Sacrament. And I think that the particle of the Host was put into the chalice in order that there might always be visible evidence of such contact. With our present manner of administering the chalice, the presence of the particle, which the laity do not understand, is very likely to lead to irreverence, which is sufficient reason for not putting it there.

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[1] The sakering bell is one of the things which continued in use in some English churches in the seventeenth century. But I have not met with any proof that it was used at the sakering. It was rung as the priest approached the altar at the beginning of the service. This might be useful now in side chapels of large churches, to warn men in other parts that a service was going to begin.

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The priest should communicate standing. And as soon as he has done so, let the torch bearers stand up, and drawing together before the midst of the altar, make a reverence there, and then parting, half of them go to the north and half to the south of the altar, taking their torches with them and kneel down behind the thurifers, so that the front of the altar may be free for the clergy communicating the people.

Then let the priest himself communicate the ministering clergy in both kinds, if they are to receive at that time; and having done so, let him deliver the chalice to the gospeller, and taking the paten himself make ready to communicate the people. And let each, as he carries the Sacrament, take special care to give his whole attention to it, and to that which he has to do with it. This caution ought not to be necessary; but it is. The functioneer's habit of mind makes him attach more importance to the doing a thing than to the reason for doing it. And I have seen a man turn round with the Sacrament in his hand to bow to the altar.

During the Communion, let the choir sing the *Agnus Dei*, beginning when the priest receives. And if there is time, some other hymn or anthem may be sung after that. But the singing should not continue after the priest has returned to the altar, and is ready to begin the *Our Father*.

When all have received, and the Sacrament is placed on the altar and reverently covered, let the torch bearers return to their former places, again doing reverence before the midst of the altar.

Then let the priest say the "Our Father," the people joining as ordered in the rubric, and afterwards the prayer "O Lord and heavenly Father," or that which comes after it in the book. Neither of these ought always to be used to the exclusion of the other. Perhaps the latter is the better for times of general communion, and the former for other times.

The removal of the *Gloria in Excelsis* from the beginning of the service to the end, which was made in 1552, has altered its character. It is now a hymn of praise sung in the presence of the Sacrament, and as such it should have a proper ritual treatment. Let the priest begin it standing before the midst of the altar, with the gospeller on his right, and the epistoler on his left hand, the torch bearers standing in their places, and holding up their torches; and let the thurifers put fresh incense into their censers. At the words *We worship Thee*, let all kneel, and rise again, and continue standing to the end. That is the ritual which the present position of the hymn suggests, and it would be solemn and full of teaching. It may be called new, but an exact precedent can not be required for what did not exist at all at the date from which the precedent is sought. The use of the hymn itself is new, and any manner of using it that can be devised must be new too. It has to be said or sung some way, and it is our duty to do it in the best way we can.

At the blessing, the priest should stand facing the people a little to the north of the middle of the altar, and should make the sign of the cross over them with his open hand.

After the blessing, and not earlier, let the priest, standing at the altar, reverently consume what remains of the Sacrament, and then let him go to the south corner of the altar, and make the ablutions, the epistoler ministering to him, whilst the gospeller folds up the corporases and puts them into their case; the ablutions done, let the gospeller put back the chalice and corporases on the credence as at the beginning of the service. And then let the priest and ministers, after a short pause before the altar, return to the vestry in the same manner as they entered.

Meanwhile, let the choir, who should not leave their places until after the clergy have left the altar, sing some proper hymn or anthem.

And when the priest turns to go to the ablution, let the torch bearers and thurifers return to the vestry, bowing before the midst of the altar as they leave.

We have now been through the service, and I have little more to say but to repeat that I am only making suggestions, and do that only because no one else has done it. Our service is not without faults, but it has its own special merits; and before we set to work to mend it, we ought at least to try and set it forth at its best. And our advantages are such that, if they be rightly used, I am convinced that we may make the service in our English Prayer Book the grandest office which is said now in any Church in Christendom.

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THE CITY COMPANIES.

By J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

It may be objected, with regard to the subject of my paper, that the City Companies have nothing to do with Ecclesiology. It is quite true that at the present day, taking them as a body, their religious observances are, to say the least, meagre; that their connection with the Church consists mainly in the possession of certain advowsons, and in certain contributions towards church building, church restoration, and religious education. Some of them, indeed, have spent large sums in these last three causes. Very few of them attend church in their corporate capacity. Here and there among them an annual service is still held, at which the injunction in the service of Holy Baptism, "Ye shall call upon him to hear sermons," is very faithfully carried out; and the still more important (because Divine) injunction in the service connected with the other great Sacrament, "This do," is equally faithfully ignored.* And the Senior Company—the Mercers—still keep up their chapel, and I believe to very good purpose.

Still, taking them collectively, their connection with Ecclesiology is of the slightest. But it was very different in the Middle Ages; and that is the point to which I wish to draw your attention this evening. I want to show you that they had an Ecclesiological side, very strongly developed in the past, if they have none in the present.

Now, to tell a story properly, it is desirable to begin at the beginning; and this, with the City Companies, is very difficult. If I might be allowed to "drop into" metaphor, I would say, that we can see them in the full river, that in some cases we can trace them back to the little stream, the tiny rivulet, but, except with a very few, we are unable to find the source or fountain from which the waters first sprang. As Past Master of one of the oldest of them, I have long been interested in the matter, and have from time to time collected scraps of evidence as to their origin and growth, partly from records in print, partly from records still in MS., and difficult of access except to the initiated. I am only sorry that, owing to ill-health, I have lately been prevented from searching some of these last-named records, and that my paper will, therefore, be to a certain extent fragmentary and imperfect.

Now, my researches have led me to a conclusion—say a theory, if you will—which I want to impress upon my brother-members of the S. P. E. S.

And my theory is this—that our City Companies are only developments of associations (fraternities is the proper word) which were, in their aim and intention, strictly religious and social. It will be understood that I am alluding here simply to those companies whose existence can be traced to pre-Reformation times. Those which were founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do not come into the category at all.

I believe that the development of which I have spoken was a triple one, *i.e.*, that these associations existed in three different stages:—

1st. The Religious Guild, or Fraternity Stage.
2nd. The Craft Guild Stage.
3rd. The Company Stage.

Let me explain the differences between these.

The First Stage was a combination of men, working in the same trade, forming themselves into a Fraternity, or Guild, for certain religious and social purposes, with a dedication to some particular saint. Membership was voluntary, and the only means of enforcing the rules were purely spiritual, or moral. It had no *legal* existence.

Second Stage. In this the secular element comes rather to the front. The "good men of the mistery" † would petition the mayor and aldermen for "ordinances," or rules for the conduct of the trade. On these being granted, they were enrolled in the city books, and the Craft Guild was thus formed. What was gained by this? A legal status, and so, the power of enforcing the rules. The wardens of the Guild could (and did) hale recalcitrant members before the city authorities, and get them punished. But the status was only a quasi-legal one; they could only sue or be sued in the city, they were unknown to the King's Courts. They had no common seal, and (excepting in one or two special instances by Royal Letters Patent) could not hold lands in mortmain. But the old Religious Fraternity still continued, incorporated, so to

* It is rather curious how sharply and quickly the Sermon took the place of the Mass. In the books of the Founders' Company for 1556-7, the payments to Priest and Clerks for the annual mass are duly recorded. In 1559-60 of course such payments are no longer found, but in their stead we find, "Paide vnto master Verone" (a celebrated Protestant controversialist) "for preachinge, vs."

† From the French "Mestier," a Trade.

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speak, in the new Craft Guild. Some of the city ordinances, those of the White Tawyers, for instance, contain rules as to religious observances; and in 1397, a squabble in the Saddlers' Guild with regard to an opposition fraternity, started by some of the freemen, was taken in hand and determined by the mayor and aldermen.

THIRD STAGE. In this the association reached its highest development, viz., the Corporation by Royal Charter, or "Company"; having a perpetual succession and common seal, power to plead and be impleaded, and to hold lands in mortmain to a specified annual value. This is the stage in which all the Companies, properly so called, now exist. But I may just note briefly that there are some so-called Companies which are not so at all; having never been incorporated they are still in the Craft Guild stage. Such are the Fletchers, Woolmen, Basket-makers, Paviours, and Longbow-string makers. They are called Companies by prescription.

I may also note here that the terms of several of the Charters clearly recognize the existence of the Religious Fraternities above mentioned, and formally sanction their continued existence. One, the Plasterers, is especially curious, from its date, 19 Charles II. It incorporates them as the "Master and Wardens of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Plasterers of London."

Having cleared the ground as to the object of my paper, I now want to call your attention to a list which exists in an old book belonging to the Brewers' Company, which purports to give all the Trade-Guilds (*artium* is the word used—*artes* being clearly the Latin equivalent for the French *mestiers*) in existence in the 9th of Henry V.

It contains 111 names. These, for convenience sake, I will divide into two classes: those which are now extinct, 51 in number; and those which still exist, which number 60.

Let me give the extinct ones first. They are—

Tanners	Cardmakers[c]	Cornmongers	Burlesters[p]
*Pouchmakers	Pynners	*Bladesmythes	Latoners
*Spuriers	*Whitawyers[f]	Ropers	Setters[q]
*Heurers[a]	*Letherdyers	Lanternmakers	Stuffers
Wodmong[s]	Pyebakers	Heymong[s]	*Chesemong[s]
*Lymnours[b]	Bellemakers	Bokebinders	Bokelermakers
Lechis[c]	Corsours[g]	*Scriptores texti	Botelmakers
Cop'smytes	Charrotmakers[h]	Chapemakers[l]	Marblers
Galochmakers[d]	Brochemakers[i]	*Sheders[m]	Nettemakers
*Hatters	Jwellers	Malemakers[n]	Hosiers
*Coffrers	Patnostr[s]	Tablemakers	Orglemakers
Poyntmakers	Kervers[k]	Lokyers	Sopemakers
Wiredrawers	Ffelmongr[s]	*Ffourbours[o]	

In Riley's *Memorials of London Life*, which contains a series of extracts from the Records at Guildhall, the ordinances of thirteen of these Guilds have been given, showing that those, at all events, were in the second or Craft-Guild stage. I have marked them in my list with an asterisk. No doubt many more of them were also Craft-Guilds (and this is where my regret for an imperfect search comes in), because Riley's book does not at all profess to be exhaustive in the matter. Equally certain is it that some of them were still in the first or Fraternity stage. The "Bellemakers" certainly were so. They never were anything but a Religious fraternity, holding their services in the Church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, probably in the Chapel of St. Katherine, for the completion of which a handsome legacy was bequeathed by the will of Robert Burford, citizen and bell founder, in the year 1418. The dedication of the Guild was probably to St. Katherine.

From the ordinances of the thirteen, as found in Riley's book, but little light is thrown on the theory I have advanced to-night, but what there is, is decidedly confirmatory. In the case of the Cheesemongers a rule for the choice of Wardens yearly on the Feast of St. Michael, points to a probable dedication to the Archangel. In the case of the White Tawyers the evidence is strong. Their Patron Saint being the B.V.M., the ordinances (dated 1346) lay down as a first rule "that they will find a wax candle to burn before Our Lady in the Church of All Hallows' near London Wall." Other rules are laid down as to contributions towards the said light, for the relief of poor members, for their burial at the expense of the "common box," and that "when any one of the said trade shall die, all those of the said trade shall go to the Vigil, and make offering on the morrow," *i.e.*, at the Funeral Mass.

Leaving the extinct Guilds, I now pass on to the sixty which are still in existence, or have

a Hurrers—makers of rough caps. *b* Illuminators. *c* Surgeons. *d* Clogmakers. *e* For carding wool or flax. *f* Dressers of white leather for gloves. *g* Horse-dealers. *h* Cart-makers. *i* Makers of spits. *k* Stone carvers. *l* A chape is the metal end of a scabbard. *m* Makers of sheaths for knives. *n* Makers of saddle-bags. *o* Dealers in second-hand clothes, &c. *p* Crossbow-makers. *q* Stone-layers.

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been so within a century. Here is a list of them, with their dedications so far as I have been able to find them out :—

Mercer'	B. V. M.
Grocer'	St. Anthony
Pannar' (Drapers) ...	B. V. M.
Piscenar'	St. Peter
Aurifabr'	St. Dunstan
Vinetar'	St. Martin
Pellipar' (Skinners) ...	Corpus Christi
Cissores (Taylors) ...	St. John Baptist
Sellar' (Saddlers) ...	B. V. M.
Fferrones' (Ironmongers)	St. Laurence
Zonar' (Girdlers) ...	St. Laurence
Allutar' (Cordwainers)	(?) St. Crispin
Habdashers ...	St. Katharine
Cultellar'	Holy Trinity, or St. John Baptist
Armur'[a]	St. George
Telar'lan[b] (Woollen weavers)	(?) S. Blaise
Telar'lin[b] (Linen weavers)	
Ffullones[c] (Fullers) ...	B. V. M.
Tinctores (Dyers)	
Barbitonsores	
Braciatores (Brewers)	St. Thomas of Canterbury
Carnifices	
Tapicers[b] (Tapestry weavers)	
Browderers ...	The Holy Spirit
Peyntors[d]	St. Luke
Salt's	Corpus Christi
Brasiers[a]	
Ffabri (Blacksmiths)	St. Loi, apparently later St. James
Cementar' (Plasterers)	B. V. M.
Carpentar'	B. V. M.
Pewtrers	B. V. M.
Plumbar'	St. Michael
Joynors	St. James
Ffoundors	St. Clement
Lethersellers	
Pistores (Bakers) ...	St. Clement
Shermen[c]	B. V. M.
Lorymers (Makers of Bits)	
Wexchaundellers ...	(?) St. Dorothea
Talghchaundellers ...	St. John Baptist
Curriours	(?) St. Crispin
Bowyers	St. James
Ffletchers (Arrowmakers)	St. Edmund, K. and M.
Horners	B. V. M.
Scriptores hd. curiat (Scriveners) ...	Holy Trinity
Fferrours (Farriers)	
Upholders	
Steynors[d]	
Hostillar' (Innholders)	St. Julian
Cocs (Cooks)	
Tornors	St. Katherine
Glasiers	
Wollmen	
Stacioners	
Pultar' (Poulterers)	
Clokmakers	
Ffruterers	
Streng's (Bowstringmakers)	
Basketmakers	
Glovers	B. V. M.

I will now go through these, and state briefly what evidence I am able to adduce in support of the theory I have advanced. But first, I should like to mention that, curiously enough, there are five misteries which the compiler of the list has omitted, but which were certainly in existence at the time. They are—

The COOPERS, whose ordinances bear date 1396, and whose Patron Saint is the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Charter of Incorporation is dated 1501, and it empowers them "to make, create, and found a Fraternity, or Guild, to the praise, glory, and honor of God and the most glorious Virgin Mary, to be a body corporate, to hold lands (in mortmain) for the relief of poor men and women of the mistery, to pray for us and our queen during life, and for our souls and all others after death," &c. Their records are extant from 1439, and they commence with a list of the "brethren of the Fraternity of the art of Coopers." In 1440, John Trendeler, one of the wardens died, bequeathing xx[s.] to the support of the Fraternity founded in the Church of St. Paul. In 1456, William Swyft, a member, was, for disobedience, sentenced to "pay to the brotherhed of the same craft the valough of ij[li.] wex to the sustentacion of the lyght by fore oure lady of the newerk at Powles."

MUSICIANS.—Patron Saint, St. Michael.

SHIPWRIGHTS.—Evidence exists of a Religious Guild under the dedication of SS. Simon and Jude in this trade.

PAVIOURS.—Never incorporated, and so still a Craft Guild. Evidence scanty, but from their place of precedence on the city list they must certainly have been then in existence.

PARISH CLERKS.—Constituted a Fraternity, dedicated to St. Nicholas, by Royal Letters Patent in 1233. Chartered in 1611. No ordinances ever granted, not being a mistery, or trade, which accounts for its omission from the list. Even now it ranks last of all the Companies.

Let me now take the Companies included in the Brewers' list.

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a Amalgamated into one Company last century.
b These three are amalgamated as the Weavers' Company.
c The Fullers and Shearmen amalgamated as the Clothworkers' Company.
d Amalgamated into one Company.

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MERCERS.—Apparently not always the senior Guild. In a list of 1376, it is placed second, the Grocers occupying the premier position. There is little doubt that these two Guilds monopolized the whole of the *import* trade of London (excepting, perhaps, that in wines). Mercer, it is to be noted,=merchant (mercator), and has nothing to do with mercery in its modern sense. Licensed to hold lands in mortmain, 17 Richard II. Charter dated 3 Henry VI. So that at the time of the "list" the Mercers were in the second, or Craft Guild stage. A brotherhood is specially mentioned in the Charter.

DRAPERS.—A Fraternity founded in 1332, at St. Mary Bethlehem (this was evidently transferred later to St. Michael, Cornhill) "to the honor of Our Lord Jhu Crist and his swete moder Seint Marie our Ladie of Bethlem." First Charter (but not one of incorporation) 38 Edward III. Real Charter 17 Henry VI. This is addressed "to the men of the mistere of Drapers of London," and allows them to erect themselves into a Gild or Fraternity, by the name of the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Drapers of London. A later Charter, dated 4 James I. (the date is curious) re-incorporates them as "the Master and Wardens and Brothers and Sisters of the Gild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London."

FISHMONGERS.—Ordinances dated 9 Edw. III. (probably not the earliest). Several charters. Later ordinances (of 1426) order Solemn Mass at St. Peter's, Cornhill, on St. Peter's day. Later on the company had their own special Guild Chapel, dedicated to SS. Peter and Sebastian, in the Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane.

GOLDSMITHS.—Their records, which commence 5 Edw. III., contain regular payments for the annual feast on St. Dunstan's day, and to the priests for the Mass in the Chapel of St. Dunstan in St. Paul's Cathedral.

SKINNERS.—Here the evidence is very strong. Their first letters patent are dated 1327. Charter of incorporation is 16 Ric. II. This distinctly states that they had been "used hitherto to have and hold . . . a guild or fraternity to the honor of God and the precious body of Our Lord Jesus Christ," and licenses its further continuance. A confirmatory Charter of 16 Hen. VII. incorporates them by the title of the "Master and Wardens of the Gild or Fraternity of the Body of Christ of the Skinners of London."

MERCHANT TAYLORS.—Their records are extant from 1399. The first entry gives their title as "La Fraternité Seint Johan le Baptistre des Taillours en Londres." Letters Patent of 15 Edw. I. clearly recognize the Guild. Next letters, those of 14 Ric. II., are very clear on the subject. They grant permission to have and hold, in honour of St. John Baptist, the aforesaid Guild and Fraternity, and hold and keep in an honest manner their feast of meat and drink on the said feast day of St. John the Baptist. Fully incorporated 9 Hen. IV. as "the Fraternity of Taylors and Linen Armourers of St. John the Baptist in the City of London." There is much interesting information in Clode's "History of the Merchant Taylors Company," as to their religious observances. The Guild services were apparently held in the Church of the Knights Hospitallers, at Clerkenwell. It is rather a curious fact that the Master of the Guild was called the "Pilgrim," from his travelling on behalf of the fraternity; but whether the said travelling was of a religious or purely business nature, I am unable to determine.

SADDLERS.—There is evidence of the existence of a Fraternity as far back as Richard I. Incorporated 1374. I have already mentioned the "opposition Fraternity" started in 1397.

IRONMONGERS.—Payments for "oure sollem mas" noted in their books. I am afraid some of the present Court must shudder at the entry.

GIRDLERS.—Some evidence exists of an early Fraternity.

HABERDASHERS.—There were originally two Guilds in this trade, one dedicated to St. Katharine and the other to St. Nicholas;* and the ordinances of the former were enrolled in the Bishop of London's Registry in 1381. Apparently the two Guilds were amalgamated and incorporated, in 1447, as "The Fraternity of St. Catherine the Virgin of the Haberdashers of London.

ARMOURERS.—Incorporated 1483 as the "Master and Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of St. George of the men of the mistery of Armourers of the City of London." Their Guild Services were held in the Cathedral in the Chapel of St. George. The Braziers were only incorporated with them early in the last century.

BREWERS.—Records extant from about 1418. They style themselves therein "The Fraternity of Brewers." They were incorporated some thirty years later.

(BLACK) SMITHS.—Ordinances of this Fraternity, dedicated to St. Loi, were enrolled in the Commissary Court of London, and may be found in the 4th Vol. of the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. Dedication apparently since changed to St. James, but accurate information is apparently hopeless. In the Returns made to the Royal Commission a few years ago, they stated that they were "*incorporated by prescription* in 1325." The force of ignorance could, I think, no further go.

* This was probably the Fraternity of the Hurrers, or Hurrers and Cappers.

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CARPENTERS.—They built their Hall in 1429, and their accounts exist as far back as 1438. Charter (1477) grants "that they, to the praise, glory, and honour of the Omnipotent God, and of the glorious and undefiled Virgin Mary, may make, found and establish a perpetual Brotherhood or Guild within the said city."

The following entry occurs in their books, dated 1438 :—

"Paide to Willm. Burton, wexchaundler, at ye Sompsion of our lady ffor v^ll & iij quart of newe wex ye pounde vj^d Sma } ij^s xj^d"

PEWTERERS.—Charter, dated 1473, mentions a Fraternity, or Guild, in honour of the B. V. M.

FOUNDERS.—Evidence of a Guild, or Brotherhood of St. Clement, exists both in City ordinances and in the Company's accounts, which exist from 1497. Craft Guild established 1365, not chartered until 1614.

CURRIERS.—Had a Fraternity in the Church of the Whitefriars, in 1367. Annual meeting stated to be on 15th October. Query 25th (SS. Crispin and Crispinian).

FLETCHERS.—Never incorporated, and therefore still a Craft Guild. Dedication stated to be to St. Edward the King; this is, no doubt, an error for St. Edmund K. and M.

GROCERS.—I have kept them till last, because the evidence which they give in support of my theory is overwhelming. They have a perfect series of records, from their commencement to the present day, and the account of the establishment of the Fraternity is given in unusually full detail. They were an offshoot from a still earlier Guild, that of the Pepperers, whose existence in the reign of Henry II. is clearly established. Ordinances for this mistery were approved by the City authorities in 1316.

On the 20th May, 1345, the Grocers' Guild of St. Antony was founded, and is thus referred to in the first book of their records, partly in French and partly in English :—

"En le hon^r de Dieu & de son douche Mere & de sanct Antonin & de touz saintz le viceseme jour de Maij en l'an de grace mil. cccxlv. and del trez noble roi Edward apres le Conquest xix. une frat^rnite fuist fonduz des compaignons Peveres* de Soperes-lane p^r am^r & unite de plus avoir maintener & intrester ensem^l. De quel fraternite sommes comenseurs fundeurs & doneurs de conserver la dite fraternite."

Then follow the names, twenty-two in number, and the following note :—

"Alle these xxij persons before wretyd were founders of owre fraternite and the same daie before wretyn they were accorded to be togydre at a denner in the abbot's place of Bery† the xij daie of Juyn in the yere of owre Lord Jhu m^lle cccxlv and in the xix yere of Kyng Edward the thredde as it apperyth behynde in the same book in the iiij leff and at the sayd denner were chosyn ij the freste wardynes that ever were of owre fraternyte."

Each member paid 1s. towards the dinner, or "mangerie," as it is elsewhere called, and the balance of 23d. was ordered to be paid by the wardens. They drew up elaborate rules, all of which are duly recorded. A Chaplain was appointed, and his annual stipend fixed, to be paid by a regular contribution from each member, and a note is made that he was to commence his duties on the 3rd July. Due provision was made of things necessary for the performance of divine service. They are given in an inventory of the following year, 1346, as "a chalice with the cover made of silver, which weighed 12 ounces goldsmiths' weight, and an holy vestment for the priest, an alb, manuple, stole, and chesible, a corpus, and a little missal." These were largely added to in later years; and, finally, in the Protestant times of 1563, ordered to be sold.

Their chantry chapels were atSt. Antholin, Budge Row, and St. Stephen, Walbrook. They were, of course, suppressed, and the revenues confiscated quite royally.

I have been unable to trace at the Guildhall the date of the establishment of the second, or Craft Guild, stage, but as Herbert mentions "new" ordinances as granted in 1376, it must have been some time between 1345 and 1375, probably nearer the earlier than the later date. I have already noticed that in 1376 they were reckoned the senior Guild of all.

They were incorporated 7th Henry VI., the charter then granted being confirmed and extended in the following year. It specially authorizes them to keep a chaplain, a clause which is unusual.

It is needless to state that the Grocers' Company still exists and flourishes; and that in their books of record the absolute identity of the present Company with the Guild of St. Antony, from which it developed, is taken for granted. Status, *i.e.*, legal status, has been changed, not identity.

I have now completed my task; and I think you will agree with me, that in one instance at least I have absolutely proved my case, and in many others adduced strong evidence as to the correctness of the theory I have advanced.

* Poivriers or Pepperers. † In St. Mary Axe, site now known as Bevis Marks.

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THE NEW ALTAR SCREEN IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

By THOMAS GARNER.

The new Altar Screen or Reredos in St. Paul's Cathedral is by far the most important work of the kind that has been erected in England since the early part of the sixteenth century; and it may be said to be the most important work of the kind ever erected in England in the Italian style.

During the Gothic period the altar screen had been gradually increasing in magnificence, and must have formed one of the greatest glories of our ancient cathedrals. During the greater part of the sixteenth century, when the Italian style began to be introduced into this country, Englishmen were, unfortunately, employed in destroying such things instead of making them. It is much to be regretted that we have no examples of the manner in which the English architects would have applied the early Italian style to great ecclesiastical works such as these. The Jacobean altar screen, as shown in many old drawings of cathedrals and chapels royal and collegiate, retains a tradition of the simpler mediæval forms. It is generally a piece of tapestry with a canopy or tester over the altar and a picture immediately above it. Such an altar screen is shown in the views of old St. Paul's. In the present Cathedral the reredos was never executed, though Sir Christopher Wren evidently intended something very magnificent. The Revolution was not favourable to Church architecture, and least of all to works of this kind; and the opposition and bad treatment Wren met with at the close of his great work, prevented his ideas from being realized. We do not quite know what he intended. In the ground-plan of the second design are no indications of an altar or reredos; but in the more complete and somewhat altered design at All Souls' College they are clearly shown. Wren also made another plan resembling, but not identical with, the imperfect model preserved in the Cathedral. This model was evidently intended for the present Cathedral. Wren describes it as "particularly one for the High Altar, to consist of rich marble columns writhed, &c., in some manner like that of St. Peter's at Rome." The "Parentalia" says: "The painting and gilding of the architecture of the East end of the church over the Communion Table was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured, for a magnificent design of an Altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture, for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble were once sent to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, from a Levantine merchant in Holland, and communicated to the Surveyor, but unluckily the colours and scantlings did not answer his purpose, so it rested in expectance of a fitter opportunity, else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main Fabric." The model preserved in the Cathedral hardly seems like the work of an architect. It must have been only intended to convey a rough idea of the project. The writhed columns are like the balustrades of a staircase. This design, sometimes spoken of as a "Baldachino," was intended to stand against the east wall of the apse. (See plans.) It may be noted that the Altar, &c., does not stand under the canopy, but in front of a reredos. Its junction with the pilasters of the apse must have been awkward.

A fine altar-piece has always been the great want of the Cathedral. Without it a church must always be incomplete, lacking what ought to be its principal feature: but the removal of the organ screen, and the opening out of the view of the choir, made the want of it at St. Paul's more striking than before. When the Chapter generously determined to supply this want from their own funds, the altered arrangements of the Cathedral made the design somewhat difficult. Wren's own unfinished plans were evidently intended to serve merely for the choir altar. The solid and substantial organ loft which Wren had designed, occupied the entire Western bay of the choir, and its removal had entirely changed the proportions of the church. The choir was before an enclosed chapel of very moderate size. The altar-piece could only be seen at a short distance, and formed no part of the general effect of the church. The choir was now very long, and to place the altar in the apse would have been most inconvenient. The plan of St. Paul's, as is well known, resembles that of our mediæval cathedrals. It is described in the "Parentalia" as "The Gothic rectified to a better manner of architecture"; and with the plan it retains

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much of the picturesqueness and feeling of our ancient churches. This, though a defect in the opinion of Palladian critics, will always be the delight of lovers of old English architecture, but the extreme length and narrowness of this Gothic plan was very manifestly made to appear by the removal of the screen, and it necessarily greatly affected the design of the new reredos.

The course recommended in our report was to have a People's altar under a Baldachino beneath the Dome, using the Eastern altar as one for the Chapter. This was thought impracticable for the present. It might have been carried out in the future. This reredos was intended to be connected with the side walls by turning the beautiful iron screens at the side to this use, as no funds were available for new ones. When the design was submitted to the Decorative Committee in order to obtain these, the late Mr. Fergusson, while warmly approving the design, was strongly opposed to using the iron screens, and was in favour of a marble screen to unite the reredos with the architecture of the church, and recommended that the lines of this screen should be made to range with the architectural lines of the building: and it was suggested that these screens should be semi-circular on plan. A reredos with semi-circular wings of this kind is shown in Neale's "Westminster Abbey," and is there said to have been the design of Inigo Jones.

Before adding a short description of the Altar Screen, it may be well to explain the objects which had to be kept in view, and the reasons why other ideas, which naturally suggested themselves, were not acted on, and also to reply to public criticisms.

The first thing to be considered was the necessity of making a design which would have to be looked at from a distance of 451 feet, and also from the choir. Secondly, it was necessary to be careful not to destroy the scale of the Cathedral. The details of the church are managed with great skill so as to avoid this, and a reredos with large parts would have had fatal consequences. Thirdly, it was desirable to correct the effect of the projecting organs at the entrance of the choir. These, though they look very picturesque from the choir, do, in fact, make it look very much narrower than it really is. A Baldachino at the entrance to the apse was an obvious idea; but a glance at the plan will show that the space is too narrow, and that it must have dwarfed the church if made large, and if made small, looked insignificant from the dome and nave. It was very necessary to produce an imposing effect from a distance, and this made sculpture more suitable than painting.

The unequal effect of the intercolumniations of the curved wings is, of course, an inevitable consequence of the use of the semi-circular plan. It is seen in the similar case of the screen in the Cathedral of Verona, by Sanmicheli, and is not noticed after a time.

The panelled story underneath the main order is a feature very common in the interior of Sir C. Wren's churches; and the solid band was very necessary to prevent the voice from being lost in the apse behind. The whole idea of the Altar Screen has been to make it harmonize with the old English plan of the church. In our old cathedrals the altar always stood, and stands, in this way, with a chapel or retro-choir behind.

The design consists of a basement, against which the altar stands, with a small doorway on each side to give access to the apse behind. Over these doors, which are of pierced brass, are angels supporting shields of the crossed swords and keys, the arms of the diocese, and the emblems of St. Paul and St. Peter, and they are flanked by sculptured festoons of fruit and flowers, separated by marble panels. Above this is a range of sculptured panels with coloured marble backgrounds, supporting an open colonnade of semi-circular plan. A large group of sculpture, a sort of carved picture in bold relief, occupies the centre, flanked on each side by twisted columns of rich Brescia marble, wreathed with foliage in gilded bronze. These support an entablature and rich pediment. The freize is of Rosso Antico bearing the inscription, "Sic Deus dilexit mundum," in gilt bronze letters. The whole is crowned by a central niche and surrounding statues at a height of between 60 and 70 feet from the ground. The general idea of the sculptured subjects is to express the Incarnation and Life of our Lord, beginning with the two figures at the extremities of the colonnade, which are those of the Angel Gabriel and St. Mary, and represent the Annunciation. The panel on the North side is the Nativity, the large subject in the centre, the Crucifixion with the Entombment underneath it, and the group on the South side, the Resurrection. The panels of the pedestals are filled with angels bearing instruments of the Passion. The niche above the pediment is occupied by a figure of St. Mary with the Divine Child in her arms, with the statues of St. Paul and St. Peter on either hand. The figure on the summit of the niche is an ideal one of the risen Saviour.

The entire Altar Screen is executed in white Parian marble, with bands and panels of Rosso Antico, Verde di Prato, and Brescia marble. The enrichments are generally gilt. The steps in front of the Altar are of white marble, and the pavement of Rosso Antico, Brescia, and Verde di Prato like the reredos.

It is intended to place wrought iron screens at the sides of the sanctuary, using some very fine iron gates of Sir. C. Wren's design now in the crypt, which were removed from the choir at the time of the alterations.

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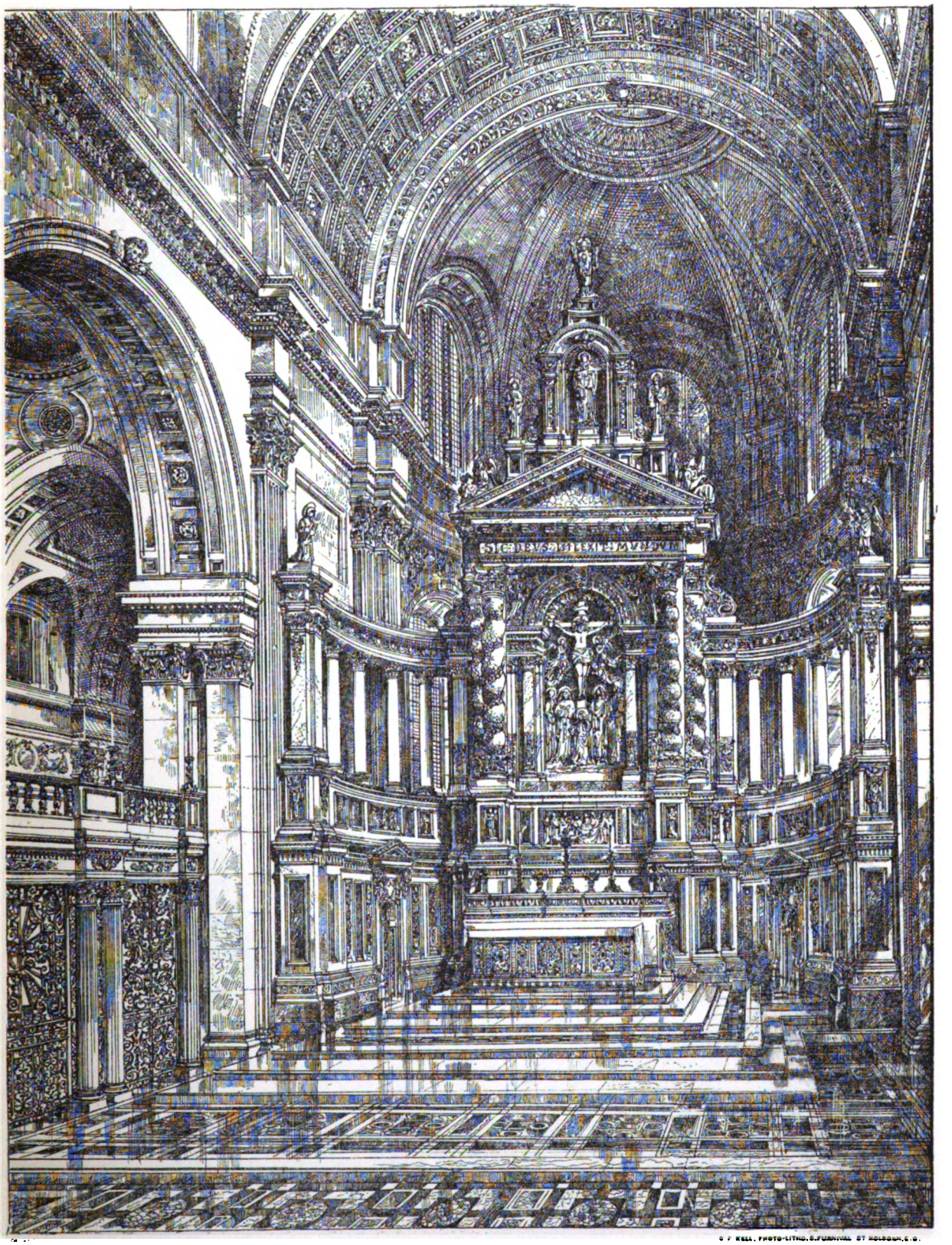

THE NEW ALTAR SCREEN ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

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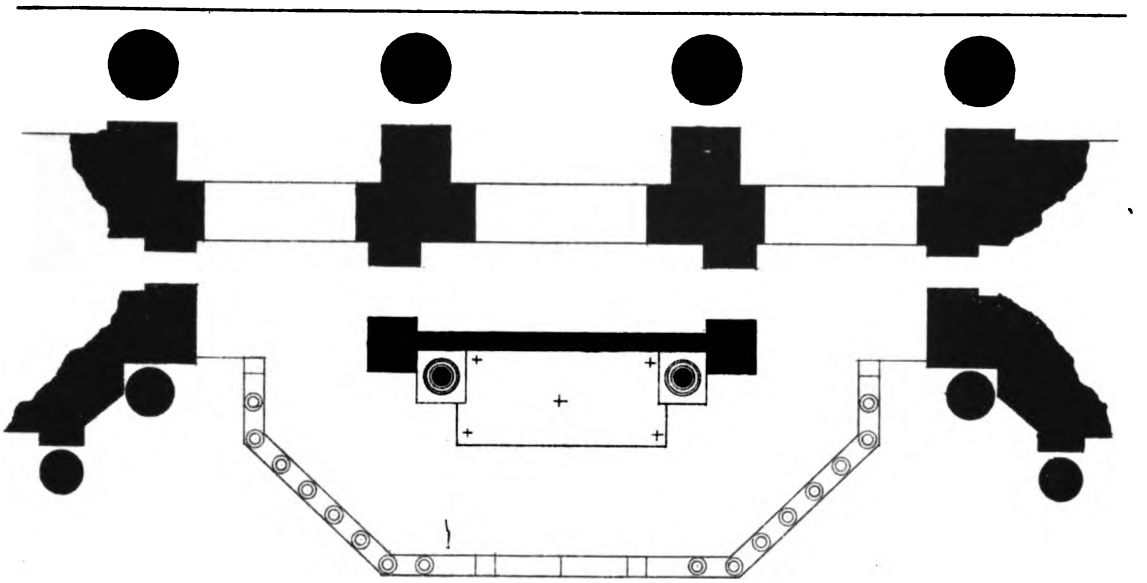
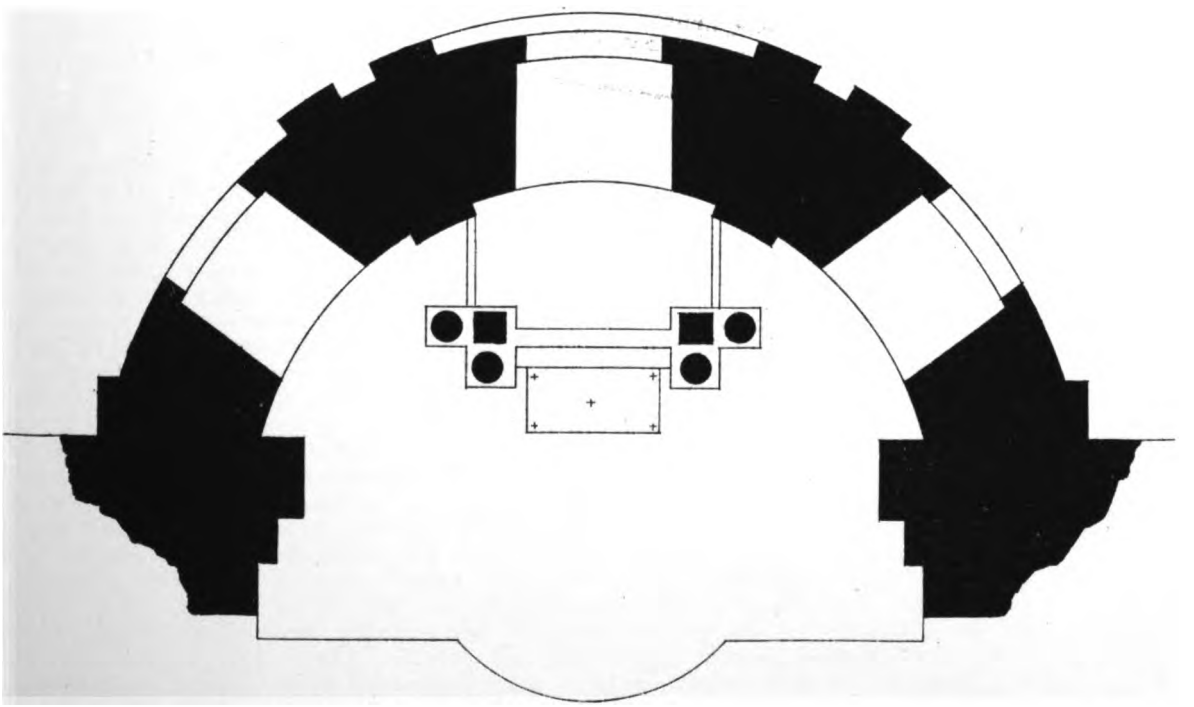


GROUND PLAN OF EAST END OF ST PAUL'S SHOWING COMMUNION TABLE DERELEDOS, ACCORDING TO A TENTATIVE DESIGN MADE BY SIR C. WREN.



EAST END OF ST PAULS AS ALTERED BY WREN FROM THE 'KENSINGTON MODEL' DESIGN.

From an engraving in the Gardner Collection, inscribed "Iconographia Altaris (designati), et Partes Choro, from a print by Hulsberg". This engraving was evidently taken from a drawing in the Ashmole Collection.

C. F. KELL, PHOTO-LITHO. 8, FURNIVAL ST HOLBORN, E.C.

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ENGLISH AND FOREIGN CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES CONTRASTED AND COMPARED.

By W. BOLTON.

When an Englishman enters for the first time almost any of the cathedrals in Normandy, the impression which the architecture makes upon him, whatever else it be, is not one of great surprise. He might forget for the moment that he is in a foreign church at all. He visits, say the church of St. Étienne, at Caen, or the cathedral of Bayeux; and as he enters by the west, he sees before him the familiar details of home churches. There is the long nave, with its drum columns and cushioned capitals; the round arches with the chevron or billet moulding; and above these, the wide, yawning triforium, and the four loftier arches at the intersection further east, all of the type found everywhere in a great Norman church in England. He may be delighted at the identity, but he is not astonished. In the nave of Bayeux, for example, he recognizes almost a duplicate of the nave of Rochester; and in that of Caen, a close resemblance to the nave of Selby, even to the clusters of low shafts in the triforium stage, bound together like stone fascines. It is evident to him, without much stretch of thought, that one set of minds and hands must have taught the craft to others, and that those minds and hands were simultaneously at work in both countries. At Caen, we find the same arrangement that we find in England, at Winchester only; namely, a wall built transversely across the transepts, rising to the top of the lower stage, and pierced with arches. Caen and Winchester were the respective capital cities of the same King in Normandy and England, and it is more than likely that this coincidence is not one of chance, but of design; and that the work in both, if not executed by the very same masons, must have been planned by the same master. All the earlier Norman churches in this country were the work of Norman hands. Canterbury Cathedral, for example, may be cited, because we know its architect and date; its choir, still existing, was the work of William of Sens. The nave of Rochester Cathedral, and the chapel in the keep of the Tower of London, were the work of Gundulph. The Norman portion of Hereford Cathedral, still existing, was built by its first Norman bishop, Losinga.

It is generally accepted as an undeniable conclusion that Norman architecture, as *we* call it, but which, when we speak of it as we find it in the centre and East of France, and in Germany, must be called Romanesque (the French call it "Roman"), is a continuation or a development of the Classic, though scarcely two writers exactly agree as to the mode in which the details of that style spread and developed. Nor is this easy to decide, as the Norman style seems to have risen in all the countries of Western Europe about the same time. If it had spread, as we should expect science to have spread nine hundred years ago—that is very slowly—we might have looked for much ruder work in Normandy and England, than we find on the Rhine; but our western Norman work, instead of being ruder, is better finished: the jointing is better, and we have far more ornamentation. Late Norman or Romanesque work in Germany is not advanced much beyond earlier work. Of course, it began with us in a rude way, much of it being wrought by the axe, instead of the chisel. It took a hundred years to perfect the style in England, to produce an Iffley out of the crude work of Wulfstan, at Worcester; and just as it reached its richest point, it passed away for good.

The subject of comparison and contrast between English and foreign great churches is an interesting one. Into a few of such we may enquire later on, but in the meantime, it may be briefly stated what is the received idea of a perfect cathedral. A typical perfect cathedral is usually considered to be a cross church with a central and two western towers, and having a Lady Chapel, a cloister, and a chapter house. But if this be the *perfect* type, there are very few perfect cathedrals in the world. We, in England, have only three, viz., Canterbury, Wells, and Lincoln, which fulfil all these requirements. The cathedrals of Durham, York, Ripon, and Southwell each have three towers. Durham has a cloister, but has lost its chapter house; York and Southwell have chapter houses, but want cloisters. Ripon wants both. Again, Salisbury, Gloucester, Worcester, Oxford, Bristol, Hereford, Chester, and Norwich have cloisters, and most of them chapter houses, but are without western towers, properly so called. St. David's, St. Asaph, Rochester, St. Alban's, Winchester, and Peterborough have central towers, but want cloisters; as does Lichfield, which has three towers. Four others, viz., Ely, Newcastle, Manchester, and Bangor, are distinguished by single western towers only, unless the octagon of Ely can be counted for a central tower. Exeter differs from all, in having neither central

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nor western towers, but possessing towers over the two transepts. Llandaff has two western towers, but no transepts, and one of these towers is quite modern. Chichester wants one of its western towers. Carlisle wants a nave. Of course, I am speaking of cathedrals as they now are, not as they were. There is no perfect cathedral in the sense mentioned, but the three already named, in England, or in Ireland or Scotland; nor have I seen one on the Continent, where, for the most part, their existing portions have not been completed.

Turning to Abbey churches, Westminster has all the requisites for a perfect church, save one, the central tower; and the same may be said of Beverley as far as the church is concerned. Hexham and Boxgrove are naveless; Dunstable, Waltham and Malmesbury are choirless; Selby has a bad modern tower, and wants one of its transepts; Tewkesbury, Malvern, Romsey, Cartmel, Brecon and Sherborne have central towers. In abbey ruins, Yorkshire holds the first place, and the beauty of the fragments that remain gives us some faint notion of former splendour and religious wealth. In one respect the Yorkshire abbeys have lost nothing—I mean as regards the beauty of their situation. One could almost wish to have been a footsore pilgrim for the charm of being entertained in the hospitium of Fountains, or by the brethren of Rievaulx, or of Easby, if but for one night only. But some of these were, till of late, the retreat of the fox and the badger. At Easby, cattle still low in the ruins and tread the sacred floors to mire. Rievaulx is half buried in its own débris, as is also Byland. A few, more carefully tended, are pathetic in their pleading. Kirkstall lifts up the fragment of a central tower above the smoke of forges like a huge blackened tombstone on which its epitaph is written. Whitby is open to the blasts of the ocean. Fountains and Bolton retain their towers, and stand in fair domains amid the rustle of woods and the murmur of rivers. Further north than Yorkshire, the fine fragment of Tynemouth stands on a beetling cliff defying sea storms by its very massiveness, which can hardly be said of the fast perishing ruins of Lindisfarne upon Holy Island. In the East, ruins are many, but none very complete. Crowland shows the remains of one of the very finest west fronts, and is still rich in statuary. Of Castle Acre hardly more than the west front remains, a beautiful specimen of late Norman. Of the church of Thetford, once a cathedral see, I believe nothing exists. Staffordshire has a beautiful Early English ruin, Croxden; but of Rocester only the ground plan survives. Both North and South Wales have many religious ruins, but if such as Valle Crucis and Cymmer are cared for, others like Basingwerk and Neath are not so, and are covered with incrustations of smoke rather than with the protecting ivy, and look squalid even on a July day. Tintern, most beautiful of all, is a shell only. Of one of our greatest historical abbeys, Bury St. Edmund's, little remains except a curious bridge, a superb gateway and the core of some walls. Of Glastonbury more is left, including the rich Norman Chapel of St. Joseph. But one of the most melancholy destructions was that of the Royal Abbey of Reading. The last Henry, in his rapaciousness to seize his ancestors' gifts, would not suffer the bones of the first Henry to remain undisturbed. Its stones became a quarry, some were even carted off to repair Windsor Castle,* and now, besides some shapeless heaps of flint work and a gateway, this great abbey has vanished. The same remark applies also to the great Abbey of Abingdon. The religious ruins of Ireland are so numerous as to be found in almost every parish in the South and East, and are often of the very earliest character, demanding a special study. Good and pure Early English work, however, sometimes occurs, as in the Grey Abbey, County Down, and the gateway at New Ross. Later work is generally plain and massive, as if for defence. Time will not allow more than a reference to Scotland. If Henry slew his thousands, Knox slew his tens of thousands. Both monastery and cathedral fell to the ground from South to North. In England we do not seek for cathedral ruins, but in Scotland they abound as at St. Andrew's, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Elgin, and other places.

The destruction of monasteries, and in consequence the existence of ruins, is however, not peculiar to Great Britain. We find them in lands where the Reformation never penetrated. In France, monastic ruins are common—those of Jumièges, on the Seine, are well known; so are those at Bacharach on the Rhine, and of Allerheiligen in the Black Forest. They exist too in Belgium. But with all our faults at home, we cannot point to many existing desecrated churches in England which are turned to secular uses. There are legends of Cromwell's men stabling their steeds in cathedral naves, and of carousing in the stalls of the choir; but if this were so, it was but for a short time, for things came back again at the Restoration, while in France, Germany and Belgium, no matter where we go, we daily find desecrated houses of God put to vile uses. In 1793 all the churches of France were secularized. St. Ouen's, at Rouen, became the town smithy for ten years, and its windows, walls and groined roof became encrusted with thick layers of soot. Some of the churches reverted to religious uses under Napoleon, but not all; and there is hardly a town of any size in all France where desecrated parish churches do not to this day exist. In London, when we desecrate a church, we pull it down, and attempt to conceal our shame by building warehouses over its site.

* Cooper King's *History of Berkshire*, page 184.

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Comparing an English cathedral with a foreign one we find, *generally speaking*, the same salient features. Each is cruciform in ground plan, each has nave and aisles with triforium and clerestory. In each we find Western towers. In Normandy the churches resemble English churches, whether the style be Romanesque or First Pointed, and in a church in Normandy an Englishman, as has been already observed, feels himself most at home. But after the first impressions he discovers divergencies and differences of arrangement, to which he is a stranger. If he go further afield, beyond Normandy, the differences multiply, sometimes to such an extent as to make him feel that he is in a world of novelties. Some of these differences I now proceed to notice.

To continue in Normandy for the present, we find, first, very great difference of arrangement in the ambulatories which surround the choir. These ambulatories are generally double, that is to say, there are two alleys surrounding the central chancel or choir, whereas, in England, we have never more than one. This characteristic feature is found in churches of all dates, Romanesque, First Pointed, and Flamboyant. The arrangement, in some cases, as at St. Lo, becomes a labyrinth of columns, and, while we in England have only two instances of the chevet, or cluster of apsidal chapels, viz., round the choir at Tewkesbury and Westminster, and a pseudo-example at Norwich, there is scarcely a great or moderate sized church in the North East of France built in any style that is without them. There is, again, in the arrangement of the pillars which divide the choir from the ambulatory, another marked difference, viz., that the pillars are set in pairs, and not singly. We have only one example in this country, that in the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral. Yet, even here, we are obliged to admit that though it is in England, it is not really English, for, though built by William the Englishman, as he is called, he followed the designs of William of Sens, the Frenchman.

This is the right place to say a few words about the apses of the Continent. These apses are often the chief feature of the church. Low down, near the ground—I speak now of the exterior—there is a panelled arcade of one or more stages, each stage having its own windows; above this, and of course, receding from the lower stage, is a lofty clerestory, crowned with parapets of open work, and supported by an array of flying buttresses, frequently of very wide span, often having double arches with crocketed pinnacles at every break, or instead of such, a statue. The eye is fascinated and bewildered. In this country we not only have no parallel but not even an approach to this kind of thing. Before the east end of Westminster Abbey was altered by Henry the Seventh, it might have approximated, but could never have rivalled such a church as Notre Dame, or Cologne, or Freiberg in the Black Forest, or even Utrecht, in Holland. Many of the apses of the Continent, however, have not this beauty. Instead of the slender, airy buttresses I have just referred to, there are some which almost hide the church. They resemble rather parts of a wall than buttresses. Such may be seen at St. Denys and at Coutances. I am inclined to think the apse in England must always have been very plain externally. We have only one or two left in great churches, and it is not easy to restore in imagination those that have disappeared, which were cut away to admit the eastern Lady Chapels of a later date. A Norman apse remains at Peterborough, but it is comparatively plain, and its lower part is enclosed in Perpendicular work. That of Canterbury was altered to admit of the attaching of Beckett's Crown—the apse was similarly cut off at Norwich. Lichfield alone possesses an apse at all like a Continental one, but that is of later date, and though dignified, is quite plain, and it has no clerestory. In smaller churches, notably in Sussex and Essex, Norman apses are common, as at Newhaven and East Ham, and there is a magnificent specimen at Leuchars, just south of the Tay Bridge, in Fifeshire, which is covered externally with arcades. All these, however, are too small to fitly compare with the apses of minster churches. The Romanesque churches of Germany have an ornamented apse quite of a different kind. There is a beautiful open low gallery, with an outward arcade of pillars and arches, built in the thickness of the wall of the apse, above the windows and below the cornice. It is to be seen in almost every Romanesque church in the Rhine district, as at Bonn Cathedral, Andernach, Coblenz, Bacharach and many other places. In England we have nothing analogous to these arcades. Norman arcading with us is but little raised above a flat surface, whether it occur upon the apse, as at East Ham, close to London, or at Leuchars, in Fifeshire, in the far North—I mention these two instances because of their widely different positions, to show how one rule pervaded the whole of this Island—or upon the towers, as at Durham, Exeter, Tewkesbury, Wimborne, St. Mary's, Dover, and New Romney, or upon a round tower, as at Little Saxham; or upon a western façade, as at Castle Acre, St. Botolph's, Colchester, and a score of others.

To return for a moment to Normandy—a visitor to that country will be struck with the towers of the great churches in the Norman style, and which are far more beautiful than ours of the same period. A Norman tower in England is generally heavy, no matter how much it is arcaded. No one will venture, I think, to assert that any of the towers just named, or that of St. Alban's Cathedral, or those of the churches of Great Tey, in Essex, or of St. Clement's, Sandwich, in Kent, are light. The only Norman tower we have, which can fairly be said to

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be so, is that of Norwich Cathedral; and here it may be asked whether its lightness is not rather due to the Decorated spire than to the work of the tower itself? Cross the channel, however, and you will find Norman towers which are both light and elegant, panelled as ours are in many stages, but with a difference, inasmuch as their arches are deeper set, and display far finer effects of light and shade. Such towers, however, are not central, but at the west end, rising to a considerable height and are generally crowned with lofty spires of the same, or at all events, of Transition date in which the Norman style and the succeeding one are blended. Though we have Norman towers in abundance, we cannot boast of one with a contemporaneous or even with a Transition spire; even the square parapets with which our Norman towers are finished are generally three hundred years later. Our earliest example of a spire in England is, I believe, that of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; and this is so much of a restoration, unfortunately, as to have lost its interest in this connexion. It retains its old lines, however, and though rather heavy, must be looked at still with respect as being the first stone spire, properly so-called, erected in Britain.

The mention of this spire brings me to the Early English age. It is a delightful task to study Early English work with the French First Pointed style side by side, to note where they agree, and where they differ; what characteristics or details one style possesses which the other lacks; as for instance, the use of the dog-tooth moulding here, and its absence abroad; the relative merits of the square abacus *versus* the round; the general rectangular character of foreign mouldings and flat soffits, against our ribbed intricate mouldings; the stiff foliage against the free: the development of groining from the quadripartite to the multipartite. At Salisbury and at Ripon we get perfect examples of Early English work in its plainer form; at Westminster, Wells, Ely, Lincoln and Boxgrove we have the same style of a more elaborate type. In France we can nowhere study First Pointed work better than at Lisieux or Chalons, or in the west front of Notre Dame, Paris, or the nave of Rouen Cathedral. All these examples, with the exception of the square abacus, show work which does not differ greatly from our own Early English style; but if we want more elaborate and uncommon specimens of their First Pointed, we must seek such at Coutances, where we may see external detached shafts 80 feet high, slender wands of stone, which seem too slight to withstand the wind, and yet have stood for nearly 700 years; or in the lovely and unique cloister of St. Michael's Mount with its double arcades; or at Chartres, for examples of early statuary. A first sight of Chartres Cathedral is a day to be marked with a white stone in every man's existence.

The style which followed the Early English which *we* call Decorated, and sometimes Second Pointed, is found everywhere abroad, in France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Holland—everywhere, indeed, on this side the Alps, and it differs in its details less than any other style. An identity of spirit seems to have pervaded every set of builders in Western Europe in the fourteenth century. A German, for instance, might see in Lichfield Cathedral the same forms as at Cologne and Strassburg; a Frenchman at Freiberg and at Oberwesel the features he leaves in France; while the ubiquitous Englishman finds himself at home at once at St. Ouen, Normandy, at St. Gudule, Brussels, at St. Stephen's, Vienna, or at the cathedrals of Metz, or Lausanne. With all the beauties of Decorated work, as displayed in English cathedrals, it may be questioned whether the Decorated style cannot better be studied in the parish churches of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, such as Rushden, or the wonderful church of Heckington.

After the Decorated, we had in England the Perpendicular, a style which, like the Early English, is peculiar to England, but even more indigenous, as it never for a moment appears on the Continent, and there is but one good example north of the Tweed, viz., the tower of Dunkeld. This style, which it is now the custom to under-rate, is capable of the most endless variety, and of being adapted to anything or everything. As examples of what it is capable we may cite the west fronts of Beverley Minster and Bath Abbey; or the Tower of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the Bell Tower of Evesham; or contrast the nave of Winchester Cathedral with that of Southwold Church, or St. Mary, Redcliffe with that of Lavenham; or the sculptured granite of Launceston in the far west, with the flint tracery of Long Melford in the far East. It was the age, too, for vast windows, like those at Gloucester and York; for open work battlements thrown against the sky, as seen all over Somersetshire; for sternness, where such was required, as in the heavy tower of Carlisle Cathedral, in proof of which that tower still retains the marks of shots from the sieges it suffered from the Scotch, while the Perpendicular is capable of the most exquisite tenderness, as in the roof of King's College Chapel, or the buttresses at St. Lawrence's, Evesham.

While the Perpendicular was the one style of England for nearly two hundred years, the contemporary style in France was what is called the Flamboyant, which may be described as curvilinear Gothic carried to excess. Like the Perpendicular with us, it was long-lived, and its varieties are endless, no two churches being at all alike. Its great characteristic is the placing of flowing tracery upon everything, not only in window, but on wall, on buttresses, on finial;

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and when it covered every bit of stone, it took to hiding the walls with detached screens of open work, and putting the whole church into a stone cage. It is, of course, exceedingly beautiful, but to us English it seems to want backbone. We require something more for a church porch than a stone bower, open to every wind. If there is a fine wheel window, one does not wish it to be half hid by a detached duplicate in front, and we look for something at a dizzy elevation more than Mechlin lace in stone, and would rather see saints in saintly attitudes, than saints dodging one another about the meshes of a great cobweb. The best feature of the Flamboyant churches is their singularly lovely towers. At Rouen, we find, I think, nearly a dozen of these. A fine example is seen in the isolated tower of St. Jacques, at Paris, and in the highest old tower in the world—that of Mechlin Cathedral, still unfinished. While the Flamboyant obtained in France, a Gothic of its own kind, also very beautiful, but open to much criticism, rose in Belgium and Germany. I may cite the tower of Antwerp Cathedral, and the town halls of Brussels and Louvain as typical of the Gothic of Belgium in the fifteenth century. The Gothic of Holland, which is of late date also, is generally uninteresting. These churches are all large, with high west towers, and always of brick. The pillars are cylindrical and tall, and are the best parts of the churches. The windows throughout the country are in almost every case deprived of their tracery, and nearly every ornament which the hammer of the fanatic could reach is broken off, no matter whether it was symbolical or merely ornamental. In no country of Europe, not even in Scotland, are the churches so ill treated. If there is a church-going nation *par excellence* in the world, that nation is the Dutch; and yet their churches are so filthy as to be abhorrent. The reputed cleanliness of the Dutch certainly does not extend to the "repairing and keeping clean of churches."

I shall now proceed to make a few remarks on some still more marked differences between English and foreign cathedrals and great churches, and shall divide these remarks into four divisions:—

I. Of some features which English churches possess, which foreign ones do not.

II. Of some features which foreign churches possess, which English ones do not.

III. Of some features which both possess in common, but in which foreign churches excel, and show finer examples, and

IV. Of some features which both possess in common, but in which English churches excel, and show finer examples.

I. Under the first division, viz., that English cathedrals possess some marked features which foreign ones lack, I unhesitatingly name first—

The Central Tower.—This is almost a peculiar English feature, for though it sometimes does occur abroad, it is not common. There is not one central tower, properly so called, I believe, upon any great church in Belgium, Holland or Switzerland, and only a few in Germany. A central tower does occasionally occur in France, particularly in Normandy, as at both the cathedral and the church of St. Ouen, at Rouen, the cathedral of Bayeux, St. Étienne, Caen, and Coutances. At Rouen Cathedral it is a *bonâ fide* central tower, as also at St. Ouen, where it takes the octagonal form, with much fine work throughout. At Bayeux the central tower is modern, and bears a close resemblance to that of the west tower at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, an odd place for a Frenchman to find a type. At Caen and at Coutances the central tower is ancient, but it is low and lumpy, not much more than a lantern. At St. Pierre, Coutances, another fine church, the central tower dates only from the Renaissance; and here also it is low and lumpy. In French churches, we commonly find no more than a *flèche* at the intersection, as at Amiens and Paris. Often this flèche is wanting, as at Chartres, which has nothing whatever to break the line of its long roof. I remember, when travelling in this district, that I observed from the windows of the carriage, what appeared to be a church in the distance, the nave and western spire of which showed very plainly across the country. The train went on for a few miles, and still, on the left hand, was the same building with the same straight and stiff form. Another mile and another were passed over, and there still was the same church with its plain roof and spire, now gradually developing into two. In a word, it was Chartres Cathedral, as seen for many a mile away. Getting nearer to it at last, it was apparent that what appeared to be nave only, was really the whole line of its roof from west to east. The want of a central tower is the great defect of Chartres. On the other hand, the central tower of English cathedrals, and I may add of Scottish and Irish churches too, for we find it pretty general, as at Melrose, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, Glasgow, at both the cathedrals of Dublin, at Kilkenny, Cashel, and at abbeys such as Holy Cross and Jerpoint, it is so constant that it may be said to be a national feature. There can be no finer finish to a great church than a single lofty central tower or spire. Imagine for a moment what Canterbury would be without its Bell Harry Tower, as we see it from the North or South; or what Gloucester would be without its glorious

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tower, or Worcester or Lincoln, or above all Salisbury, whose spire is the apex of a perfect pyramid, the base of which is the ground, and towards which every line of the structure, whether of wall, window or buttress, all tend and lead the eye upwards to that central feature which makes Salisbury Cathedral an unparalleled and harmonious whole!

Another point to be noticed in which our cathedrals excel all others is *the Architectural Choir*, which even more than a central tower is a speciality of our great churches. By the term architectural choir, I mean the eastern limb of a cruciform church. In early Romanesque churches upon the Continent, while cruciformity was the general rule, the eastern limb of the cross was very short, often consisting of a semi-circular apse only, which opened immediately to the east of the crossing, and was in general only about half the height of the nave roof. This is the feature we see at Mayence and at Laach, and even at Strassburg Cathedral. It is no more than the simple semi-circular apse with a coved roof, just as we have it in our English village churches like Newhaven, only upon a larger scale. In France there was more display—the eastern limb of the cross was here a true one, but it consisted of only one or two bays, and then the apse, which was now as lofty as the other parts. We have examples of this short choir in our Norman cathedrals of Hereford and Norwich. In the next style, the First Pointed, the eastern limb as a rule was, upon the Continent, kept to the same proportions as before, namely, to one or two bays and then an apse, which now became polygonal. This arrangement was adopted in Germany also, after the Romanesque age. It is interesting to us to find in Westminster Abbey this continental ground plan carried out eastward of the transept. It is our only example, and must have been copied by Henry III.'s Architect, though with English detail, from churches in that king's continental dominions. After this came the great English variation. *We* dropped the apse suddenly, finishing the church with a square east end, and lengthening the eastern limb to an indefinite number of bays, and the result is those glorious and unrivalled architectural choirs which are the chiefest and most splendid portions of our English cathedrals.

As soon as English architects discovered the capabilities of their novel architectural choir, they began to decorate it in a way of their own, and as bay was added to bay, the second, or eastern transept, was developed; conceived of at first, doubtless, to break the outside line, and when discovered, made the best use of. Often the choir was longer than the nave itself, as at Exeter. More frequently it was of the same length as at Lichfield, Chester, Lincoln, and Old St. Paul's. As these choirs were lengthened, and could fitly go no further, the eastern Lady Chapel was, so to speak, then discovered, giving to our English cathedrals a prominence and a beauty which have no rivals in the world.

When we go abroad, the architectural choir is the feature we miss most; whereas, according to our idea, it should be the chief part of the structure. Grand as Strassburg cathedral is, it has positively no architectural choir at all; everything ends at the great transept, just where the glories begin at Worcester, Lincoln, and a score more of our great churches. When we have been over a foreign cathedral, what is it that we remember best? Certainly it is not the choir. In one case it may be the western façade, with its twin or divergent towers, where we find the most remarkable features; in another, it may be the north and south porches, with their wealth of statues; in a third, it may be the lustre of the storied windows; in a fourth, the vast height of roof and pillar; in a fifth, the great span and number of parallel aisles: but with one or two exceptions at the very most, it is never the architectural choir of which we carry away the fondest memory. But who can visit Lincoln, or Salisbury, or York, or Winchester, or Exeter, or Lichfield, or Wells, without feeling that the spirit of the place is beyond the screen; and while we are not slow to admire the façade, the spires and towers, the porches and magnificent windows, is it not the *choir* that most fascinates us; the place where we speak lower, where our minds are more rapt, and while under the spell

> "When the anthem is done,
> "And the choristers sitting with faces aslant,
> "Feel the silence to consecrate more than the chant"? *

Another thing in which our English cathedrals and great churches excel those on the Continent is their possession of our superb *Chantries*. By this term I do not mean the chapels which are part of the general fabric, but those isolated, enclosed structures, which are at once a monument, a tomb, and a chapel, of which we have examples in nearly every one of our great churches, such as the chantry of Bishop Bridport at Salisbury, which is among the earliest, and that of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster, almost the very latest. These chantries are peculiarly English, and occur in every age of our architecture except the Norman. Besides their own uses, they moreover always harmonize with the surrounding architecture, and even form part of it. The chantry of William of Wykeham, at Winchester, may be cited as a typical

* Mrs. Browning's *Lay of the Brown Rosary*.

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one. There is first an altar tomb, on which, with hands joined in prayer, lies the effigy of the deceased. Over and around this is a structure of open stone-work, with its own doorway, and its own altar within. Another very sumptuous chantry is that of Prince Arthur at Worcester. There are some lovely ones at Exeter, and Wells, and Tewkesbury. Fine specimens may be found at some lesser churches, as Christ Church, Hants, and Boxgrove, in Sussex. Such things, however, the churches of the Continent altogether want. The tomb of Maximilian, at Innspruck, is a wonderful idea, but it is not a chantry. It seems rather as if the Imperial Court had assembled to behold the tomb of the Emperor, and had been turned by magic into statues as they stood.

I might cite several other features as special to English churches of which there are no instances abroad, such as the wonderful fan tracery of our Tudor roofs, as in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, King's College Chapel, the Chapel Royal at Windsor, the cloisters at Gloucester, and other places, which are entirely our own; as also are the superb timber roofs of the Perpendicular age common all over Norfolk and Suffolk, and found also in Somersetshire; but time forbids more than the bare mention. Time would also fail to tell of the magnificent oaken work in the shape of carved stalls and their canopies, in which our cathedrals are so rich, or of the screen work in many a retired parish church, like that at Dennington, Suffolk, or at Combe Martin, in Devon, or at Southwold, where is not only screen work on a grand scale, but screen work which is covered with fifteenth-century paintings, retaining their vivid colour. But I must pass on to notice in the next place—

II. Some features which are common in Foreign churches to which we, unfortunately, on this side the Channel, can show no counterpart. I have already alluded to the apses of great Continental churches, with their double ambulatories within, and the array of flying buttresses to support the clerestory without, and need not repeat it here. A still more distinguishing feature in foreign cathedrals is *the great height of the roof*. Our highest English roof is at Westminster, which is 100 feet high. Such lofty vaulting as that at St. Ouen's, at Rouen, and at the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Beauvais, and Cologne, are among their chief boasts. The piers at the intersection at the first church here named are 100 feet above the floor. The roof at Chartres is 106 feet, at Amiens it is 130, while at Beauvais and Cologne it reaches to the amazing height of 150 feet, so that the height of these two roofs is more than the height of the west *towers* of Canterbury, while they are higher than the central towers of Wells, Chester, St. David's, Bristol, and Ripon Cathedrals. This vast elevation, however, astonishing as it sounds, is not so overwhelming on the spot, for the great breadth of these cathedrals is in general of due proportion to their height. The height attained is made up, of course, by the proportionate heightening of the arcade, of the triforium and of the clerestory, but not always. In some foreign cathedrals it is made up by the disproportionate extension of the clerestory alone, of which an illustration is found at Metz. But all this superior height, beautiful as it is, and often a daring feat of the architect, has its drawbacks; it detracts from the length of the nave as at Cologne, which is about as wide as it is long, and only 10 feet longer than it is high. In any perspective view, the nave of Cologne almost disappears, and the transepts seem to touch the Western towers.

The great elevation of the nave roofs has led the foreign builders into another important feature peculiar to themselves, viz., the necessary heightening of the western front, to hide what would be an enormous and ugly gable. This is managed by throwing screens across, between the western towers, which screens are sometimes so lofty, that at Amiens and Abbeville they rise nearly to the summit of the towers themselves. This arrangement allows for much ornamentation, and for courses of arcades one above another. The variety is endless. At Notre Dame, Paris, this work is finished by a beautiful double, open gallery, through which a passage runs. At Strassburg the work is brought up solid to a square platform 230 feet above the ground, higher than the central tower of Gloucester, from which the tower proper and spire rise 230 more. This kind of western screen prevailed all through the Gothic ages in France, and even to our own time as we see in the Renaissance church of St. Michael at Dijon, and in the more modern church of St. Sulpice at Paris. There is just a single specimen of this feature in London, though on a very small scale, namely, St. Mary Woolnoth. In Germany, at some places, we find a stone beam like a bridge thrown across, between the towers, a very hideous arrangement indeed. We find there also the beautiful spire of open work, the finest example of which is at Freiberg. We see it also at Basle in the Cathedral, and in the new western towers at Cologne.

Another feature common all over France, Belgium and Germany is the *Side Chapels* in the nave, built within projecting buttresses, and which, mostly containing private altars, may have obviated the necessity for the erection of isolated chantries, such as those I have spoken of as ours specially. These side chapels are seldom very beautiful, at all events not so within the church, though they break well the exterior outline, as each one has its own gabled roof and

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windows. A very fine exception to the ordinary run of these chapels exists at Coutances, where the wall between the chapels is in every instance pierced with a window with fine tracery, complete in everything except glass. No instance of such side chapels exists in England in an old church, though we have an example in Scotland, at Melrose Abbey, the nave of which must have been erected by an architect who had studied in France.

But the great feature of all to which the palm of superiority must be accorded is their wealth of splendid *Statuary*. Let me mention Chartres Cathedral as a specimen. On the west front of that cathedral we have sculpture in a crude form; the figures are thin and stiff, yet there is nature in them, and we see that the artists were feeling after something better. The date of this work is the transition. On the north and south transepts of the same cathedral, which belong to the First Pointed Age, the work is altogether of a finer kind, almost worthy of any age and any workmen. At each end of these transepts there is a vast lateral porch or portico in three divisions, which is, so to speak, loaded with statues of kings and saints. They not only fill the jambs and the mouldings, but by the porches being brought forward, space is afforded for placing statues in every possible spot. They appear on the voissures, and in every place where a niche or a bracket could be inserted. On the north porch at Chartres there are no less than 700 statues and statuettes, and in the whole cathedral no less than 1,800, varying in size from ten feet downwards. The work will bear critical examination, and is in fine condition still. But this is as almost nothing as compared to the magnificent series of sculptures on the outside of the screen which separates the choir from the ambulatory (for Chartres is one of the few foreign cathedrals which can boast of an architectural choir) where are forty or more groups, each group having several figures in natural positions—half the size of life—embracing scenes from the life of our Lord. The statuary at Amiens, which is well known, though very important, is not so fine as at Chartres. Beside these examples I will only mention Notre Dame, at Paris, and the North and South transepts at Rouen, as typical of French sculpture; Strassburg, and Freiberg in Breisgau as typical of German work; Berne, Basle, and Lausanne as typical of work in Switzerland. Our English cathedrals, after all these, certainly seem at a discount as far as statuary is concerned, and yet it is comforting for us to know that the west front of Wells is unrivalled in the world for this very kind of work, and that its statuary was pronounced by Flaxman to be worthy of Greece, while Exeter has no rival of its kind anywhere, and has suffered little from time, and nothing from the restorer. The west front of Lichfield, on the other hand, has been twice renewed. It was until lately in stucco only. The statues have been now replaced by stone ones, which for purposes of argument, are as new as the statue of Queen Anne in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Mr. Ruskin has written a book on what he calls "The Bible of Amiens," by which he means the lesson taught by the sculpture in the porches. But without underrating Amiens, the work there, even according to Ruskin himself, is little more than an index to the names of the Prophets, and the Virtues, and needs an interpreter. But had Ruskin taken Strassburg or Chartres he would have found a more open Bible, for almost every event in the Old Testament is sculptured around the great portal of Strassburg, while the events of the New Testament, and the life of our Lord appears on the tympanum, ideally it is true, but very touchingly. But at Chartres on the choir screen, the very spirit of the Gospels has been caught. We see tenderness and compassion in all the figures of our Lord, while penitence appears on that of the woman taken in adultery, faith in another, zeal in a third, and so on.

III. I come now in the next place to dwell briefly on some features which both English and Foreign Cathedrals possess, but in which the Foreign ones excel ours. Among these I may place first the *Portals* as distinct from porches to which I have just alluded. Upon these the Continental builders spent much thought and skill. They are in general lofty and imposing, deeply recessed and numerous in all parts of the church. Both transepts have generally two or three of these portals, as has also the west front, where we sometimes, as at Bayeux, find five. They are always fitting vestibules to a solemn temple, and even if it were possible to imagine them without their sculpture and symbolical teaching, they would be still unrivalled. We have only one transeptal series of portals in England, viz., at Westminster, which forms part of the façade of the north transept, the whole of which was greatly injured by Sir Christopher Wren, but which is now assuming fresh beauty, though it is to be feared the alterations are conjectural. If we glance in mind over the west fronts of our English cathedrals and abbeys we shall find for the most part that we have nothing to boast of in the way of entrances into our great churches. If the west front of Wells has a fault, it is its three small and insignificant doorways. So at Ripon, Worcester, and other churches. Cirencester parish church has a finer porch of its kind than any cathedral in England, and that of Beccles, in Suffolk, is not far behind it.

One of the commonest features on the portals is the sculptures in the tympanum. There is scarcely a large Gothic church abroad where this is not seen. On our Gothic churches it is almost unknown. Yet we have one instance that we can point to, viz., the church of Higham

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Ferrers, where we have work quite in the Continental style. The tympanum here is lofty, and is filled with elegant sculpture of scenes in the life of Christ, ten in number, the intervening spaces being filled with figures and foliage. All is of rich Early English work, and is remarkable as being earlier in date than almost any on the Continent.

Another architectural feature in which the Continental churches excel is having so many *wheel* or *rose windows*. They are as general abroad as they are rare here. We find them immediately on landing at Dieppe, and they extend all over the country, and their tracery is always fine and intricate. I will only mention those at the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, and on the west front of Strassburg, because they are perhaps the two finest out of many hundreds. In our case one can only number them by tens. There are two at Westminster, two at Lincoln, one at Durham, one at Oxford, one at York, one at St. David's, one in the North Transept of Cheltenham Parish Church, one at Temple Balsall, one at the Temple Church, London; and this is about all we have, omitting smaller ones, which are more common, and not counting those found in the ruins of Byland, Dryburgh and St. Andrew's.

IV. It is now to be noticed with satisfaction that our English churches possess some fine features, which, while if they are also possessed by Foreign churches, *we* undoubtedly take the first place. I do not allude to the beauty of outline, or to the harmonious character of our cathedral churches, of which no doubt we might boast; nor to our superior mouldings with their depth of shadow, but proceed to mention first our unrivalled and magnificent church windows. If the Continent excels us in porches, we undoubtedly excel it in windows, and in windows of all the three Gothic periods. There are not such windows in the whole world as the east windows of Gloucester Cathedral and of York Minster, both of them of a Transition date between the Decorated and the Perpendicular, the latter measuring 78 feet by 33 feet. Then there is the window of the west front of York Minster, one of the finest Curvilinear windows in the world, and the five enormous lancets in the north transept of Early English date. There is the lovely west window of Tintern Abbey, perfect in its tracery of early Decorated work; there are the grand east windows of Carlisle and Bristol, each with nine lights, the vast windows all around the Lady Chapel of Ely, the lantern of tracery filling every portion of the wall of the chapter house at Salisbury, the superb array at Lincoln, the wonderful Early English windows with their peculiar heads in the North transept at Hereford. These are only a few specimens, of which one might adduce scores; and I make bold to say that, as a whole, no Continental cathedral can do more than stand in the second place after these. Coming to the later Flamboyant Period, it cannot hold its own beside our Perpendicular, even in the matter of windows, wheel windows excepted. Is there such a series of windows anywhere in the world as those at King's College Chapel, or those in the Lady Chapel at Gloucester? Are those in the nave of Canterbury surpassed? And leaving cathedrals, what can be said of the windows of such churches as those of Grantham, Boston, St. Mary, Redcliffe, and the church of Stone, in Kent, among parish churches; or of those at the east end of Selby, Tintern, Netley, and the south window of Melrose—to mention no more—among our abbeys? Are there such windows in all Europe as those in the south aisle at Gloucester, or in the north chapel at Ledbury, where the ball flower ornament covers every portion of mullion and tracery both within and without, and looks like garlands of some summer flower, which, enamoured of the sacred walls, have been consecrated into perennials as they hang? Is there out of England a parish church like Long Melford, of which it can be said that its walls are windows, and the spaces between them only mullions? Or is there in the whole world another building with windows like those in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, where stone seems to be flexible as a wand, bent into any shape at will, and the glass of which catches every light, and produces glories all day long on regal tomb, and those concave cells of the matchless vault which catch the music of the organ and hold it spell bound?

Again, is there any country which can show such *Cloisters* as England can? Cloisters are to be found on the Continent it is true, but not commonly, except in conventual buildings now desecrated. But they are to be found sometimes, as at Utrecht, St. Michael's Mount, Basle, Mayence, Schaffhausen, and a few other places. Thanks to so many of our cathedrals having once been monastic churches, or cathedrals on what is called the "old foundation," so many lovely cloisters remain to us. The cloisters always impress us even more than the cathedral itself. Winchester and Peterborough, being without them, look gaunt on their south sides. There is a something wanting at Exeter, fine as it is, and that is a cloister, and were there not green gardens on the south side of Ely the feeling of vacuity would be present there too. It is the possession of a cloister that makes a comparatively poor cathedral like Chester take a higher importance than it otherwise deserves. The cloister at Canterbury not only brings the great deed, for which it is so celebrated, before the mind, but it throws the north side of the cathedral and the majestic tower into greater force. At Gloucester the writing cells of the monks in the south walk, and the lavatory on the north, bring their daily

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life before us, as do also the cloisters at Westminster, the most lovely and tranquil spot in all London.

From the cloister to the *Chapter House* is but a step, and though the chapter houses of English cathedrals might have been better mentioned earlier, yet I couple them here with the cloisters from which they are generally entered. We have them of many shapes, of which those which are octagonal or decagonal, are the finest, with their central pier and groined roof. There is one such left entire in Scotland, at Elgin; the only part of that cathedral which was not destroyed, quite of the English type. At Canterbury, Oxford, Bristol, and a few other places, they are rectangular; which is the form the chapter house mostly takes in our abbey ruins, as at Furness, Kirkstall, and Boxgrove.

With a few brief remarks I shall have done. Have we ever thought what it costs to build any one of our cathedrals or abbeys? I am not now speaking of money, but of something more precious. The best of everything was lavished upon them of mind, knowledge, and skill. Besides being the seat of religion, these sacred edifices were the recognized depositories of literature, science, and art. So much honour was given them that no gift was thought too costly for their adornment. Putting aside all sentiment and undue stretching of symbolism, I think we may see in every cathedral church a Scriptural idea. We have in the nave the Christian development of the outer court of the Jewish Temple, in the choir the court of the priests, and in the sacrarium the Holy Place. We cannot call the ages which built such churches dark ages, nor can we think that the men who built a cathedral or an abbey church were worldly men, but would rather believe that as their work grew they loved it the more; and as willing offerings were brought in, they were all dedicated to God. The stones may have been laid with prayer, and as the arches rose around the solemn place, the builders may have seen by faith the eternal arches of Heaven; in the statues of the sculptor may have thought of the cherubim upon the mercy seat, and in the costly pavement before the altar, have had some faint idea of typifying the sea of glass before the throne.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. MAGNUS, AT KIRKWALL, IN ORKNEY.

By REV. C. L. ACLAND, M.A.

For many years past, I have been in the habit of spending a considerable portion of almost every summer in Shetland, and several times I have been in the far north twice in the course of the year. As the steamer from Aberdeen always stops for some hours, on both outward and homeward passages, at Kirkwall the principal town in Orkney, I have paid many visits to the building which is the subject of my paper this evening—the Cathedral Church of St. Magnus, of Orkney. There is one spot on the road that winds up the hill on the south side of the church having the church on the one side and on the other the ruined castle of the old earls and palace of the old bishops of Orkney, at which I always stand and gaze, and as I gaze I dream. I dream not of the past, but of the future, and of the time when, in the good pleasure of God, this noble church shall once again return to its true purpose, and be a centre of influence and of work throughout the Islands of the North. About eighteen years ago, I had an unusual opportunity of talking with several of the Presbyterian ministers of Orkney, and some of the leading people of Kirkwall, and I was left under the impression that, at that time, had it been in the power of the Scottish Church, through the collective episcopate or otherwise, to make a distinct offer, the property of the Cathedral might have been acquired, and thus, at any rate one step have been taken in the direction of the realization of my dream. That chance passed away, and now it would be a more complicated matter to purchase the church than it would then have been, though I do not believe that it is to be regarded, even now, as hopeless. That the Scottish Church has a great future before it, as it has had a great past, I

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feel certain; that there is, even now, a great stirring among the dry bones of Presbyterianism, I am very sure, and that the Cathedral of St. Magnus in Orkney, as well as that of St. Mungo in Glasgow, is waiting for the dawning of a better day, I venture to hope. At present, as you are all aware, the diocese of Orkney which includes Shetland is united to that of Aberdeen, with somewhat anomalous geographical results; but, from the consecration of William, the first bishop of the Norwegian line, in A.D. 1102, down to the deposition of Bruce, the last bishop of the Scottish line, in 1688, the diocese of Orkney was ruled by bishops of her own.

The ecclesiastical history of the Northern Islands from the first introduction of Christianity to the suppression of the see of Orkney, under the Act of Settlement, in 1688, naturally divides itself into three periods—that of the Pictish or Celtic Church, that of the Norwegian, and that of the Scottish line. I hope it will not be wearisome if I give a short outline of some parts of this history before directing your attention to the Cathedral Church itself. Of the first introduction of Christianity into Orkney no records remain, though it can hardly be doubted that it was due to the missionary zeal of the Irish Church, and that it took place in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. It was to these Irish missionaries that Scotland, as we now understand the term, owed her conversion; and Columba and his great missionary college of Iona, in the Western Islands, were themselves of Irish origin. The references to these northern islands in the earliest records are few and scanty; but the remains found on the islands themselves, and even more distinctly certain names given by the Norsemen, and still remaining, seem to me to prove plainly enough that at the time of the great Norse invasion towards the close of the ninth century these islands were peopled by a Christian race. The Icelandic records also tell us that, as working clergy in Orkney and Shetland, and as recluses in Faroe, and even in Iceland, the Irish priests—Papar, as the Norsemen called them—were everywhere found.

In the paper that I had the pleasure of reading before the Society on a previous occasion, I called attention to various structural remains—relics of the earliest Christianity of Britain—that are still to be found in the remoter districts, and on the outlying islands round our western coasts. But few of these are left in Orkney, though there are some. The remains of the group of dwellings surrounding the tiny church on the Brough of Deerness may be mentioned; but the most important is the round-towered church, still standing, though unroofed, on Egilshay—the Church Island, as the Norsemen called it—thus assigning to this church an antiquity higher than that of their own invasion, its later dedication to St. Magnus, the sainted earl whose murder took place on the island and close to the church itself, proving that it was worthy of being adopted as a church by themselves when the days of their conversion came. Perhaps, like its namesake at Kirkwall, it also awaits the better time. The church of Deerness, unique in Britain, with its twin round-towers at the west end has been destroyed almost within living memory, and its materials taken for farm-buildings; and a similar fate has, no doubt, befallen many others. But, after all, names are more durable than buildings. The many islands with the stamp of the priests' dwellings on their names—Papa-stour and Papey, in Shetland, Papa Westray and Papa Stronsay, in Orkney, Papey occurring more than once in Iceland, as well as the various forms of the name in the Western Islands, all tell the same tale of the Celtic clergy found in possession by the Norsemen. Moreover, some of the islands themselves, and many spots on others, bear names showing dedication to the Celtic saints—St. Ninian's Island, on the west coast of Dunrossness, in Shetland, and elsewhere, and St. Columba's three chapels in South Ronaldshay, in Orkney, will suffice to illustrate what I mean.

In the absence of contemporary records, it is not easy to say exactly to what extent Christianity had spread among the Celtic population of the northern islands, but the probability seems to be that, in the centuries which intervened between the first visit of the Irish monks and the overrunning of the whole country by the fierce Norsemen, whom resentment against the innovation of Harold Fairhair drove into exile, the faith of Christ had struck deep root. I have not time to go into all the authorities on this matter; but it seems to me plain, as I said, that the islands were inhabited by a Christian population "before they were overrun by the Norwegian invaders, and the Christian faith swallowed up in the rising tide of heathenism thrown upon their shores from the land of Odin and the Aser."*

For nearly a century before the great emigration the sails of the Norwegian Vikingr or Bayfolk had been well known to, and dreaded by, the inhabitants of these Western lands. Isolated expeditions had made descent not only on Shetland and Orkney, but on the Western Islands, Ireland, Man, and even Scilly; and everywhere the heathen pirates ravaged with fire and sword the cloisters of the monks and the homesteads of the peaceful population. In 802, and again in 806, Iona was sacked; in 824 Bangor, in the North of Ireland, was burned, and its bishops and clergy slain; and in 815 Thorkell, at Armagh, and in 853 Olaf the White, at Dublin, set up Norwegian thrones in the midst of a Celtic population. In the year 872 Harold

* Anderson, *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. xiii.

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Fairhair completed a revolution in Norway, which was more important in itself, and more far-reaching in its consequences, than many changes better known to fame. He made himself king of all Norway, and those who would not submit to the change—and they were very many—had to leave the country. Many an Icelandic saga tells what happened "through the overbearing of Harold the king." Then it was that a regular emigration began, and that the Western Islands, from Iceland southward, already well known to these bold and hardy warriors, became the land of their adoption. In Orkney and Shetland, as well as in the Hebrides, the Sudreyar,* or Southern Islands, chief after chief seized such land as he best liked, and there established himself, holding by force of arms against all comers, or else yielding to the stronger arm of his neighbour, but all through preserving the fierce independence that had originally prompted the emigration. The wondrous story of the colonization of Iceland cannot now be told, nor the manner in which that remote island—then, however, far better suited to be the abode of a large population than now—became the home of a nation and the seat of arts, and, above all, of a literature the like of which, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, it would be vain to seek elsewhere. But for the literature of Iceland, the story of the Northern nations would be a blank. By its aid we have not only a complete history, but a vivid picture, photographic in its minuteness, of the life and customs, the wars and laws of a nation closely akin to ourselves, and to which we owe a debt greater than we know for many of the best of the qualities on which we pride ourselves. The men who from the secret inlets of the deep and dark fiords of Norway had sallied forth on their Viking expeditions, now as exiles ravaged the coasts from which they had emigrated, till the ships from the Viking station of the Western Haaf got to be as much dreaded, and that very quickly, by those Norwegians who had accepted the changes introduced by Harold, as the same ships had before been feared by the inhabitants of the land that had now become the home of the fierce warriors by whom they were manned. Goaded at last beyond endurance, Harold Fairhair made an expedition against his former subjects, carried fire and sword throughout the islands, and compelled those who survived to own his sole rule. Thus Shetland and Orkney became part of the kingdom of Norway, and the long line of Norwegian Earls of Orkney begins with the appointment of Rognwald Earl of Mœri, himself the father of Hrolf, or Rollo, the Norse conqueror of Normandy, and direct ancestor of William the Conqueror of England. He, however, preferred his native country, and gave the Earldom of Orkney to his brother Sigurd. Thenceforward, the Earls of Orkney ruled Orkney and Shetland, with many fierce quarrels among themselves, and with their Scottish neighbours, as well as with the sovereigns of Norway, but holding their dominions from the Crown of Norway, and owning themselves "King's men" on all occasions. The Earldom of Orkney, I may remark in passing, extended at various times over much of the counties of Caithness and Sutherland,† as is well shown even now by the characteristic names prevailing in those counties, and the fact that no Gaelic has ever since been spoken in the districts that thus became parts of Norway. To this hour a Shetlander is insulted if you call him a Scotchman, and I have myself heard my Shetland friends complain that "the country," as they lovingly call it, "is not what it used to be—it has too many Scotchmen in it."

Under these changed circumstances, you may well imagine that Celtic Christianity vanished almost, if not quite, entirely, and that the gentle religion of the Cross of Christ was replaced by the fierce superstitions of Norse heathenism, superstitions assuredly not all evil, which, while making heroes of the men, and men of the women, eschewing all that was gentle and tending to peace, yet scorned all that was low and mean, and held high codes of bravery and honour.

But the great change came presently to the Norsemen. In the year 992 Olaf Tryggvi's son, when on a roving expedition, was converted to Christianity and baptized by a hermit in the Scilly Islands. Becoming King of Norway in 995 he proceeded to establish the Christian religion by main force throughout his dominions. The *Orkneyinga Saga* gives the following account of the way the King went to work in Orkney:

The Earl of Orkney was Sigurd the Stout, son of Lödver. He was a powerful man and a great warrior. In his days Olaf Tryggvi's son, returning from a Viking expedition to the west, came to the Orkneys with his men and seized Earl Sigurd in Rörvag as he lay there with a single ship. King Olaf offered the Earl to ransom his life on condition that he should embrace the true faith and be baptized, and that he should become his man and proclaim Christianity over all the Orkneys. He took his son Hundi as a hostage, and left the Orkneys for Norway, where he became King. And Hundi stayed with him some years, and died there.‡

Sigurd's conversion seems to have been not more sincere than might have been expected

* Sudreyar = Southern Islands, the Sodor in the title of the Bishop of Sodor and Man. All the islands on the west coast of Scotland were known to the Norsemen under the collective title of the Southern Islands, and were, in early days, under the episcopal rule of the Bishop, who also ruled in Man.

† *Caithness* and *Sutherland* are just as much Norse, and just as little Celtic, as Sudreyar, and tell the same story of the Norseman replacing the Celt.

‡ *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 3.

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under the circumstances. He was killed in 1014 at the battle of Clontarf, fighting under the old heathen banner of the magic raven, and against Brian Boroimhe, the champion of Celtic Christianity.

No see of Orkney was constituted till 1102, when William was consecrated its first Bishop. He held the see for 66 years, dying in 1168, thus well earning the name of William the Old, by which he is best known. The see was subsequently placed under the Archbishopric of Throndhjem, and remained under it till the impignoration of the Islands to the Scottish crown in 1468, when it passed under the rule of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's. The first seat of the Bishop was probably Christ Church in Birsay, a part of the mainland of Orkney, lying N.W. from Kirkwall, and there it remained till the Cathedral of St. Magnus was in part erected, when it was transferred to Kirkwall and there lasted till 1688.

In 1064, Thorfinn Sigurdson, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, died and was succeeded by his two sons Paul and Erlend. These two followed the fortunes of Harald Sigurdson—Hardrada—to Stamford Bridge, where the Norwegian King was killed by the English Harold Godwinson, who gave peace to his son Olaf and to the two Orkney Earls. These Earls died afterwards in Norway, whither they had been sent prisoners in 1098 by the King Magnus Barelegs, and shortly after in 1103 Magnus Erlendson (St. Magnus) and Hakon Paul's son, succeeded to the Earldom of Orkney.

I wish time allowed me to read you the touching story of the murder of Magnus in Egilsey by his cousin Hakon, in 1115; but I suspect that you are already more than tired of this history with its strange familiar sounding but yet unfamiliar names. For fuller accounts of all this I must refer you to the *Orkneyinga Saga* itself. It is there related how the saintship of Magnus was manifested, first by the springing of green grass from the earth in which the body was laid at Christ Church, and afterwards by many miracles on the persons of the sick.

Again, in 1136 there are rival claimants for the Earldom of Orkney, Paul Hakon's son, and Rognvald Kolr's son, who, claiming through his mother the sister of Magnus, came from Norway *viâ* Shetland and the Fair Isle (Fridarey) to assert his rights. His father Kolr gave him this advice: "It is my counsel to seek for help where it may be had effectually, and to pray that he may permit you to enjoy these possessions to whom they rightly belong, namely, the holy Magnus, your mother's brother. It is my wish that you should make a vow to him that he may grant you your patrimony and his inheritance. You shall promise one thing that, if you obtain your dominions, you will build a stone minster at Kirkjuväg (Kirkwall)* in the Orkneys, more magnificent than any other in these lands, dedicating it to your kinsman, Earl Magnus the Holy, endowing it with money, so that it may be fully established, and that his relics and the Bishop see may be brought there. Every one thought this good advice, and the vow was made and confirmed."

I doubt whether an account, at once so minute and so authentic, would be found of the origin of any other cathedral in Britain.

Such then was the origin of the Cathedral Church of St. Magnus at Kirkwall. It was begun in accordance with this vow in 1137 or 1138, and was probably consecrated within four years of that time, as we find that Earl Rognvald and Bishop William went together about that time on an expedition to the Holy Land, which they would hardly have done before their church was consecrated. The remains of St. Magnus were transferred to Kirkwall, and the present ruins of the Bishop's palace probably stand where stood the first one.

Earl Rognvald, the founder, was afterwards murdered in Caithness, and his body was interred in the Lady Kirk of South Ronaldsey, but on his canonization in 1192 it was removed to the Cathedral that he had founded in Kirkwall.

Let me now make an attempt at giving you some idea of the present appearance and condition of the building itself, and before doing so I must explain what will, I fear, become painfully evident as I go on, that I have no technical knowledge of architecture at all. For nearly all that I shall lay before you, I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Henry Dryden, who certainly knows far more of this building than anyone else, and who was good enough to place the whole of his drawings and notes at my disposal. His small book descriptive of the building is of singular excellence, and as it seems to me, exactly what such a book should be. Neale's *Ecclesiological Notes* I have also had the opportunity of consulting, and I have, as I said at first, frequently visited the church myself.

A very considerable portion of the original church, built by St. Rognvald, is still remaining, as I shall presently try to show; but the building as it now stands is, as a cathedral invariably must be, a history in stone, in this special case probably a history of more than 400 years.

* Kirku-vagr—The Bay of the Church. This name seems to imply that a church already stood on this spot at the time of the Norse invasion. I stayed a night at a small village in Iceland of the same name exactly, Kirkjuvogr, and here also, no doubt, the little black wooden church stands now where stood a church in olden time, where may even have been a cell of one of the early Irish anchorites who soon quitted Iceland after the advent of the Norsemen.

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The cathedral of St. Magnus is a cross church with aisles to chancel and nave, central tower, western quasi-porch, and chapels at the east of the transepts. Neale says *—"The first thing which strikes the visitors on entering the cathedral is its enormous apparent size. I do not think that either York or Lincoln gave me the idea of greater internal length."

The principal dimensions, however, are really small in comparison with many of the minsters further South, though I can fully bear out what Neale says as to the impression of vast size produced on first entering the building. The building is irregular to the last degree.† Scarce two arches or windows are exactly alike; scarce any angle a right-angle; scarce any string level. The total internal length of the building is 217-ft. 6-in. of which 86-ft. is occupied by the choir, and 131-ft. 6-in. by the nave and transepts. The length of the transepts is 89-ft. 6-in., the total breadth of nave and aisles 47-ft. The height, from the floor under the central tower, to the top of the very conspicuous weather-cock, about 133-ft. 4-in. Whence then, in a church of such moderate dimensions, comes the impression of great size? I believe its cause to be two-fold. You will notice, on the plan, that the length of the building, though under 220-ft., is divided into no fewer altogether than 15 bays; moreover, the nave, from pillar to pillar, is only about 14-ft. in clear breadth; but the height to the vaulting is no less than 71-ft. In commenting on these dimensions I prefer Neale's words to my own.

"It will be seen (by comparison with the dimensions of various other cathedrals) how excessively small Kirkwall really is; and the first question is, to what does it owe its impression of apparent magnitude. In the first place, the excessive narrowness of the nave will, in part, explain. Between the plinths of the piers intervene only a space of sixteen feet, and this distance would be narrow for even a parish church of moderate size. . . In fact, everything is sacrificed to narrowness, and the aisles are in consequence, left without Western windows. Then, again, there are seven piers, exclusive of the responds, in the nave alone, and five in the choir; and this sub-division of length, like the use of small stones in a building, gives a great impression of size. Perhaps, also, the extreme severity of the interior may contribute to the same effect. But, after all, I cannot but think that the solution of the mystery lies deeper; and that it is a problem well worthy the attention of Ecclesiologists, why the effect of magnitude is so remarkably conveyed by some buildings, while as remarkably the contrary impression is conveyed by others."

The present East end of the church is square, but the original one was probably apsidal, either with simple apse and ambulatory as at St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, or with a threefold apse to nave and aisles. Its appearance leads to the conclusion that the high altar was not close to the wall, but advanced somewhat to the Westward.‡ It appears that there were never more than five altars.

The East window is probably unique in having its whole width, at the top, occupied by a rose of twelve leaves surmounting four lancet lights. The West window, though of good design, is very rude in construction. It is likewise of four lights, crossed in the middle by a transom, and with the upper parts interlacing, after the fashion of very early Decorated work. In the West Façade are three archways of singular beauty both of design and of execution, though, from the soft nature of the stone, and the roughness of the climate, they are much out of condition. Sandstones of very various tints being available within easy reach, contrast of colour has been very skilfully introduced, and is found in the different doorways and elsewhere in different systems.

The following is a list of the stones used:—

1. Dark grey argillaceous slate of the Red Sandstone formation, probably from near the "Aire" or from the East of Kirkwall.
2. Strong Red Sandstone from S. Ronaldsey, or the Head of Holland or Eday.
3. Dull Red Sandstone from the Head of Holland or Eday.
4. Lilac Sandstone, probably from Eday.
5. Yellow Sandstone, very bad, from Orphir or Shapinsey.

The Red and Yellow Sandstone is systematically used in bands or chequers in the W. front, S. transept door arch, gables of N. and S. transepts, and in the East insides of the transepts.§

There were in 1846 an immense number of masons' marks in various parts of the building. Many of them have been destroyed. In the tower are four bells. Three of these were originally given by Bishop Maxwell, early in the sixteenth century; but the great bell was recast at

* *Ecclesiological Notes on the Isle of Man, Orkneys, &c.*, by J. M. Neale, 1848, p. 93.

† *Description of the Church dedicated to St. Magnus, and of the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall*, by Sir Henry E. L. Dryden, 1878, p. 31.

A friend suggests that the extreme irregularity of the work was probably brought about by the necessity of employing local and unskilled labour.

‡ Dryden, *op. cit.* p. 31.

§ Dryden, *op. cit.* p. 50.

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Amsterdam in 1682. An interesting account of these bells will be found in Sir H. Dryden's book. One of the four, a small bell without date or inscription, has never been hung. It is now called the fire bell and in the seventeenth century is spoken of as the skellat or skellet bell. The order of ringing the three bells is peculiar and, no doubt, of ancient custom in this church.*

C A A A A C G G G G C A A A A C G G G G

The monuments are not numerous, and the few that existed down to the period of the Government restoration works in 1845, and again in 1856, met with but scant respect at the hands of the workmen employed.

The alms dishes deserve notice. They are Dutch work of the first half of the seventeenth century, nearly 2-ft. 6-in. across. Each bears a representation of Adam and Eve, with the tree and serpent. One has an inscription to the effect: "Had Adam obeyed God's word, so had we then lived in Paradise. Anno 1636." No record or fragment of the ancient font remains—nor are there any remains of coloured glass.†

The choir and choir aisles had been for many years previous to 1846 used as a parish church, and the three arches into them from the tower and transepts were filled by wooden partitions. The Government, as possessors of the land of the ancient see of Orkney, supposed themselves owners of the building and liable for its repair, and they were induced to repair it at considerable cost. All the fittings were taken out, and the congregation of the Established Church left the Cathedral and had service in a building since pulled down. The Cathedral remained vacant till 1856. It turned out that by a special charter of 1486, the church had been given by the Crown to the town of Kirkwall, and that the Crown was not bound to repair it. It was then decided that the Established Church congregation should return to St. Magnus. The choir and choir aisles were again filled with pews and galleries, and the arches into them screened off as before.

In this condition they now are, and to eyes accustomed to other things this sanctuary of the living God looks sadly desolate. The whole building is, however, in sound and substantial repair. God is still worshipped therein, and we may wait and hope for better times.

Let me now call your attention for a few minutes to the ground plan. The parts of the building erected at different periods may approximately be classed as follows:—

A	1137—1160	D	1250—1350
B	1160—1200	E	1450—1500
C	1200—1250	F	1540—1558

Later alterations were made probably between 1600 and 1620. I can make no attempt at architectural description, not possessing the requisite technical knowledge.

First Style.—A. 1137–1160.‡ The church at Kirkjuvagr or Kirkwall, as designed by Kolr, and partly built by his son Rognvald, was of the same width as at present. The builders laid out the whole of their church, carried up the choir and its two aisles and the transept to the eaves, and built the piers and arches of a central tower or dome. The choir and apse were not at first vaulted but had tie-beam roofs. The choir-aisles were vaulted. The transepts were left unroofed. From the position of a door in the south wall of the nave, afterwards blocked up, it seems as if the original intention included cloisters, but these were never built. The other doorway in the south nave aisle was made at the same time, but was altered long afterwards by Bishop Reid, 1540–1558, and now presents a very singular appearance. The state of the tower, as left by the original builders, is very uncertain. I spoke of the extreme irregularity of the building. The piers of the tower give a striking example of this. The distances between them in the clear are 12-ft. 4-in., 14-ft. 4-in., 13-ft. 5-in., and 14-ft. The window openings are much splayed, and the glass is fixed in a wooden frame, which is fastened in a rebate at the external angle of the splay. Perhaps this was the original mode. If not, the frame containing the glass was set within the splay, and held by wedges or nails. There is no instance of a groove for glass in this style. From the grotesque corbels inside, we may infer that moustaches, but not beards, were in fashion among the Norsemen at that time.

Second Style.—B. 1160–1200. The present central tower is a puzzle. It is evident that the base mouldings of the four piers are not of the First style, nor is the form of the piers, nor are the four great arches. The caps of the eight lower arches which spring from these piers are of the Second style, and so are the arches from the transepts into the nave-aisles, but the other arches remain of the First style.

It appears then that either the old work was rechiselled into the new style, or that much of it was recased. It is curious, at least to one inexperienced as I am, to see the two sides of an arch, so far as the capitals of the piers are concerned, of entirely different styles and dates,

* Dryden, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
† There was at one time a shrine of St. Magnus, but there is no information concerning it except the fact.
‡ Dryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, et seq.

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as is the case with many of those in and near this puzzling tower. At this time the choir and apse were vaulted, the two chapels built, and probably the transepts roofed. The transepts and tower are not vaulted.

Third Style.—C. 1200–1250. Several bays were added to the west of the nave, and the whole of the nave and nave-aisles was vaulted.

The large double window and gable of the north transept, and the circular window and gable of the south transept, were inserted.

Fourth Style.—D. 1250–1350. In this style we have the best work in the building, and, probably, the largest expenditure. The apse was pulled down, and three bays added to the choir. These remain unaltered, except by moderns. The junction of the styles is plainly visible. On the east wall are three recessed arches. The choir vaulting is very elaborate and beautiful. There are ten varieties of ribs in the choir alone, and four in the aisles. A very elaborate doorway was now made in the south transept, and the west façade, with its three doorways, was erected. These four doorways are, probably, the finest examples in Britain of the use of stones of different colours in patterns.

The history of the three western bays is very uncertain, and time does not allow me to enter into Sir H. Dryden's disquisition on the subject. Signs of subsidence showed themselves, and there was evidently a considerable amount of taking down and reconstruction.

Fifth Style.—E. 1450–1500. As I said just now, the history of these western bays is uncertain. At the time of their insertion the vaulting of that part of the nave was removed. It is at present vaulted in wood of the date 1846. The upper part of the west front has undergone reconstruction at a comparatively late date. The rude workmanship of the upper part of the west window is not in accord with the rest of that of the Fourth style, and points to late patching.

Over the central doorway is a shield, bearing the arms of Hay—three escutcheons,—and behind it a pastoral staff. No Bishop of Orkney bore the name of Hay, but about 1624, the lands of the see were let by the Crown to Sir John Hay of Kinfauns. We may fairly assume that these rude alterations and repairs were done by him, and that he placed his arms on his own work, and added the pastoral staff in allusion to his possessing the lands of the see.

It is stated that the Earl of Caithness, about 1606, attempted to throw down the Cathedral but was stopped by Bishop Law (1606—1615). It is possible that the repairs executed by Hay were rendered necessary by this earl.

The ruins of the bishop's palace and of the earl's palace in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cathedral are of great interest, but I have not time to touch upon them at all.

I feel how imperfectly I have dealt with the subject of my paper, both historically and architecturally; but I shall have accomplished my object if I have led some of you to take an interest in this monument of the skill and devotion of our Scandinavian ancestors, and to sympathize with me, to however slight an extent, in my day-dreams of the future of the Church in the far North.

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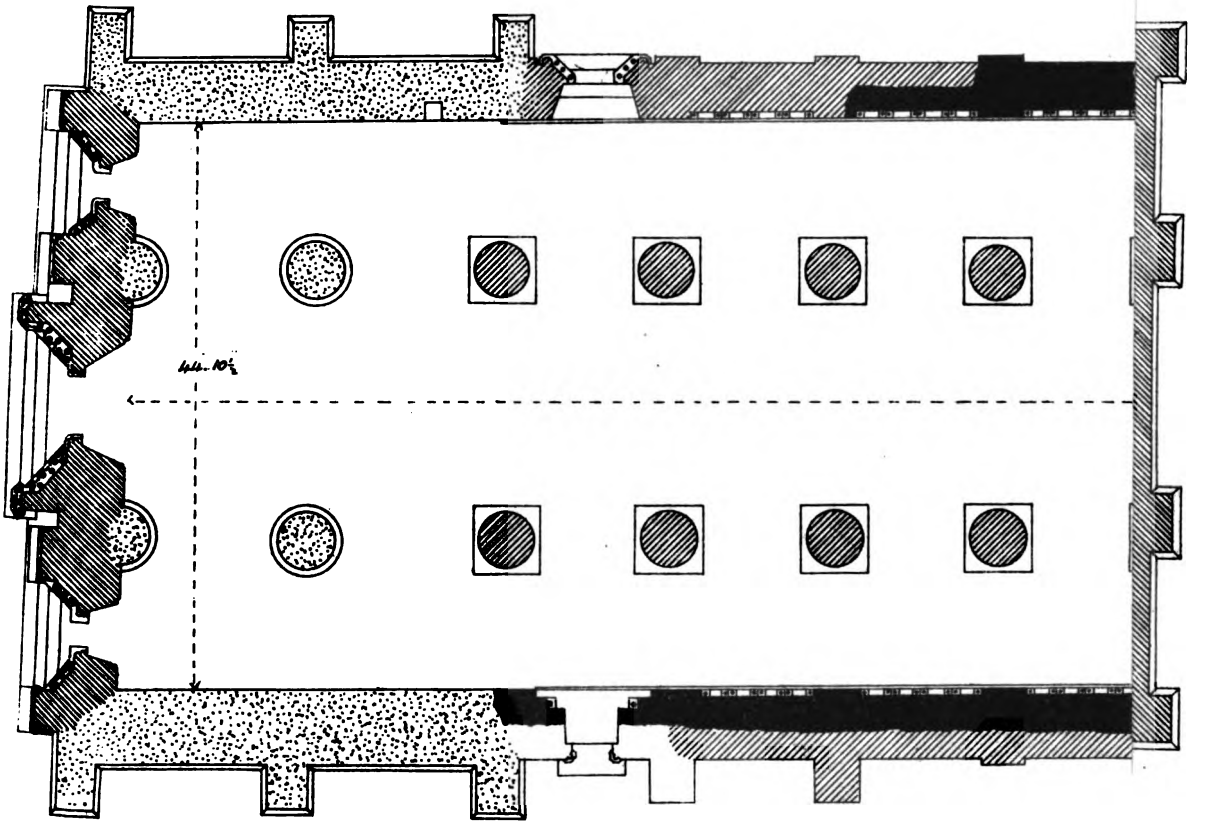
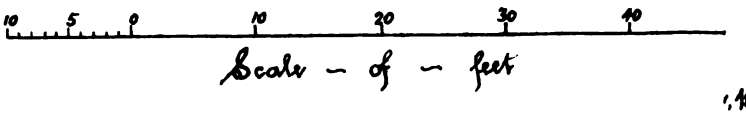
Church of Saint Magnus Orkney.



Ground Plan.



1, 1844-55.
W, July '88.

C. F. KELL, PHOTO-LITHO. 8, FURNIVAL ST HOLBORN, E.C.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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METAL GRILLES.

By J. STARKIE GARDNER, F.L.S., F.G.S.

It would have been difficult to have made a better selection than that chosen by Mr. Birch as our subject to-night. Pressure of work made it impossible for him to deal with it himself,—and has led to my appearing in his place. In thus taking the place of an artist and antiquary so well known to you, the best I can do must lead to disappointment, and the subject, moreover, is one that I am not too well acquainted with. What I have to say is thus at best but a small contribution to our knowledge of it.

I have not come across either representations or specimens of gates, railings, or balustrades formed of bars of metal with interstices, belonging to remote antiquity. It is quite apparent, however, that the Greeks, Egyptians or Hebrews, could easily have constructed such. Nor do I at present recall anything of the kind in modern Chinese, Persian, Japanese, or Hindoo art, though the casting, piercing, and hammering of metals is carried to the utmost perfection, and applied to almost every possible purpose, by all these peoples. Under the Cæsars, iron grilles were used in amphitheatres by the Romans, to rail off the arena; and bronze or iron grilles, called *cancelli*, were used in temples, before the judge's tribune in courts of law, in the Forum, etc. They were of simple construction, to judge from a representation on the arch of Constantine, of bars crossing each other diagonally and rivetted, as we see in the grilles yet remaining over the doorway of the Pantheon. The remains of a Roman gate recovered at Wiesbaden showed an inner door with six openwork panels, four of which were diagonally trellised, and the other two were of a scale pattern, in iron. Some grilles found at Pompeii are constructed very much like those used for kitchen windows now. All those grilles are designed for use almost irrespective of ornament. The origin and evolution of decorative grilles, so far as anything tangible can be traced, are essentially Christian, and do not, in fact, begin until our religion was so firmly established that sumptuous buildings could safely be erected for its purposes. Their origin is apparently due to the wish to rail off the sanctuaries where the great religious mysteries of our worship were performed, to reserve them to the priesthood, and to exclude the thronging people. In this way those barriers between the priests and congregation were entered upon, which have since developed into the exquisite grilles and screens, which are the glory of our sacred buildings.

The earliest basilicas had their sanctuaries shut in by chancels or screens of rich material; and when the basilicas developed into the church with choir, ambulatory, and side chapels, the screens became an important feature of the buildings. For a long time, however, they were in marble, and it was only as church building became extended to countries where marble was not available, that diverse materials were employed. Among these we find metal, at first taking a very humble, but eventually a very conspicuous place. In fact, though it was desirable to exclude the laity from the spots of greatest sanctity, it was essential, seeing that they provided the funds, to let them witness the ritual, and nothing could be more eminently adapted to the purpose than metal. Iron, indeed, which had long previously been beaten and scrolled for strengthening doors, was the material *par excellence* which could best be fashioned into barriers combining the requisite strength and transparency. This became more than ever the case when the accumulation of vast treasures and riches gave rise to a highly conservative feeling in the clergy, and a possible covetousness in individuals of the laity.

The oldest grilles known, however, are not of iron, but of bronze; and this doubtless arose from the fact that Christian art spread from Byzantium, where bronze and skilled workers in it abounded. Probably these grilles were made in the East, and bronze, as a more precious metal, would have been preferred until, among possibly a variety of motives, the necessity for obtaining the utmost security from the hands of sacrilegious marauders had become convincingly established.

The oldest grilles existing, so far as is known, are the doors of open work separating the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem from the underground crypt or cave. These are of very early Byzantine design, with a frequent repetition of the Greek cross within a circle, and are considered to date back to between the fourth and sixth centuries.

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A bronze grille of open scale pattern, with Latin crosses in all the spaces, exists in the crypt of Sant' Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (see fig. 1), and cannot be of later date than when the mosaics were laid (A.D. 671—677), if indeed it is not as old as the Church itself (A.D. 534—549).

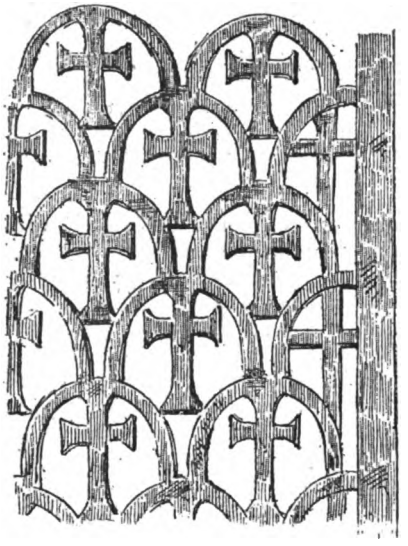

FIG. 1.—Early Christian grille of bronze from the crypt of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. This illustration and the four following are from drawings in the possession of James Parker, Esq., M.A.

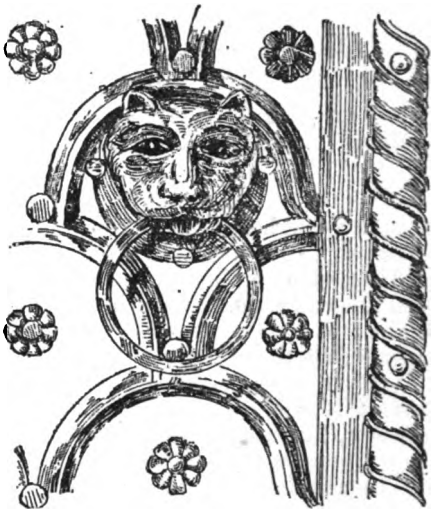

FIG. 2.—Part of bronze grille to door of St. Mark's, Venice.

Next in point of age would come, probably, the grilles at Aix-la-Chapelle, dating from the time of Charlemagne, or early in the ninth century. These are eight in number, and are placed in the arcades of the triforium. They are all somewhere about twelve feet long and three feet high, though of four different designs, and each is divided into four panels. In two of the designs, the panels are separated by Roman-looking pilasters and frieze in orthodox classic fashion, the filling in being geometrical and the same throughout each grille; but the other two show a departure from classic precedent, and an approach to mediæval feeling, for the panels are merely framed round with a border, and the filling in is diversified. We appear, therefore, to possess in these grilles a sort of link between Roman traditions and the birth of mediævalism; and this has given rise to the idea that they may be of native work, or at least made on the spot by Italian or Byzantine workmen.

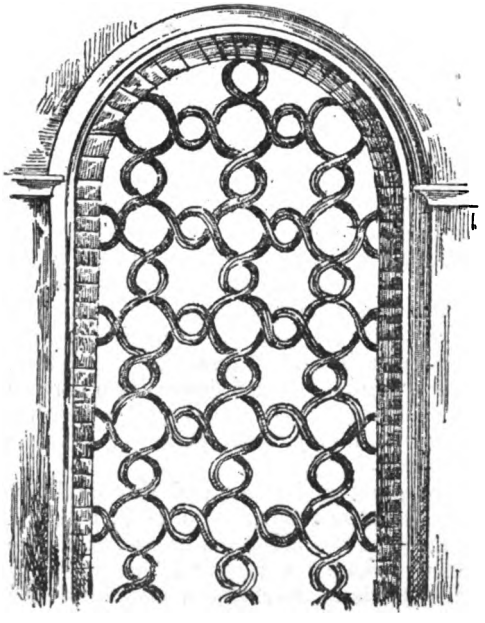

Fig. 3.—Bronze Window Grille, from St. Mark's, Venice.

The bronze grilles mentioned by Anastasius as closing in the spaces between the costly marble columns, forming the portico of St. Peter's at Rome, were also of the ninth century. They were destroyed, with the pavement and railings of silver round St. Peter's tomb, by the Saracens in 896.

One of the bronze doors of St. Mark's (fig. 2) is practically formed of an open scale pattern grille, with a metal backing; and many church doors, both in the East and West, go very near to being open-work metal doors with wood backing, rather than wood doors strengthened with metal plates. Another early bronze grille in St. Mark's (see fig. 3.) is fashioned of round rods interlaced into a diaper, as in wire-work. We may just mention, in passing, a grille formed of rings united by small pierced disks, which, though of later date, appears to be bronze, at S. Miniato in Florence.

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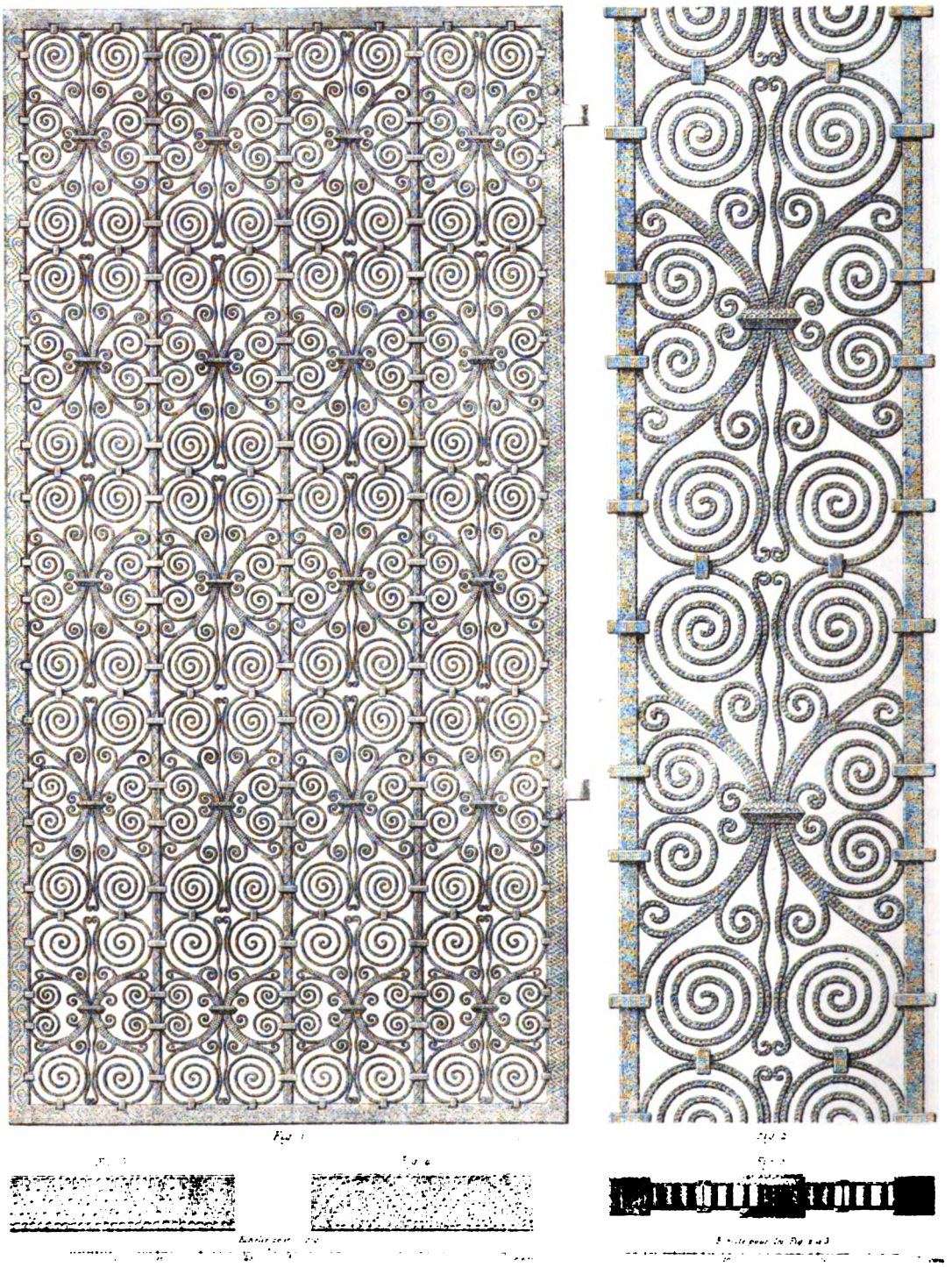

IRON GATE IN THE CATHEDRAL OF LE PUY.

Early XIIth Century

FROM GAILHABAUDS 'L' ARCHITECTURE ET LES ARTS.

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The earliest iron grilles are, I think, to be seen in Italy, formed of sheet iron pierced, the designs being geometric and of Byzantine character, evidently directly borrowed from the windows and grilles of pierced marble and wood so common in the East. There are two fine examples of this in St. Anastasia in Verona, and one under the porch of St. Mark's (fig. 4). Later we find very quaint animals cut out of sheet iron and rivetted in between lattice work (as in fig. 5), and these, perhaps, suggested the still later form in the Palace of Perugia, dated 1338, with the name of the artificer, where most of the interspaces contain an heraldic rampant griffin within a circle. The sheet iron grilles do not seem to have travelled beyond Italy; similarly the fashion of introducing family badges into grilles seems confined to that country. There is, however, in the Kensington Museum, a rare 14th century sheet iron window grille, labelled from the Château of the Counts of Flanders, formed of nine narrow panels filled with most intricate pierced designs, each thrice repeated.

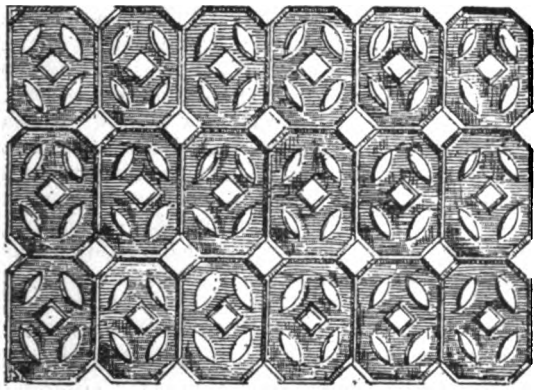

Fig. 4.—Wrought iron grille under the porch of St. Mark's, Venice.

It is impossible to determine the exact dates of the earliest grilles in either England or France. The Cotton and Cædmon MSS. show hinges of very varied, and rather elaborate type, in use in the 10th and 11th centuries; and, in the opinion of Mr. Parker of Oxford, metal work was not only in a relatively very advanced state in Saxon times, but retained much of its character in succeeding periods. Some of the oldest leaded glass known certainly appears to be taken from grille-work, for the collars and fastenings are all shown.

The oldest grille in England I suppose to be the one at Winchester, now reduced to a mere patchwork door in an obscure corner of the nave, but formerly fixed at the head of the steps which lead up from the south transept to the ambulatory, where it is to be replaced. "There came crowds of pilgrims to worship at St. Swithin's shrine," writes the Dean; "and here, as elsewhere, the monks knew quite well that these devout people carried all kinds of dirt and infection about with them; consequently they rigidly excluded them from the choir, S. transept and nave, and made them enter and depart by the Norman doorway in the N. transept. This grille blocked their way. They could get round far enough to see the splendours of the High Altar, &c., and then had to return the way they came." The grille is formed of widely spaced upright square bars, against which a series of scrolls are fixed, back to back, the ends of the principal ones being finished off with a cluster of smaller scrolls. It is made up of two nearly identical designs, in one of which the scrolls lying within each other are collared round in their full thickness, while in the other they are thinned down and welded, so that a certain clumsiness is avoided. The cinquefoil terminations of the one also give place to much prettier trefoils, marking a distinct advance in art. The grille may well have been placed in its original position at the end of the 11th century. Le Duc figures a grille from Le Puy-en-Velay, of nearly identical form (see illustration), ascribing it to the 12th century, and a window grille of similar design from the Cathedral of Béziers, of the 13th century. The grille at Pampeluna mentioned by Street, date 1212, is of the same class.

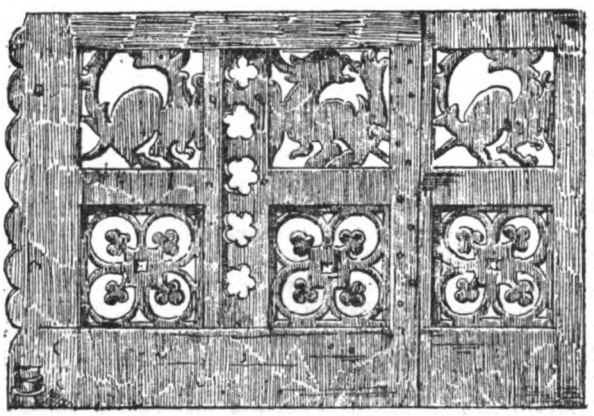

Fig. 5.—Wrought iron grille, Verona.

The most sumptuous of the 12th century grilles of this kind appears to have been one broken up in the French Revolution, or soon after, and probably from a church in Paris. One piece was purchased of a dealer by Didron, on the quai of the Seine, and figured; and a second piece, converted into a fire-screen, was figured by Sauvageot. It forms one of the richest possible arabesques, like old Venetian point lace, with the scrolls gathered up into thick masses under the collars, as in the earlier Winchester example.

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Perhaps contemporary with these, or only a little later, is the much simpler type seen in the magnificent choir-grille at Lincoln, the most perfect example of its kind in existence. This had always passed for a grille dating from 1442, a date so obviously wrong, that I induced Canon Venables to investigate the subject, with the result that he found the date to be due to a mistranslation, and that the grille may well date back to A.D. 1200. The screens enclosing the choir in the Dome of the Rock, are of the same design, and were certainly erected in the 12th century. An ugly cresting, with gas-burners, is, of course, quite modern, and due to a mistake. What the cresting really was, may be gathered from the print, in Didron, of the altar at Arras, which is surrounded by a grille, apparently, in all respects, identical. The much later grille to St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury, and a small fragment at St. Alban's, are of similar character, that is to say, they are formed entirely of C scrolls of one size, placed back to back between uprights, and collared together. Sometimes the grills of this date are formed of small scrolls, bent into an E; sometimes they are placed horizontally, and sometimes there are smaller scrolls tucked between. Nearly all, however, belong to the 12th, or at latest, 13th century, when, in England and France, at least, this fashion of grille died out. Of course, it must be remembered, when judging of age, that the further we go from the centre of origin, the more likely we are to be misled. It would, by no means, follow that grilles of this type, if met with in north or east Germany, or Italy, or Spain, would be of the same age. For instance, in Iceland I found that until that country was connected with Denmark by a regular mail service, the ornamentation of the time of William the Conqueror was the only kind used, either for wood carving or embroidery.

Though these 12th century grilles were, as a rule, symmetrical, Gailhaband figures one from St. Aventin (which we reproduce), dating from the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, in which two panels are all right, while the other two are quite different, and relatively in disorder. Singularly enough, a very similar grille once existed in Chichester Cathedral, but was removed many years since, when Mr. Charles Baker King fortunately sketched it as it stood in a smith's shop. It consists of numerous panels of scroll-work, each panel being entirely filled with a repetition of the same scroll; but the strange thing is, that there are six wholly different treatments of the scroll, and these are arranged without the slightest regard to any general composition: the ends of one kind of scroll terminate in a stamped leaf. I have no doubt something can still be ascertained regarding the history of this grille. Some of the designs we have thus far been dealing with were, apparently, revived in Venetian work of the 16th or 17th centuries.

As we pass on to the 13th century, we find the use of stamped leaves for terminating scrolls greatly on the increase, and an effect produced by using a square section of iron with an angle in front. The leaf mostly favoured, as in the hinge work, is a highly conventionalised vine leaf associated with bunches of grapes, the vine being used as the emblem of the Church. Welding is also much more extensively practised in the grille work of this date. A fine example of this kind of grille is reproduced in our illustration of an iron gate formerly in Rouen Cathedral. A remarkable departure, suggested, doubtless, by grilles such as those figured in Viollet le Duc from St. Denis and Soissons, is that seen in the Eleanor grille of Westminster Abbey. Here the smith, Thomas de Leghtone, who received £13 (equal to about £180 of our money) for the work, A.D., 1294, simply took the scrolls and dies he had been accustomed to use in hinge work, and rivetted a succession of them on the face of a plain rectangular grille. An arching form was adopted for greater protection, together with a row of trident spikes along the top. The effect is very rich indeed, and was so much liked that almost a duplicate was made for St. Denis; but whether by Thomas or not is unknown; though it seems almost certain that he received and executed the commission, for the identical stamps appear to have been used. It is remarkable that every early grille with any originality in England has a counterpart in France, but it is impossible to say whether master smiths in those days took the same liberties in copying each other's work that they do in these, or whether they were commissions executed by the same hand. We know, however, that the Eleanor and Henry Vth grilles of Westminster were made by Englishmen, and not imported; and it is hardly likely that our smiths could see and study an original in France sufficiently to reproduce it at home. The alternative would be that exact details and drawings were supplied by the architect, a supposition that archæologists will scarcely be prepared to approve.

With the 13th century the grille work in England and France culminated. After this the beautifully lace-like designs, so rich yet produced so simply, invented, we may believe, by the smith himself, light but of great strength, not corresponding in the least to the mason's or joiner's work of the period, give way to another class of work. Fourteenth century grilles are rare in England, and require further study. A very early one, that appears to me almost unique in England, is at St. Alban's, made up of half-round rods, disposed in a sort of lattice, and rivetted at every intersection: it contains 14 panels, half with the meshes disposed

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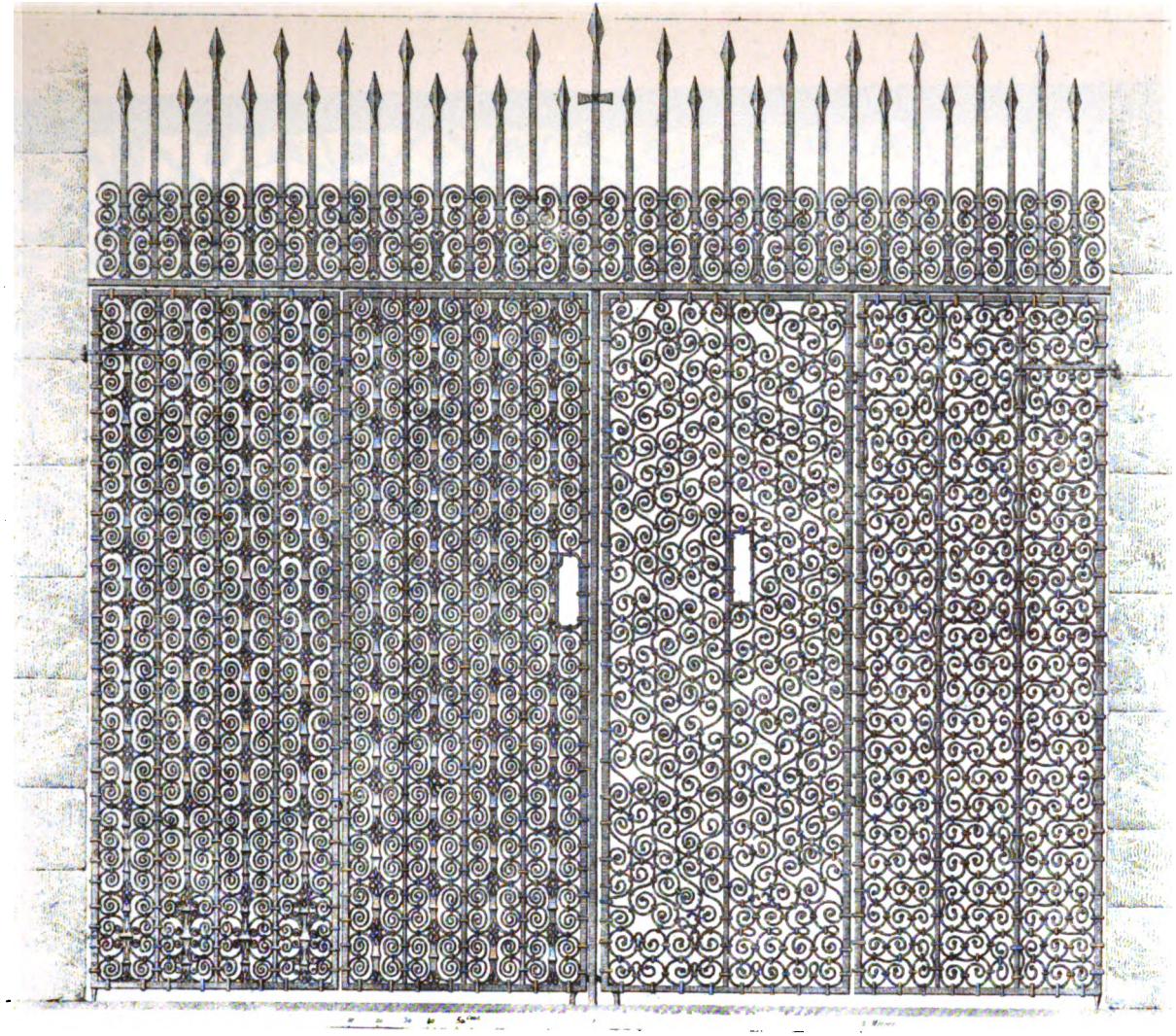

IRON GRILLE. St AVENTIN.

Early XIIth Century.

FROM GAILHABAUD'S 'L'ARCHITECTURE ET LES ARTS'.

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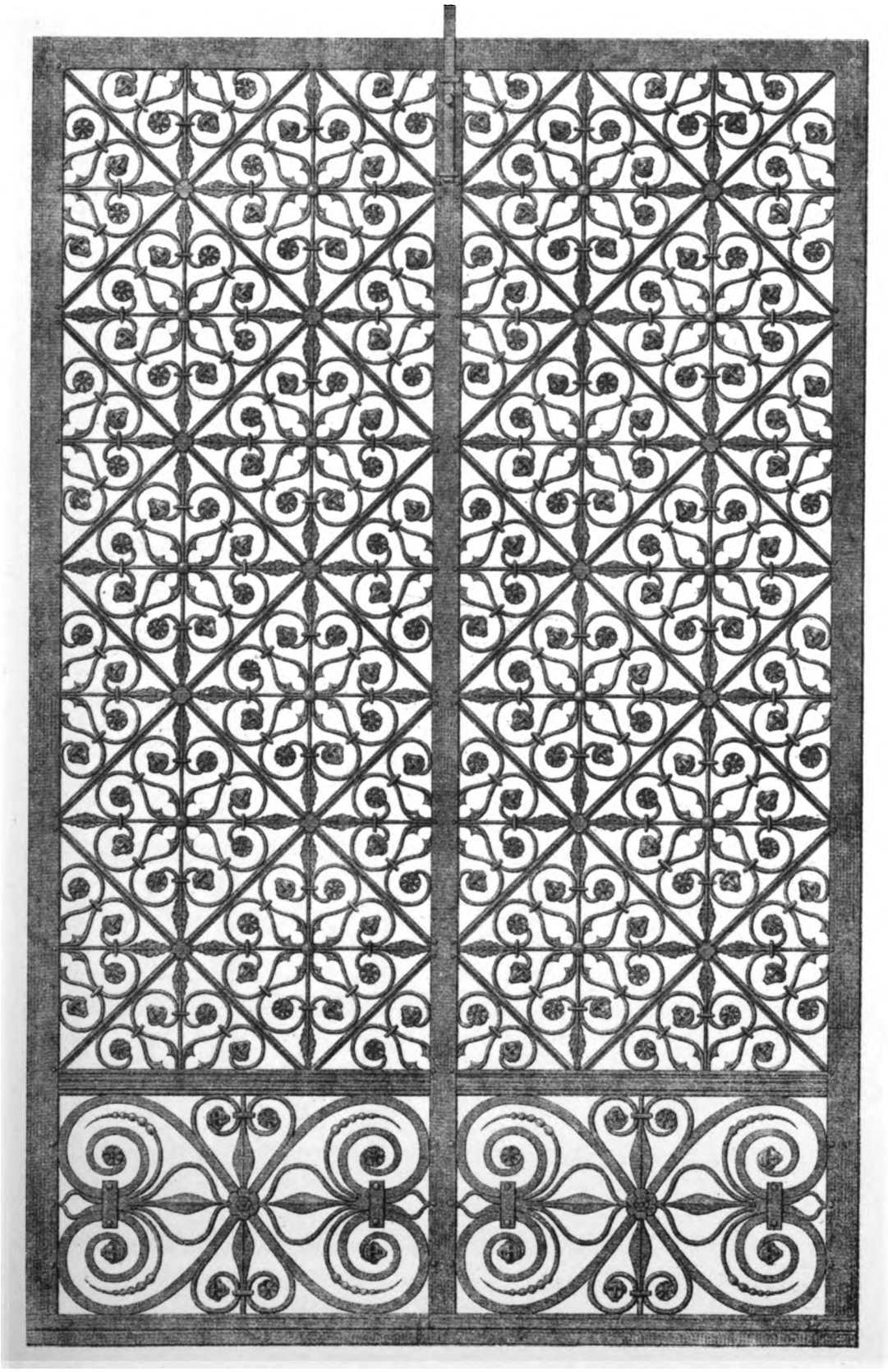

IRON GATE FORMERLY IN ROUEN CATHEDRAL.

XII.th Century.

FROM GAILHABAUD'S 'L' ARCHITECTURE ET LES ARTS'.

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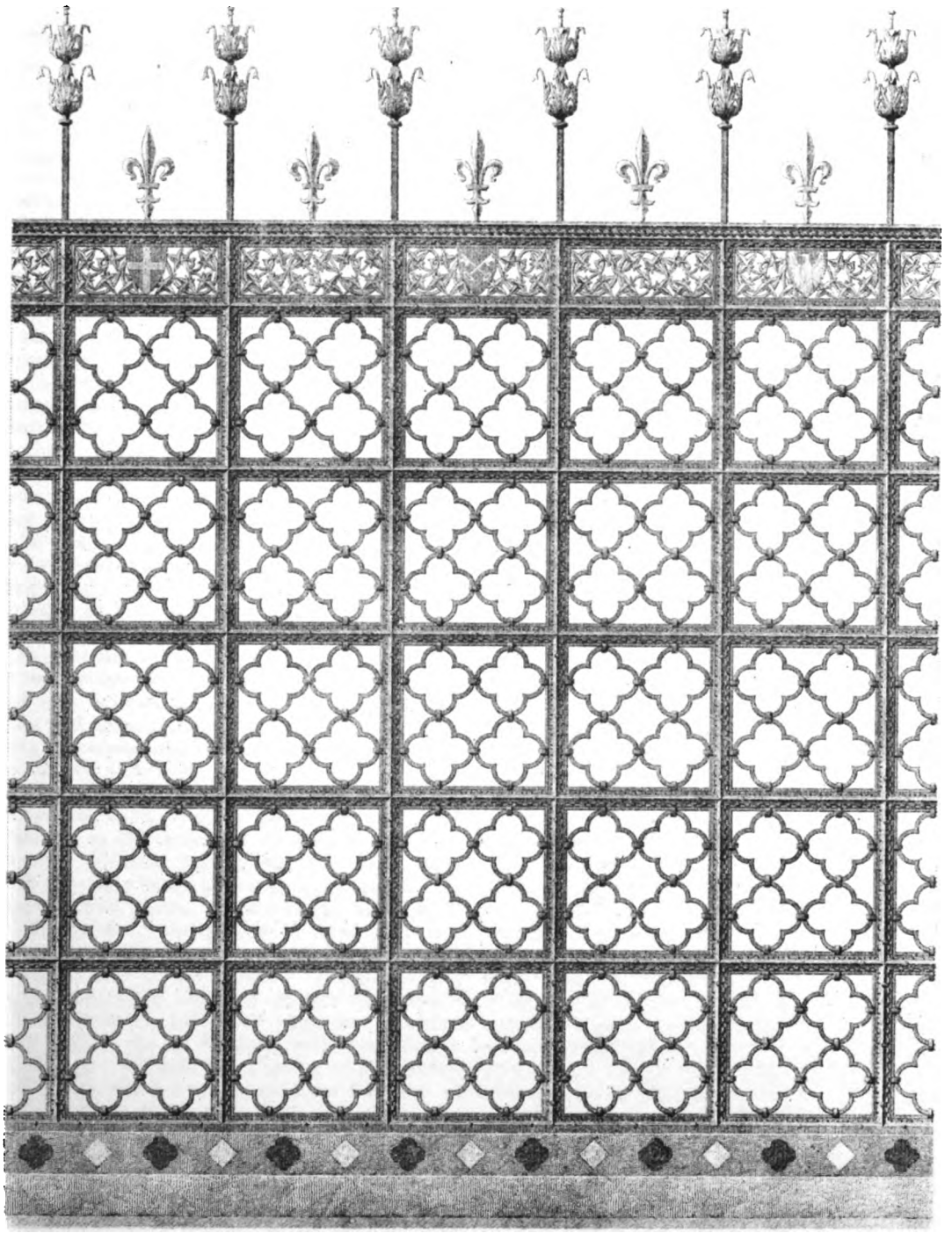

IRON GRILLE IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ORVIETO.

Late XVth Century.

FROM GAILHABAUD'S 'L' ARCHITECTURE ET LES ARTS'.

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diagonally and half vertically, with a pierced tracery cornice. Grilles first begin to incline to geometric forms, with a few stamped or hammered leaves in France, and we find French and German forms assimilating together and departing more and more widely from the English. In Italy, on the contrary, the grille work attained very great richness, while adhering mainly to geometric forms. The massive framing is highly wrought, and the panels filled with most difficult diapers of quatrefoil design. Immensely rich cornices surmount the panelling, and these again are crested. Familiar examples are the one at Orvieto, of which we reproduce an illustration; and, above all, those of Santa Trinità and Santa Croce, 1371, at Florence. The latter are well known from the illustrations in Digby Wyatt's metal work, which, however, make them appear far too heavy. The Santa Croce example is especially remarkable as being, perhaps, the first screen in which purely architectural forms are carried out in wrought iron, and it seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the arts elsewhere. The well-known Scaliger grilles at Verona are in the same style, though a little later. A geometrically twisted wire trellis of this century, from Rouen, is figured by Le Duc; and though I am not able now to enter at all minutely into the chronology of German grilles, they at this period commenced to take on the definite German characteristics which obtained in that country for nearly three centuries.

All grilles of scrolly design, however beautiful, shared a common defect, which was that unless completely filling in an arch or reaching to a roof line, they were readily climbable. It is interesting to trace the endeavours by which this defect was sought to be neutralised. The original crestings of the Winchester grilles have disappeared, but the Chichester one was surmounted by plain spikes, the St. Aventin grille had plain spear heads. In the Arras grille, corresponding to our Lincoln one, every standard finishes in a formidable cluster of bent spikes. A grille from Conques figured by Didron, has a cheval de frise of harpoon-like spikes pointing down, as well as the high spikes to the standards. At Tarascon we have spikes and fleur-de-lis on one, and clusters of very natural but very spiky lilies and their leaves on another. At Le Puy there are very sharp pointed conventional flowers and their leaves, a very spiny and yucca-like leaf being a favourite cresting in France and Italy during the 15th century. At Toulouse we have these alternating with formidable dragons' heads whose ears are sharply pointed, curving over, also of the 15th century. At St. Maurice in Switzerland, the spikes of the cresting are very lofty and form flowers, but in addition, each bears on the front two swan-like heads and necks of most spiky nature. At Orvieto the fleur-de-lis forming the crest are spiked all over in the most spiteful manner: but defensive cresting culminates at Fribourg, where a lattice-like grille is surmounted by a cresting of extremely lofty spikes, each of which bears 6 sprays of flower spikes covered with hooks, which would baffle the most active and agile thief.

While they were endeavouring in foreign countries to retain for their grilles and tomb-rails, their beautiful lacy designs, and to overcome the weakness of these by elaborate defensive crestings, harder and more practical Englishmen were evolving a totally different type of grille, in which beauty was made totally subservient to practical utility. The Black Prince left in his will, the most minute directions for his monument. He does not mention it I believe, but he might well have directed that the grille which was to guard it should be formed of plain and massive vertical bars, with no horizontal bars or filling in whatever between them, to afford a foothold to the desecrator or despoiler. There is no reason to doubt the railing being contemporary with the rest of the monument, except that it is exactly like that of Henry IV, with the same heavy battlemental cornice and tall turret-like buttressed angle-bars, destined perhaps to hold tapers. Such a railing looks as if it might defy the utmost ravages of time, and its qualities were such as to bring it at once into almost universal use. The vertical bars were soon after carried upwards and sharpened into points, like the stakes of a stockade, or barbed like an arrow-head. Sometimes they were fashioned into fleur-de-lis, or oak leaves, or even more elaborate devices like those in Wells Cathedral, 1464. In the Fitzalan tomb at Arundel 1415, the angle bar is greatly enriched with crocketed finials. There is a very curious one at Windsor, with every fourth bar buttressed and adorned with a small shield of arms; this also has a border of strawberry leaves in place of the battlements, and a forest of spikes, which are separate from the bars. Sometimes a richly traceried border of sheet metal in many thicknesses took the place of the battlements, or an inscription replaced them as in Dr. Ashton's tomb at St. John's College, Cambridge. Here we see for the first time crests surmounting the angle-bars. The extent to which this kind of railing was used, may be seen in old prints of Westminster Abbey, where nearly every tomb was once protected by them. Many of the later ones, like that of the Countess of Richmond 1509, had pennons at the angles, and in others like those of Mary of Scotland and the Countess of Hertford, there are rampant lions and unicorns. In Elizabeth's tomb the vertical bars blossom out into most beautiful roses and foliage. Now, the elaborate work put into the cornices, shows that this form of rail, or grille, was not adopted through economy; and indeed, considering

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that the appliances at the smith's disposal were very limited, it is not easy to imagine any more difficult and expensive task than the production of such massive, well finished, unwieldy bars, and the still more massive standards. Nor were they cheap, for one of this character in front of St. Erkenwald's shrine in Old St. Paul's weighed 3,438 lbs., and was paid for at the rate of 4d. per lb. in 1582.

In the 17th century the standard bars were twisted, as we see in Archbishop Lamplugh's tomb at York, or that of Sir Julius Cæsar in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; also, indeed, in the very curious window grilles of the time of Henry VIII. in the cloisters at Bristol; and they finally settled down into the ordinary types of spear-headed railings, which have persisted to our own time.

A very little study shows us that this type of grille was not selected because it was admired beyond any other, but solely on account of the fact that it offered the best means of protection. Whenever any doorway or opening in masonry, that could be entirely filled, required a grille, it was not formed of upright bars. The grille in Henry V.'s chantry, 1431, is of a very rich goemetric pattern, with an architectural over-grille. The choir-gate at Canterbury is another splendid example of a much less elaborately-constructed but equally intricate geometric design. The lattice form of grille is uncommon in England, but not rare abroad, and appears pretty characteristic of the 15th century. There is a beautiful gate of Flemish work, by the hand that worked the well at Antwerp, in Ely Cathedral; but the finest grille, without any exception, is, of course, the one in Windsor, formerly in front of the tomb of Edward IV., and therefore late 15th century work. It is purely architectural, in the richest style of Perpendicular architecture, with traceried windows, canopies, parapets, crockets, flying buttresses, pinnacles, caps, mouldings, string-courses, etc. Scarcely an inch is plain, and the metal is of all sizes. A distinguishing feature are the magnificently worked cressets, or lanterns, surmounting the two flanking towers. It is evidently of foreign make, and a piece of nearly identical work is in the Kensington Museum, in the small grille from Ottoburg, near Innspruck. It is locksmiths', not blacksmiths' ironwork, and its attribution to Quentin Matsys is, on the face of it, erroneous.

Though far from having exhausted the subject, we must take leave of English grilles, more especially because as time went on, they became rather useful than ornamental. The contemporary work in Spain, like the vegetation it not unfrequently imitated, seemed to have been forced into a more luxurious growth under that ardent climate, and grilles thirty feet in height, and of the richest possible description, are found in numerous churches and cathedrals in that country. We unfortunately possess few illustrations of these, but a clever sketch in Digby Wyatt's "Spain" shows the arrangement of a *Reja* in 1522. This is the *Reja* of the *Reyes Catolicos* at Granada, the earliest of its importance in Spain, inclosing the tombs of the Catholic sovereigns. It is thirty feet high, composed of plain vertical bars in panels, and with a most elaborate cresting. Wyatt remarks that the rectangularity gives great repose, the plain vertical bars almost disappear, while the splendidly ornamental portions of the screen seem as if suspended in mid-air, and in no wise injure the effect of the architecture, or diminish the space of the locality they are intended to decorate. A similar grille at Pamplona, described by Street, consists of closely set alternate plain and twisted bars, to a height of twenty feet, with an unusually elaborate casting, ten feet deep, of interlacing ogee arches and crocketed pinnacles, with figures under canopies at regular intervals, and elaborately traceried horizontals. A no less magnificent screen, by Gaspar Rodriguez, was made in 1555, at a cost of 3,600 golden ducats, for the *coro* of the Cathedral of Palencia. Others at Valladolid, Toledo, Barcelona, are mentioned; and we can see from Murray's hand-book how enormously rich Spain still is in this kind of work. Chapuy gives an illustration of a grille at Barcelona which does not differ materially from those of the same age in Italy and the South of France; and we have at Kensington a portion of a magnificent *Reja* from a lateral chapel of the cathedral of Avila, 1520—30. The forging of the beautifully fashioned solid vertical bars is magnificent, though even surpassed by the exquisite embossing of the cornice and the sheet-iron covering of the wooden pilasters. If this is a criterion of the 16th century metal work of Spain, it is simply unequalled.

In a similar manner the grille-work of Germany becomes increasingly florid, and culminates in the 16th century. German ironwork of the richest period is distinguished by the way in which the bars are threaded through each other in every possible direction—a mode of binding together rarely, if ever, practised in England, and seldom in France. The smith simply revelled in creating difficulties for the sake of overcoming them, and the work came to resemble nothing so much as the flourish of a writing-master of fifty years ago, or the signature of an Elizabethan grandee. Fine examples of these are in the Cathedral and other churches of Cologne. The railing round the tomb of Maximilian at Innspruck is probably, however, one of the finest specimens of the very florid work of the 16th century. The terminal flowers are enormous, and of the most elaborate character; and figures are freely introduced in the cresting. The flowers are passion-flowers, a kind never represented in English work. Another very prevalent

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type of grille in Germany, a little later in date, is formed of scrolls, each of which terminate in a thistle-leaf. After this the German work becomes less specialized, and approximates more nearly to that of North Italy and France, though an extra amount of threaded iron almost invariably betrays its origin. Some German work of the 14th and 15th centuries is very beautiful, but far less characteristic; and in the latter were produced some of the immensely difficult small grilles and tabernacle-doors, which fall more properly under the work of the jeweller, and were produced without smithing.

Time compels us to quit the subject without even glancing at the magnificent grille and gate work of the 17th and 18th centuries. The exquisitely rich and transparent grilles of St. Paul's, were like the Huntingdon Shaw grilles of Hampton Court, designed by Tijou, a foreigner: but our contemporary native designs were also excellent, and possessed a character all their own. The Louis XIII. work in France was not dissimilar to work in England under the Stuarts; but it soon diverged into the spacious Louis XIV. style, which took a firm hold in Germany as well as France, particularly in Würzburg and Münster, becoming more and more exaggerated as it travelled East, until, in Vienna, some of the palatial gates and screens are positive nightmares.

It may be useful to conclude these notes with a brief account of how such grilles are made and put together, and perhaps something of the kind may be expected from me as a practical man.

In contrasting old work with new, we must bear in mind that every section of iron required by the smith was finished off on his own anvil, and it was, therefore, a matter of indifference how often he varied the section, and what forms it took. The most difficult section to him was, perhaps, to get an absolutely cleanly and true rectangular bar of any length. Now we have huge rolling mills of enormous power, and hundreds of different sections of iron are delivered on to the market ready to the smith's hand. These comprise every variety and size of rectangular bar, round bars, a few half round, and some stock mouldings, besides many thicknesses or gauges of sheet iron. The rectangular bars can be varied without expense by using them angle-wise, by giving them a variety of twists, by grooving or planing and turning, and by combining all these. The feeble lines, zigzags and dots, so freely used in modern so-called mediæval work, is a poor, weak, would-be-decoration, much to be deprecated. The twist, on the other hand, is not only decorative, but gives extra strength to the bar, the greater resistance of the angles to any strain being thereby thrown across the faces. But if any sections different to those mentioned are required, they have to be manipulated by the smith at a much higher cost. The bars have to be heated into a red-hot pasty condition, a few inches at a time, and hammered between two steel tools previously prepared. The iron is, in fact, remoulded while hot by repeated blows. Tapering bars is also a relatively expensive process, as the iron has to be thinned down, and the edges brought up again by the hammer.

The bars and sheet iron of which grilles have to be built up are put together by welding, brazing, screwing, rivetting and collaring. Welding is a property peculiar to iron, and means that two pieces of iron will unite under pressure at a heat far below the melting point. Welding should be resorted to whenever possible, but many designs depend for their character and beauty on being constructed of a number of visibly separate pieces. There are moreover cases where the requisite pressure cannot be applied, without disfiguring or destroying the work, and then the union is effected by sticking together with brass or German silver under the intense heat of the blowpipe. Screwing together, though a modern contrivance, is better than rivetting, as it gets a better grip and does not knock the work about. If desired the screw head can always be cut off and enough of the shaft left to rivet over. Rivetting is resorted to where the iron to be fastened is too thin for the screw to grip. Collaring is merely serving an iron tie round two or more pieces of iron to hold them together, but it is usual to pin the iron together under the collar to prevent the looseness tolerated in Italian work. The collars ordinarily bind round both pieces of iron, but where one is much larger than the other, the larger piece is heated, and a hole drifted through it for the collar to pass, so that the iron is laced instead of tied. This process cost nothing in the old days, but is now expensive, and often needless, though some architects insist on having even 18th century work treated in this way, contrary to precedent. The frames of grilles are often tenoned or morticed together, the tenons being well rivetted over. The upright bars, at least of a grille or railing, are, for the sake of strength, almost always threaded through the horizontals. The cheapest way to do this is to have the latter wide enough to allow a piece to be punched clean out by a hydraulic press. But the character of the design very often demands narrow horizontals, which have consequently to be swelled where they are intersected. The cheaper way is then to heat the bar and drift or wedge a hole through it, displacing the iron, and causing it to bulge on either side; and the more expensive way, to weld in a square block of wider iron, out of which a hole is afterwards punched.

By bearing these elementary conditions in mind, any one designing a grille can get the fullest value out of the materials with the least labour.

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THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

By CHARLES BROWNE, M.A., F.S.A.

The Knights Hospitallers—Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights of Rhodes, or Knights of Malta, as the members of this Order have been at different periods of their career termed, according to the place at which their headquarters were from time to time established—have a history which, both at its commencement and at its termination, (so far as it can be said to have terminated) extends beyond that of the Knights Templars, upon which I had the pleasure of addressing you some time ago. I do not propose this evening to refer to the churches built by the Order of Knights Hospitallers, as, I understand, they will be dealt with by the very able hands of Mr. George H. Birch in a future lecture which he has promised us.

The early history of the Knights Hospitallers is somewhat obscure, owing to the absence of written documents, letters, charters, or other evidence of contemporary date. Sir William Dugdale has, indeed, given three different accounts of the origin of the Order. But, upon the whole, the account which is derived from William, Archbishop of Tyre, a writer who was the nearest to being contemporary with the foundation and early history of the Order, is that which is most generally accepted, and is the one which I shall follow this evening.

You will probably remember that, in A.D. 637, the Caliph Omar and his fierce Arab and Egyptian troops having captured the city of Jerusalem, transferred the possession of that city from the Christians to the dominion of the Mahometans. Of the three alternatives (if I may use such a term, of three courses), which the Mahometans were accustomed, when victorious, to offer to the conquered nations—renunciation of Christianity and adoption of Islam, the sword, or the payment of tribute, Omar was so considerate as to offer the vanquished the third, and mildest, of those courses, and allowed the Christians, on payment of a not immoderate sum as tribute, to retain possession of the great Church of the "Anastasis"—the Church of the Resurrection, which included within its area the sites both of the Crucifixion and of the Holy Sepulchre; and more than that, he gave up to the Christians a whole quarter of the city, so as to enable them to provide accommodation for the numerous bands of pilgrims from all parts of Europe, as well as the East, who visited the holy places; and this quarter was walled off, in order to prevent the Christians and Mahometans from quarrelling with, and destroying one another; which might have given rise to tumults that it would have been very inconvenient to the Caliph to deal with.

As matters were arranged, however, the relations between the Mahometans and Christians were, on the whole, of a sufficiently friendly character, and disturbances were by no means of frequent occurrence. And so much was this the case that in A.D. 799 the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid (who is no other than our old friend of the Arabian Nights) sent to Charlemagne—who, in the following year, became Emperor—as a present, the keys of the city of Jerusalem, as an indication of the free access that would be granted to every and all of the holy places Christian pilgrims might desire to visit. And, although the mad Caliph Hakem afterwards recovered possession of the city, drove out the Christians, and destroyed, or greatly damaged the holy places, yet he was ultimately forced to restore the monuments that he had injured, and to give the Christians the same right of free access to the places venerated by them that they had previously enjoyed.

This state of things continued until the year 1065, when there was an incursion of a set of wild Turcomans from the interior of Asia, who in the first outburst of the zealous fanaticism inspired by their recent conversion to Mahometanism, fell upon and massacred the Christian inhabitants, men, women, and children, without distinction, and by their barbarous proceedings aroused in the nations of Western Europe that fierce spirit of fury and determination to recover possession of their lost ground that led to the first Crusade, which ultimately terminated in the capture of the city and the foundation, under Godefroi de Bouillon, of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

During the period of comparative peace and quietude which preceded the outbreak that led to the Crusading movement, the practice of making pilgrimages to the holy sites in Palestine increased enormously. Bands of pilgrims, often numbered by thousands, and composed of persons of both sexes and all ages, including many who were very poor,

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proceeded from all parts of Europe on visits to the Holy Land, and as at that time Thomas Cook and his system of personally conducted tours, and lodgment of the tourists in comfortable hotels, had not been invented, these pilgrims suffered from great hardships, and travel was, as the etymology of the word suggests, "travail," labour, toil, and suffering.

Besides the actual labour of travel too, great numbers of pilgrims fell sick from alternations of cold and heat, improper food, bad lodging, and exposure to vicissitudes of various kinds; whilst others were robbed and murdered by the banditti and loose characters who swarmed in the country and infested all the roads that the travellers had to pass along.

The hardships and dangers thus endured by the pilgrims at length so impressed the hearts of certain merchants of the town of Amalfi in Italy, who were engaged in the trade with the Levant, and so had much to do in the way of conveying pilgrims to and from the Holy Land, that they were induced to bethink them of what they could do to relieve the travellers from these terrible sufferings; and with this view they resolved to establish a monastery in Jerusalem, one part of which should be devoted to the purposes of a receptacle or *hospitium*, in which aid, rest, and refreshment could be rendered to all requiring it as they journeyed, whether rich or poor, hale or sick. To carry out their plan the merchants applied themselves to the heads of the Benedictine Order in Europe, promising on their part to find the funds if the Order would find the men for the work.

The Benedictines accepted the task, and accordingly in A.D. 1023 they sent a body of members of their own Order to Jerusalem, where a piece of ground, just close to the great Church of the Resurrection, was purchased; and there they founded a monastery which was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin under the title of "Monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis ad Latinos," or, as it was sometimes called, "Monasterium de Latinâ," the reference to the "Latins" or "the Latin Church" being introduced for the purpose of showing that the institution was one in connexion with the Latin or Western Rite under the Pope, and not with the Eastern Branch of the Church under the Greek Patriarch; for in that day the relations between the Greek and Latin Churches were very considerably strained, and it was therefore considered essential to indicate clearly at the commencement to which of the two Communities, into which the Church was then divided, the new institution was attached.

To the monastery the founders added two *hospitia;* one intended for the reception of women, and dedicated in honour of St. Mary Magdalene; the other dedicated in honour of St. John the Almsgiver, "Sanctus Johannes Eleemosynarius."

This John the Almsgiver was a person of some note at the time of the dedication of the hospitium. He was a native of Cyprus, and was originally a merchant who had made a very large fortune by trading. But having lost his wife and children he determined to enter into holy orders, and to devote himself and his fortune to the relief and service of those whom he was accustomed to call "his masters," that is, the poor and afflicted of all countries who claimed his sympathies; and so was a very appropriate person to select as Patron of an Institution which was to be devoted to the carrying on the same kind of beneficent work as that which he had so diligently practised during his life.

He was ultimately elected Patriarch of Alexandria: but he never had any special connexion with Jerusalem, except that on one occasion he sent a ship-load of corn to relieve the inhabitants of that city during a severe famine; and the title of "Saint John of Jerusalem," by which he is frequently spoken of, has arisen from a mistaken collocation of words. For, in the original phrase by which the brethren of the Order were designated, viz., "Fratres Hospitalarii Sancti Joannis in Hierosolymâ," the words "in Hierosolymâ" belonged not to the Sanctus Joannes, but to the Fratres Hospitalarii, *i.e.*, the Brethren of the Hospital at Jerusalem dedicated to Saint John.

Saint John the Cypriot, however, seems in after-times to have been rather forgotten, or overlooked, as the real Patron Saint of the Order; and for some reason, not very clearly apparent, the brethren in later times seem to have regarded Saint John the Baptist as their real patron; and thus many of the most beautiful and largest churches erected by the Order were certainly dedicated to Saint John the Baptist; and so completely had this erroneous notion got possession of even those members of the Order who ought to know the most about it, that in a quite modern history of the restored English Branch, written by one who claims to be a "Knight Grand Cross, Registrar-Secretary, and Judge of Arms of the venerable English "langue" (Robert Bigsby), I find it said, "such I most earnestly trust will prove the long "perpetuated mission of the venerable and renowned Order of *Saint John Baptist of Jerusalem*."

The monastery thus founded continued to be served by lay brethren of the Benedictine Order for a long period. The establishment proved very successful, and its aid was sought by pilgrims of all classes: not only the poor, but many of the wealthier class were glad to avail themselves of its hospitality, especially in cases of sickness; and amongst these were several whose gratitude induced them to reward the services of the brethren by giving or leaving to them lands or money, and other valuable possessions; so that by degrees the community of the

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hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem became very wealthy and endowed with ample means to carry out their charitable purposes.

Immediately after the capture of Jerusalem from the Saracens by Godfrey of Bouillon, in A.D. 1099, the Brethren decided to take steps to form their members into a separate Order; and, accordingly, in the year 1100 the new Order, for which the sanction of Pope Pascal II. was afterwards obtained, was constituted, with Peter Gerard as its head. This Peter Gerard was a remarkable man in many ways; not the least singular being the strange blunder that has been made concerning his name. In translating from a Latin chronicle a sentence beginning "Gerardus tum (or tunc) dixit," the translator, not being very well up with the language of the original, got the idea into his head that the word "tum" or tunc" was the second name of Gerard himself; and, instead of rendering the passage by "Gerard then said," he translated it "*Gerard Tum* spoke"; and this stupid mistake was repeated by various writers who followed one another until quite recent times; and there are several modern histories in which it is stated that the founder of the Order was one *Gerard Tum* or *Gerard Tunc.*

Before his appointment as head of the new Order Gerard had done some fighting in the First Crusade, and had been captured by the Turks during an attack by the Christians on the town of Assur in Palestine. His captors, recognising the value to them as a hostage of a person who was so highly esteemed by his own friends, determined to utilise him for their own benefit; and, with this object, they fastened him to a high cross, which they carried to the quarter of the city most exposed to attack, where they set up the cross in a breach of the wall which the Christians had made, feeling sure that his friends would not willingly injure him in their endeavours to force their way through the breach; and this device proved so successful that the assailants had to abandon the attack.

After being released from the cross Gerard was kept in captivity by the Turks for two years, but was then ransomed, and became attached to the Hospitium of St. John in Jerusalem. Gerard was never formally canonized, but he was placed in the ranks of the beatified, and in connexion with this advancement a somewhat singular miracle is recorded of him. For when Godefroi de Bouillon was besieging the city of Jerusalem, Gerard and some others of the Brethren were allowed to remain in the city in consideration of the service which they had rendered in tending the sick and wounded among Turks and Christians alike. During the siege, however, he was accused by some of the Turkish officers of being in the habit of going on to the wall and throwing down loaves of bread to the Christians outside, who were sorely pressed by want of provisions. Gerard was taken before the Governor and accused of this act of treachery. But when some of the things which he had been seen to throw over were produced in evidence of his guilt, they proved, upon examination, to be large stones, which his advocate represented that he had been in the habit of hurling down upon the heads of the besiegers; and so satisfactory to the Governor was this proof of his innocence, that Gerard was immediately released, and his accusers were ordered to supply him with stones to throw down upon the Christians, which they accordingly did; when, as the chroniclers relate, the reverse miracle took place, and the stones, as they were hurled down to the Christians, became converted into loaves of bread.

In the year 1113 Pope Pascal II. issued a Papal Bull (afterwards confirmed by Calixtus II. in A.D. 1120) in which he recognised the new Order as an independent community, separate and distinct from the Benedictines, under whom they had previously acted, having its own rules and regulations; and he commanded that all the hospices in all the countries where they had been established, in Europe as well as in Palestine, were to be considered as attached to the principal house of the new Order at Jerusalem, and as subject to the head of the Order. The Brethren were confirmed in the possession of the large grants of lands and money which had been made for the support of the hospices established by them; and the Papal sanction was given to the exemption from the payment of tithes in respect of all property belonging to the community which had previously been granted by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in respect of all lands within his jurisdiction; and it was ordained that for the future the head of the Order should be elected by the community itself, and not by any external authority. It is to be noticed that in this Bull Gerard is styled only "præpositus" or "custos," that is, "*provost*" or "*warden*," a style which continued to be used for a long time afterwards, as the head did not assume the title of "*Master*" of the Order until a much later period.

In order to preserve their monastic character it was required that every member of the order should take the threefold vow of *obedience*, *chastity*, and *poverty*, which was the characteristic distinction of all the Monastic Orders. The latter of which vows meant only that no individual member could, as such, possess any property; but it did not prevent the whole community, as a corporate body, from possessing and disposing of any property which they could acquire; and accordingly they became the absolute owners of all the property, the grants of which were confirmed by this Papal sanction.

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It was also appointed that all members of the Order should wear the black robe of a monk, rendered distinctive by a cross of white linen sewn upon the breast. The form of cross ultimately adopted by the Order was one of eight points, well known to us as the Maltese Cross, known in heraldry as a cross patée, formed of four triangles joined together at the points. But from some early specimens which I have seen at Syracuse, and elsewhere, I am inclined to believe that the original form of this cognisance was not such as it became in later times, but was a plain Greek Cross, having the extremity of each limb terminated by the segment of a circle curving outwards—a form of which a reminiscence seems to be preserved in the curve, or sometimes the deep indentation in the base of each triangle to be seen in the modern representations of the cross borne by the Order.

It was during the time of Gerard that the first house belonging to the Order in England was established in Clerkenwell. This was as early as A.D. 1102, and its foundation was very soon followed by the establishment of others, though the number of houses belonging to the Hospitallers was in this country always small in comparison with those of the Templars; whilst in France the contrary was the case, the Hospitallers there greatly outnumbering their rivals the Templars.

On the death of Peter Gerard in A.D. 1121, he was succeeded in his office as head of the Order by Raymond du Puy, a man of very active and energetic character. The first thing Du Puy did was to collect together all the rules and regulations which had already been made at various times for the constitution and government of the Order, and to frame from these a new constitution. In so doing he proceeded rather on the lines of the Order of Augustinian Canons than on those of the Benedictines, by whom the Order was originally founded, as the regulations and statutes of the former were very much more suited to an active body like the Hospitallers than those of a contemplative Order such as the Benedictines. The new statutes were confirmed by a Bull issued by the new Pope Calixtus II., in which all the grants made by his predecessor were not only confirmed but enlarged, so that the members of the Order were not only exempted, as before, from the payment of all tithes within the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but from all tithes wherever their houses and lands might be situate. The members were also exempted from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever, except that of the Pope himself, and consequently, the Hospitallers, like the Templars, always refused to render obedience to any of the ecclesiastical authorities, other than the Papal legates, within whose jurisdiction their houses were situated; and these privileges, naturally, gave rise to much jealousy, and caused great offence to the secular and regular clergy in the countries where they were established.

The most important work, however, which Raymond du Puy accomplished, was the conversion of the Order from a merely charitable institution into a great fighting body. In the condition into which Palestine had fallen at this period the members of the Order in Jerusalem were exposed to great danger from the Turks and Arabs, and other Mahometan foes, and were obliged to maintain a considerable body of soldiers to protect themselves, and to escort pilgrims on their way from one place to another. Raymond du Puy acted on the well-known principle of defensive warfare, that the best, or at any rate the most effectual, way to defend yourself is to kill your enemy; and therefore he carried the war, whenever possible, into the enemy's country. He organized a large body of men-at-arms, in order to protect the pilgrims who were under the care of the Order, and these men did good service to the Christian cause at Antioch, Tyre, Jaffa, Ascalon, and other places in and in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land. In consideration of these military services Pope Innocent II., in the year 1130, gave the Hospitallers a banner for use as their cognisance. The arms borne on the banner exactly reversed those carried by the Knights Templars. The arms of the latter Order, as you will remember, were a red cross on a white ground, or, as heralds would say, "Argent, a cross gules." The Hospitallers, on the contrary, were to bear a white cross on a red ground, *i.e.*, "Gules, a cross argent." This cross, it is to be observed, was not one of eight points, nor that with the crescent termination, but was a plain and simple Greek cross of four equal limbs. It is rather remarkable with them, as with the Templars, that the Grand Masters always bore their own arms *quarterly* with those of the Order; not impaling them as Bishops and Abbots were accustomed to do; and giving to the arms of the Order the place of honour, first and fourth, and taking for their own only the humbler place of second and third quarters of the shield, indicating, as it would seem, that the Order was their proper family of which they were the head; and that their former relations were only connected with them in a more remote degree than their brethren of the Hospital.

This quartering of the arms of the community with their own was confined to the Grand Masters. The Grand Priors and other great officers bore the Cross Argent on a field gules as an augmentation on a chief above their own family arms. Though, indeed, in the case of Alfonso, King of Portugal, who was a member, though not Grand Master, of the Order, he adopted the practice of the Grand Masters, and bore the arms of the Hospitallers quarterly with the Royal

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Arms of Portugal, actually placing the latter in the second and third quarters, and giving to the arms of the Order the place of honour in the first and fourth quarters of the shield.

Returning to the history of the second Principal of the Order, Raymond du Puy, he held his office for twenty years, and was followed by one or two Masters who did not perform any very great or distinguished exploits until we come to the name of Gerbert d'Assaly, the first to assume the title of "*Master*" or "*Grand Master*" (Magnus Magister) of the Order. He was born in the region of Palestine, in the city of Tyre; and a hot and fiery blood coursed in his veins. Stimulated by the deeds of the Templars he determined that his Order should do equally great things, and he accordingly proposed to the King of Jerusalem that they should join their forces in an attack upon Egypt. This was a perilous as well as a very treacherous undertaking, for the countries were at that time (A.D. 1168) in a state of truce. The Templars very properly refused to have anything to do with the enterprise, but Gerbert having summoned a general chapter of the Hospital obtained the assent of the majority to the expedition, although the older members vehemently opposed and protested against the breach of good faith which the attack would involve. Notwithstanding their opposition, however, the attack was resolved on, and the combined forces of the Hospitallers and of the King proceeded to Belbeis (the ancient Pelusium), and established themselves as masters of the place. They were, however, soon afterwards engaged by Nouredin, the immediate predecessor of the greater Saladin, who collected a great army of Egyptians and Nubians, and utterly defeated the Christians, and drove them out of the land. They were obliged to make a precipitate retreat, and only escaped total annihilation by the intervention of the Knights Templars, who, notwithstanding their protest against the expedition, nevertheless came forward to avert the consequences of such an ill-judged adventure. The expedition to Egypt brought great disgrace upon the unfortunate Master of the Order, not only because of the defeat of his troops, but, perhaps, even more because it involved the Order in a debt of two hundred thousand ducats—that is, £100,000 sterling, which they had borrowed for the purposes of the expedition; a sum which, taking into account that the purchasing power of money was at that time at least five times as great as at the present day, was probably equal to half-a-million sterling of our money. Gerbert was obliged to resign his position; and, as many another resigned or deposed sovereign has done since his time, determined to come to England, but was drowned while passing from Dieppe to Southampton on his way.

The immediate successor of Gerbert d'Assaly was Roger de Moulins. In A.D. 1184, soon after his election, a fresh truce for four years had been agreed on with the Saracens; and the Hospitallers and Templars determined to utilize this breathing time by sending a deputation from both Orders to Western Europe to arouse the flagging energies of the people of that region; and to induce them to give further assistance to the Crusaders. Accordingly, they sent on this mission, Roger de Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, and Arnaud de Torroge, the Grand Master of the Templars, together with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius. On their way they had an interview with the Pope at Verona, but there Arnaud de Torroge was taken with a fever and died. This was very unfortunate, for on the arrival of the survivors in England, in the next year, A.D. 1185, they found that the Templars had just completed the round nave of the Temple Church in London, which still remains to us, and by the strange irony of fate, there being no Grand Master of the Templars to be present at the Consecration of this Church, the ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Grand Master of the rival Order—the Hospitallers—by Heraclius, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem; who, at the same time, consecrated the high altar of the Chapel of St. John belonging to the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell. The Patriarch and his companion, Roger de Moulins, tried their utmost to induce our King Henry II. to lead an expedition to the Holy Land in person, as he had promised to do as part of the penance enjoined upon him for his share in the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. But their efforts were unsuccessful; and with much disgust, and after many remonstrances, the two leaders of the deputation from Palestine returned to that country, though only to bear their share in the great calamities which at this time almost crushed the Crusaders into annihilation.

It was only shortly after their return that the disastrous Battle of Nazareth was fought, in which both Orders took part with almost equal loss. The Christians mustered, at the outside, not more than six hundred men all told. But with these they made such a furious charge upon the Saracens, who had at least seven or eight thousand men in their ranks, that they succeeded at first in driving them across the Jordan, but there the Mahometans, seeing their immense superiority in numbers, rallied and resumed the fight; and, in the result, Roger de Moulins was killed after he had done such execution with his own sword that after the battle his body was found beneath an immense heap of the slain; whilst of the rest of those engaged only the newly-elected Grand Master of the Templars and two of his knights escaped, and every other one of the Christians was either killed in the fight or slaughtered in the massacre which took place after it.

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Roger de Moulins, as I mentioned before, was the first head of the Order who was styled "Magnus Magister," or "Grand Master." Down to his time the organization of the Order was of a very simple character. The members had been merely divided into two classes, *Clerics* and *Laics*, but as the Order extended itself it was found necessary to introduce subdivisions; and it may be as well for me here to pause a minute to notice the form which the Constitution of the Confraternity of the Hospitallers assumed during the latter part of its history.

The first stage was to divide the Order into four classes or ranks, namely, knights, chaplains, serving men (*i.e.*, men-at-arms or esquires), and priests of the obedience. Besides these there were associates, known as *Donati* or *Oblati*, who were not, strictly speaking, members of the Order, but only attached to or connected with it.

The *Knights* were obliged to prove sixteen quarterings of nobility in their arms; or in other words, to show that they came of eight ancestors on each side, paternal and maternal, of noble rank, and entitled to bear arms. They were subdivided into three classes (1) the *Baillis* or *Bailiffs*: a title now not thought much of, but in that Order a position of very great distinction, being the members of the Grand Council or Chapter, appointed to assist the Grand Master in the government of the Order; (2) *Commanders*, who were the principal military officers, who directed the warlike operations in the field; and (3) The *Knights of Justice*, whose duty was to discharge the obligation of all the chivalrous orders, to see that right was done, and justice administered to all who claimed their protection. The *Chaplains* were the priors of the principal churches belonging to the Order, which in all its ecclesiastical arrangements, preserved its monastic character. The *Esquires* (Scutigeri or Escuiers) or *Serving Men-at-Arms* were the fighting men; and the *Priests of the Obedience* were the Clerical Members of the Community, who performed the services of the Church, and rendered spiritual aid in the Churches and Chapels of the Order, as well as on the battle-field. For all those below the degree of Knight, it was required to prove only five descents from Burgesses of repute, although many of those amongst the Esquires who were duly qualified were from time to time raised to the rank of Knights.

The great distinction between the Hospitallers and the Templars, was, that the latter Society was almost exclusively a fighting Order; whereas the Hospitallers from the beginning had within their ranks a large proportion of Clergy, who were afterwards distinguished as "*Priests of the Obedience*"; and in that character discharged the sacerdotal offices which were required by the Lay Members of the Fraternity.

The fifth class of this Order to whom I have already referred, the *Donati* or *Oblati* was composed simply of persons who rendered aid and assistance to the Order by gifts of money, or lands, and in other ways, and received in return the protection and favour of the Brethren, but were not reckoned among the regular Members of the Order; though some amongst them who were of Knightly rank were termed "*Knights of Grace*."

In strict conformity with their Monastic Constitution, the first four classes were required to take the three Vows of Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty, which distinguished the regular Orders; and although their fighting dress, a red surcoat with a white cross upon the breast, over a suit of armour, did not present much of the appearance of Monks, yet the black robe which they wore when not in fighting trim, reminded themselves as well as those who looked upon them, that they were only what they professed to be, Military Friars, whose duty required of them the use of spiritual as well as carnal arms.

Besides these classes, the Members of the Order were also divided into eight "*langues*" or *tongues*. These "langues" which were intended to represent so many different nationalities, were originally those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Aragon, Castile, England, Italy and Germany. Amongst these, England was reckoned as sixth in order; but it was extinguished in the year 1540, when the Order itself was abolished in this country by Henry VIII.; and although it was for a short time revived under Mary, yet the English langue was not then restored. But at a much later period in 1782 a new langue of Bavaria was established in its place, when, upon the suppression of the Jesuits, their property in Bavaria was handed over to the Hospitallers, who in return established this new, or rather revived langue, which was generally known as the Anglo-Bavarian langue.

The Order possessed also a number of high officers, including the *Grand Master* at the head; the *Grand Commander*, who was Treasurer, and head of the Commissariat as well as of the Artillery; the *Grand Marshal*, who was in the command of the troops; the *Admiral*, who, as having command of the naval force, was, in after times, nearly the most important officer of the whole; the *Grand Hospitaller*, who had charge of the sick and wounded; the *Grand Chancellor*, who was at once Registrar and Secretary of the Order; the curiously named *Turcopolier*, to whom was entrusted the command of the light cavalry—men like the Zouaves and Turcos of the modern French army—who were specially trained to meet the tactics of the lightly armed Turkish horsemen; the *Grand Conservator*, or Paymaster of the forces; and the *Grand Bailli*, who had to look after their fortresses in Barbary, Tripoli, and elsewhere in an enemy's country.

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Besides these members of the Order, who were all men, there was an Order of Nun Hospitallers; but of these we hear very little.

There is, indeed, a certain Sister Agnes who is mentioned in history as the head of the female branch of the Order at the commencement of its institution; and there were several houses which belonged to the Nun Hospitallers, who appear to have acted quite independently of the Knights. These, probably, trained and sent out nurses to the field; and at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens we hear of a house of Nun Hospitallers in the city. In the year 1180 all the Nuns of the Order in England were compelled by an ordinance of Henry II. to retire into the Preceptory of Buckland in Somersetshire, and there they remained until 1540, when Henry VIII. suppressed the house at the same time as he abolished the Knights; and the last Prioress, Katherine Bower, surrendered the Preceptory to the king. Besides the Nuns, great numbers of ladies acted as volunteer nurses, like our own Florence Nightingale and her companions, without being members of the Order; and, indeed, it is said that some of them went further, and engaged as Amazons in the field in some of the many battles which were fought in defence of their own strongholds.

To return to the history—after this digression as to the organization of the community—we find that after the unfortunate affair of the Battle of Nazareth, in which the Grand Master De Moulins, with all his companions in arms, had perished, Garnier was appointed his successor. The new Grand Master met the Turks in the terrible battle fought near the Lake Tiberias in the year 1187, on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July. The armies fought the whole of one day and the greater part of the preceding and following days; the Crusading host was utterly defeated. But I will not repeat the details of the battle, and the massacre which followed it, as I have already spoken of them to you when delivering a discourse upon the history of the Templars. The King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, and Terric, the Grand Master of the Temple, were both taken prisoners. But Garnier, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, who was severely wounded, cut his way through the enemy and made good his retreat to Ascalon; but there, according to one account, he died of his wounds the next day; though another, and more authentic statement, represents that he recovered from his wounds, and afterwards fell in the attack of the Crusaders upon the fortress of Acre. The ultimate result of this battle was the capture by Saladin, on the 2nd of October, 1187, of the City of Jerusalem. This was, practically, the termination of the reign of the Latin kings in Jerusalem, for, the so-called kings never after that date exercised any regal power in the city. Guy de Lusignan was sent by Saladin first to Damascus, and afterwards to Cyprus, never to return. Of the Hospitallers one hundred were allowed by Saladin to remain in Jerusalem, in consideration of the kindness which they had shown to the sick and wounded among the Mahometans as well as the Christians; but their numbers seem never to have been renewed, and so they died out gradually, until all were extinct. The general body of the Hospitallers retired to the strong fortress of Margat, which they held for nearly a hundred years, and where they rendered very good service to the Christians in protecting them in those places which were still under their control, or by joining in the fighting which, notwithstanding the loss of the holy city, still went on in the other parts of Palestine.

While there was any real warfare going on, the Hospitallers and Templars generally managed to keep their private quarrels in abeyance, and stood shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. But in the intervals between the engagements with the Pagan enemy, the two Orders were always at loggerheads, and oftentimes with very serious results. Whatever questions of policy, or military tactics, arose, the Templars were sure to be found on one side and the Hospitallers on the other. Thus, on the occasion of the disputed succession to the throne of Jerusalem, the two Grand Masters, who were joint regents of the kingdom during the interregnum, took opposite sides, as usual, and when the successful candidate had to be crowned, the Master of the Hospital refused to give up the key of the chest in which the golden crowns, to be used at the ceremony, were kept under two locks, of one of which each Grand Master held the key. On another occasion, the Hospitallers having enfeoffed one Robert Seguin of a castle and lands, which, as they considered, belonged to them, the Templars, claiming the lands and castle as their own, drove Seguin out, and established themselves in the place in his stead. Then the Hospitallers returned, and laid regular siege to the castle, and so the dispute went on, in regular hostile fashion, until at length the Pope Innocent III., the common Superior of both Orders, intervened, and settled the question by deciding it in favour of the Hospitallers.

Again, on a mere point of honour, concerning a question of precedence, a formal challenge was given by a body of one of the Orders, to an equal number of their rivals; and the duel was fought with the greatest ferocity, until all the Templars were either killed or mortally wounded, and only two or three of the Hospitallers were left to carry away the tidings of their victory to their brethren.

After the capture of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers took part in all the active movements of the Crusades. They assisted in the defence of the city of Tyre, and afterwards joined in the

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great siege of Acre, which lasted for two years, and during which the Christians and Saracens were, at one and the same time, both besieged and besiegers. In the first place, the Saracens were shut up in the fortress by the Crusaders; but immediately afterwards Saladin came down, with a still larger host, and formed a ring outside the Christian entrenchments, thus shutting them in for a time between two fires. The city was not taken until our Richard Cœur de Lion came to the assistance of the Crusaders; and, at length, after the most valiant exploits on both sides, compelled the city to capitulate.

Another series of engagements in which the Hospitallers took a large part was with the Kharismians, a wild horde of barbarians from Central Asia. These people having captured Jerusalem displayed on the walls of the city the banners they had taken from the Christians in several previous engagements. The inhabitants, who had at first fled from their houses, seeing these banners floating on the walls, naturally concluded that the city had been recovered for the Christians, and returned to Jerusalem; when the Kharismians, having allowed the exiles to re-enter without impediment, shut the gates, and then seized on the helpless crowd, and massacred every man, woman, and child amongst them. The Hospitallers, roused to fury by this act of barbarianism, called on the Templars to join them in a common attack on the invaders; and on St. Luke's Day (October 18th, A.D. 1244), a great battle took place, in which the Grand Masters of both Orders were slain, and their forces almost exterminated. At the unfortunate Battle of Damietta in Egypt both the king Louis IX. of France (Saint Louis), and the Grand Master of the Hospitallers were captured and put to ransom, whilst the Grand Master of the Templars, who had been severely wounded and had had one of his eyes shot out by an arrow only a short time previously, was killed. During the period of the imprisonment of the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, waiting for the sum demanded as a ransom to be collected, the officials, who were in command during his absence, took the great seal of the Order, a leaden ball (*bulla*), hung it on the wall of their fortress, and refused to use it, or do any corporate act during their chief's detention, as a token of being plunged into the deepest mourning. The ransom of the Grand Master, though a heavy amount, was raised without much difficulty; but the Saracens demanded for the release of king Louis 200,000 pieces of gold, a sum equal in purchasing power to at least half a million of our money, thereby giving us a measure of the value in those days of "a peck of March dust," if we may accept the truth of the proverb that it is "worth a king's ransom."

In A.D. 1291 the Hospitallers engaged in the last battles which were fought between the Crusaders and the Mahometans in Palestine. They joined in the last desperate defence of the city of Acre, where they held out most obstinately, strenuously resisting the violent assault made upon it by the enemy. But it was all in vain. In the end they were defeated, along with the Templars, and were nearly all massacred with the exception of a few who managed to escape to the Island of Cyprus. There they had the town of Limasol assigned to them by the king of Cyprus for their resting place, in common with the Templars: and they set to work to fortify it with the intention of making it their head-quarters, but they did not get on well with the king of Cyprus; disagreements were frequent, as their independent ways and high claims did not suit the king any more than his claims of sovereignty and supremacy over the Order suited them.

Having lost their foothold on the main land they thenceforth turned their attention principally to maritime affairs, and partly with a view to obtaining a good naval station as a base for their future operations, and partly to secure a place for themselves where they might escape from the interference of the King of Cyprus, or any other sovereign except their immediate Supreme Lord, the Pope, the recently elected Grand Master, Foulques de Villaret bethought himself of an expedition to capture the island of Rhodes. Nominally, Rhodes belonged at that time to the Greek Empire, but the Emperor had enough to do to look after his immediate surroundings, and thus Rhodes had been allowed to become a resort of bad characters of all sorts; and was occupied partly by a body of Greek subjects in revolt against the Emperor, and partly by several hordes of Turkish pirates. The Hospitallers found that they had a very tough task at first to make themselves masters of the whole island, but at last, in the year 1310, as the occupants could, of course, get no assistance from the Emperor, they succeeded in conquering it, and also the neighbouring island of Cos. After they had thus established themselves they assumed, during the nearly two hundred years of their occupation, the title of "Knights of Rhodes." In A.D. 1312, two years after their conquest, on the suppression and extinction of the Knights Templars, the Hospitallers, by a decree of the Council of Vienne, received a grant of all their possessions, which added enormously to their power and influence. During the period of their occupation of Rhodes they had frequent fights with the Turks, who, as the Greek Empire was gradually being extinguished, were creeping up towards Constantinople. As the knights had no inland fortresses left from which to make attacks on the interior of the enemy's country, they set themselves principally to clear the seas of Turkish pirates. Innocent VI., indeed, was very anxious to have the Order established once more upon the main land, so as to

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stop the advance of the Turks towards Europe, but no convenient place could be found in which they could set up their head-quarters inland, and they were forced to abandon the idea. At a later period indeed, with the same object, Philip de Naillac on behalf of the Order, entered into negotiations with Thomas Palæologus, Lord of the Morea (the ancient Peloponnesus), for the purchase of the sovereignty of that region, but the inhabitants, being all devoted members of the Greek Church, would not hear of coming under the rule of a body belonging to the Latin Communion, and so the bargain fell through.

During the stay of the Order in the island many severe fights with the Turks took place; one of the most famous being the siege of Rhodes itself, when a very vigorous attempt was made by the Turks, now masters of Constantinople, to turn the knights out of the island. This siege, which took place in A.D. 1480, was led by the renegade Mischa Palæologus, one of the Greek Imperial family, with 160 ships and 100,000 men, but the Hospitallers ultimately beat him off though with a very great loss.

Though thus victorious for a time, the Hospitallers were unable ultimately to retain their hold over Rhodes. For in A.D. 1522 the powerful Sultan Soliman attacked them with a force of 400 ships and 150,000 men. Under their valiant Grand Master Phillippe de Villiers de L'Ile Adam they stood the siege for more than six months, but eventually had to capitulate; although the Grand Master was very unwilling to give up the contest until he was overruled by his Grand Council.

Driven out of Rhodes, for eight years the Hospitallers wandered about, going to various places in search of a home to settle in, but finding no permanent resting-place, until at length in the year 1530 the Emperor Charles V. made over to them the possession and sovereignty of the island of Malta, then a mere barren rock; to which were added the small adjacent island of Gozo and the town and fortress of Tripoli, on the mainland of Africa. The latter place, however, proved a much more troublesome possession than any advantage to be derived from it would compensate its owners for; and it was almost a relief to the Order when, in the year 1551, the Pacha Sinan and the Corsair Dragut attacked the place, and compelled it to surrender to the Turkish power.

It was during the establishment of the Order at Malta that the English branch of it was suppressed by Henry VIII., in common with all the monastic foundations in his dominions. Mary restored it for a time during her short reign; but Elizabeth again abolished it shortly after her accession, and by an Act of Parliament in the second year of her reign all the possessions of the Order, including what they had derived from the Templars, were vested in the Crown.

During the whole period of their possession of Malta, which lasted for over 260 years, the knights employed their energies almost exclusively in naval expeditions, and making raids upon the sea-port towns and villages upon the coast, and they certainly rendered very good service to all civilised people, of whatever race or creed, by clearing the Mediterranean of the pirates who swarmed there and if not kept in check would have rendered all commerce there impossible.

To make their position in the island impregnable, the knights constructed one of the most extensive and powerful fortresses known in the later Middle Ages. The fortress was named Valetta, after the Grand Master de la Valette, who first designed it; and the Order rose to a greater pitch of glory and distinction than ever. Charles V., at a Diet held at Ratisbon, appointed the Grand Prior of the German Langue, to be a Prince of the Empire; and two Grand Masters were, at different times, made cardinals by the Pope.

Thus things went on until the year 1798, when Napoleon the Great, then on his way to Egypt, landed on the Island of Malta. The Order had been suppressed in France, a few years previously, by the Republic, and on landing Napoleon claimed the Island as belonging to France, as the great majority of the knights, at that time, belonged to that nation. The fortress was treacherously surrendered to the French; and the knights, under the Grand Master Ferdinand Baron de Hompesch, agreed to retire, upon receiving certain pensions and allowances from the sequestered estates belonging to them.

Napoleon, after staying on the Island only a few days, went on to Egypt, leaving as his representative the great engineer, Vaubois.

But although the fortress had thus ignominiously surrendered, the inhabitants of the Island were by no means disposed to submit to the domination of the French Republic; and, with the aid of the English, they kept up, during two years, a constant resistance to the claims of France, which ultimately terminated, in the year 1800, in the surrender of the fortress, as well as of the whole Island, to the English, under whose dominion it has ever since remained.

When they were driven out of Malta, the Hospitallers again became wanderers. The main portion made their way to St. Petersburg, where they obtained the protection of the Czar Paul, whom they elected as their Grand Master. The election was, in every respect, quite irregular and void. In the first place, there was no vacancy, as Ferdinand de Hompesch, the Grand

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Master, who had surrendered Malta to Napoleon and the French, was still living, and had not resigned.

Besides which, no Grand Chapter was held prior to the election, and Paul, who was, of course, a member of the Greek Church, a powerful sovereign possessed of immense wealth, and a married man, could not possibly have taken the vows of submission to the Pope, and of obedience, poverty, and chastity, which were necessary to qualify him to become even a member of the Order, much less its head. When the Czar Paul died, his successor, Alexander, wisely contented himself with accepting the position of *Patron* only, without claiming the Grand Mastership.

When a regular vacancy did occur by the death of de Hompesch in the year 1803, the Pope nominated Ruspoli, who had been Admiral of the Order, to be Grand Master, but he declined the office; and the Pope then appointed Giovanni Tomasi, who accepted the honour; but he died two years afterwards; and after his death no more Grand Masters were appointed, but only Lieutenant Masters, who exercised the powers of the head of the Order, until 1879, when the present Pope Leo XIII. once more revived the Grand Mastership and appointed Giovanni Battista Ceschi to the post, and as far as I know he still holds that office; but his authority is very limited, as only the German and Italian langues obey him and recognise his jurisdiction.

I must say a few words in closing about the revival of the English langue. In 1814 the French Knights assembled at Paris in a general Chapter for the election of a permanent Capitular Commission which was empowered to regulate all the affairs of the Order. In 1823, when the attempts of the Greek Christians to throw off the yoke of the Turkish Sultan were beginning to attract attention, the Capitular Commission held a convention of the langues of France, Provence, and Auvergne, at which, with the consent of the two Spanish langues of Aragon and Castile, it was decided to enter into negotiations for the resuscitation of the English langue, which had been suppressed for nearly three hundred years. The motive of this resolution was apparently this: The scheme for enabling the Order to resume its military operations against the Turkish power was to purchase from the Greeks two small Islands lying off the Morea, which were to be made the basis of operations for the recovery by the Order of its old possession of Rhodes; but to effect this purchase a large sum of money was required which could only be raised by a loan, and the only country in which there was the slightest chance of raising such a loan was England. And as the only security for such loan that could be offered consisted of the "*passages*," as they were called, that is, the entrance fees paid by new members on admission to the Order; it occurred to the promoters that the best chance of gaining a large increase of those fees was to revive the English Branch of the Order, and to induce a number of English persons of rank and wealth to enter it. Accordingly they made proposals for a loan of sixteen millions of francs, or £640,000, to be raised on the London Stock Exchange. The proposal, however, did not meet with success. The money was not raised, the Islands were not purchased, and the expedition for the recovery of Rhodes never took place. Still, however, the negotiations for the resuscitation of the English langue continued, until in 1831 a grand Chapter of the English Branch was held, at which the revival of the English langue was declared, and Sir Robert Peat was elected Grand Prior.

A great many objections to the regularity of these proceedings may be, and have in fact been, raised.

In the first place it is objected that such an important proceeding as the revival of a suppressed branch of the Order, especially with such modifications of the ancient rules as could permit the enrolment amongst its members of knightly rank of persons who rejected the authority of the Pope, who might be married men, and who were not required to surrender their private property to the common stock of the Order, could not possibly be legally and validly effected except by a decree of a general chapter of the whole Order regularly assembled, under the authority and presidency of the Grand Master, or, in his absence, or during the suspension of his office, of the Lieutenant Master, duly appointed and exercising the functions of Grand Master, whereas no such general chapter was ever held; and so far from the proceedings having been carried on under the authority or with the sanction of the Lieutenant Master, he in fact issued a strong protest against them. The allegation that the Capitular Commission appointed in 1814, conferred upon the three French langues sufficient authority to take this step, is met, first by the assertion that the Commission did not convey, and never purported to convey, any such authority—and even if it did, the authority, it is said, was revoked and annulled before it was exercised. And as to the claim put forward, that the assent of the two Spanish langues of Aragon and Castile made the proceeding to be one authorised by a resolution of the majority of the langues constituting the entire Order, it is replied, that even if such consent could have the effect claimed for it, as a matter of fact such consent was never given by a regular formal vote or resolution of any chapter of the Spanish langues duly held, but was only communicated by two persons representing themselves to be deputies of the langues of

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Aragon and Castile, but who had no duly authenticated credentials to present to warrant their assumption of the right to represent those langues.

It is indeed always exceedingly difficult, when great changes have taken place in the character and constitution of a corporate body, or quasi-corporate body, which has become split up into several sections, to determine which of the conflicting sections has the right, or the best right, to hold itself out as the legitimate successor of the original body; or, indeed, whether the original body can properly be said to continue in existence at all; and it must be confessed that in the case of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem it would be exceedingly difficult, if any claim to property tenable before a legal judicial tribunal depended upon it, to establish the right of the resuscitated English langue to be considered, consistently with the constitution and rules of the Order, to be a genuine branch of the tree, in the same sense as was the old English langue down to and at the time of its suppression or deposition in the sixteenth century. Whether those branches of the Order, the Italian and German (Austrian), which recognise the supremacy of the Pope and the authority of the Grand Master appointed by him, have any better claim to be regarded as exclusively constituting the Order, is a question the solution of which may best be left until the demand for some practical action dependent upon it renders it a matter of essential importance to determine it.

It may, perhaps, appear somewhat singular that upon the occasion of the revival, or alleged revival, of the English langue, so many Knights of English nationality could be found to attend at, and constitute the first Grand Chapter of the English langue that had been held for 290 years. It appears however that there was at that time, still living, one Englishman, Sir Joshua Colles Meredith, who had been admitted to the Knighthood of the Order, by the Grand Master Ferdinand Baron de Hompesch himself. The rules of the Order provided that, in an extreme emergency, any one single knight might confer the rank and dignity of knighthood upon any duly qualified person who sought it, and in view of the approaching attempt to resuscitate the English langue, it is said that Sir Joshua admitted several Englishmen to the knighthood, by bestowing upon them the *Accolade* (that stroke across the shoulders with a sword, which signifies the last blow that the candidate may receive without resenting it), and the knights thus created again bestowed the honour upon others: so that at the date of the Grand Chapter at which Sir Robert Peat was elected Grand Prior, and the renewed existence of the English langue was proclaimed, there was a goodly muster of Knights to represent the langue and discharge the functions of a Provincial Chapter of the Order.

But whatever may be the right of the resusciated English langue to be considered as a true branch of the original Order, there is no doubt that it has devoted itself most energetically to the accomplishment of the services indicated by its motto, "*Pro utilitate hominum.*" In strict accordance with the original object of the Order, it undertakes especially the care, and if it may be, the cure, of the sick and wounded of all classes and nations in peace as well as in war, and by means of its well-organized Ambulance Department, it has done most excellent service in alleviating suffering and sickness in various parts of the world. Besides an establishment at Jerusalem near to the original Hospitium belonging to the "*Monasterium Beatæ Virginis Mariæ ad Latinos,*" the members have acquired the possession of all that remains of the first house established by the Order in England, the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, where they have established a valuable library; and by means of various organizations, they are very actively engaged in practising and promoting many charitable and good works "for the benefit of mankind."

But the dignity and importance of the English branch has only quite recently been vastly enhanced, and indeed would seem to have reached its highest pitch, by the grant of a Charter of Incorporation under the Sovereignty and Patronage of Her Majesty the Empress Queen Victoria.—And they can now boast of the Headship of the heir to the throne—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales—and as a postscript to this discourse I add the subjoined extract from "The Times" of July 19th, 1888, which contains an account that I think will greatly interest the Society, of the latest doings of the *Fratres Hospitalarii Sancti Joannis in Hierosolymâ.*

THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

"An interesting and historical event occurred yesterday at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, the ancient gateway of the once famous Priory, when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was formally installed as Grand Prior of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, which has recently been incorporated under that title by Royal charter, and of which Her Majesty the Queen is declared to be the sovereign head and patron.

"The order has for many years been known to the public as a philanthropic body of high standing, and more especially during the last few years, from the extensive operations of its

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ambulance department, more familiarly known as the St. John Ambulance Association. The whole scheme of its operations, indeed, is, as far as possible, by adaptation to the requirements of modern times, the perpetuation of the Hospitaller work of the famous Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which, in the Middle Ages, was the most striking and practical order of chivalry.

"His Royal Highness, who was accompanied by Prince Albert Victor, was, on his arrival at the eastern entrance of the gateway, received by His Highness the Duke of Teck, General Sir John St. George, K.C.B. (Chancellor), Sir Edmund Lechmere (Secretary-General), and by Mr. Tyssen-Amherst, M.P. (Genealogist to the Order). Mr. Easterbrook, the Assistant Secretary and Honorary Associate of the Order, was in attendance.

"A procession having been formed, His Royal Highness was conducted to the Chapter Room, to a chair on the right of the chair of State, and was received by the members of the Order there assembled upstanding, His Royal Highness' entry being announced by Sir Albert Woods (Garter). The Duke of Manchester, who was Prior of the Order for twenty-seven years, before its recent incorporation, was the presiding knight.

"The Secretary-General then read that portion of the Royal Charter of Incorporation which declares the Prince of Wales to be the Grand Prior, after which the presiding knight asked His Royal Highness whether he would endeavour to govern the Order according to the statutes declared in the charter. To this the Grand Prior answered, 'I will.' The Bishop of St. Albans (Chaplain-General) recited select psalms and prayers. The Bailiff of Egle then handed to the presiding knight the sheathed sword of the Order, and the Grand Prior, having received the sword, unsheathed it, in token that the Order had again a Grand Prior. The other ceremonies of investiture were then performed, the badge of Grand Prior and the star of the Order being in succession presented to His Royal Highness, who was then placed in the chair of State (with the Duke of Manchester now on his right); the sword was returned to the Bailiff of Egle, the Grand Prior was proclaimed by the Genealogist, and the homage-roll of the Order was signed, after which the members of the Order made a solemn declaration of obedience.

"After the ceremony of installation His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor and the Earl of Lathom were received by His Royal Highness the Grand Prior as Knights of Justice of the Order.

"His Royal Highness announced that he had communicated to His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Prussia, the Grand Master of the Johanniter Order, that Her Majesty had granted a Charter of Incorporation to the Order in England. To the names already on the roll of the members of the Royal Family and other illustrious personages was now added that of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, as a Knight of Justice; and among the Ladies of Justice their Royal Highnesses the Princess of Wales, the Princess Helena (Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein), the Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne), the Princess Beatrice (Princess Henry of Battenberg), the Duchess of Albany, the Princess Mary Adelaide (Duchess of Teck), Her Majesty the Queen of Denmark, Her Majesty the Queen of Sweden and Norway, and Her Royal Highness the reigning Grand Duchess of Baden. His Royal Highness announced that the following members of the Royal Family would also join the Order, viz.: His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, His Royal Highness Prince George of Wales, and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Louise, Victoria, and Maud of Wales, and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, His Highness the Duke of Teck, and Sir Edmund Lechmere were promoted to the grade of Honorary Bailiff. Mr. Furley and Colonel Duncan were promoted to the grade of Honorary Commander.

"His Royal Highness the Grand Prior having announced his intention of becoming President of the St. John Ambulance Association—the Ambulance Department of the Order—and that His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor would be the Sub-Prior of the Order, the chapter was closed in usual form."—*Times*, July 19, 1888.

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THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF GOTTLAND.

(Other than that of Wisby.)

BY MAJOR HEALES, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., HON. A.R.I.B.A.

ATTENTION to the interest which the churches of Gottland afford, was first drawn by some excellent papers written by the Hon. G. J. Robert Gordon in 1847, and published in "The Ecclesiologist,"[1] the periodical chronicle of the doings and transactions of the Ecclesiological Society; a Society whose mantle, we may hope, together with its distinctive name and object, has fallen on our Society.[2]

Next, Mr. J. W. Clark, in 1856, wrote some capital papers in the same periodical.[3]

Mr. Gordon, at that time, strongly advised that a deputation of advanced Ecclesiologists should next season proceed to the island and report upon the churches there. The idea was a good one, but failed immediately to be adopted; and though on my own part it often recurred to me, more distant and more adventurous journeys, or engagements of times and seasons, postponed my visit to Gottland, until at length, in 1884, circumstances concurred in enabling me to give some time to the investigation of the subject. Written notes required to be supplemented by illustrations beyond what the sketch-book would afford, and no photographs of the Gottland churches had ever been made; in fact, so far as the public were concerned, no one seemed to have taken the slightest interest in the subject; so in the following year I returned to the island for further travel, and took over with me a photographer from Stockholm, and thus, together, the work was completed.* I must not, however, omit to mention, that on the 14th December, 1885, a capital paper by our esteemed colleague, Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter and Mr. Wm. White (both well-known architects) was given to the Royal Institute of British Architects on the churches of Wisby. They had paid a visit to the island in company with the equally well-known artist, Mr. A. H. Haig, himself a native of Wisby,[4] who contributed brief notes on seven or eight of the country churches, and their remarks were published by the Institute in 1886. At an earlier date, in 1864, there was published an account of the Gottland Churches,[5] in three parts, the first of which is what we may call their natural history, and the other two, a description of them individually, much in the same style as, though more briefly than, Sir Stephen Glynne's "Churches of Kent"[6]; this work, unfortunately for our purpose, is written in the Swedish language. I have had the advantage of perusing a translation of the more important part made for Sir Henry Dryden, Bart. (who most liberally lent it to me in furtherance of the interests of our study), and I find that it fully confirms my summary of the characteristics of the ecclesiastical architecture of the island. This is the entire bibliography of the subject. Thus it happened that it remained to me to make known the ecclesiology of Gottland to English ecclesiologists, and the present paper is, therefore, the first attempt to give anything more than a general view of the subject, and I think I may say that it is an exhaustive summary.

The Island of Gottland is seen on the map to be in form somewhat like the Isle of Wight, but far larger in measurement, being about 70 by 35 miles, lying in the Baltic parallel with the Swedish coast and readily accessible by steamer from Stockholm several times a week, and also less frequently from Copenhagen and Gottenburg. The capital, and only town (for, in fact, the island can, after its capital, boast of only three or four villages), is called Wisby, a name which for centuries held a position in the mercantile world higher than that of even London at the present time. It was the head of the great Hanseatic League—an Association of the Great Northern Mercantile Communities, formed for the purpose of mutual protection and an united

[1] *The Ecclesiologist.* Vol. viii., p. 209.

[2] Those who know best the very important part which that Society performed for the great revival of church thought and feeling, in the study and publication of Christian knowledge, chiefly on the practical side, such as ritual, architecture, music, painting, and the arts, as applied to ancient Christianity, will best appreciate its importance. Without its assistance, theology alone would probably have failed to acquire the great hold upon the Church which the two combined will, doubtless, set the Church in England as the brightest jewel in the One Church's Crown. Far, very far, in advance of the age, the Society led the way, and now, by the lapse of time, but few of the great names survive, such as Bishop Jenner, Canon Helmore, and Messrs. France, Dickinson, Chambers and Luard.

* The cost of reproduction of many photographs is, unfortunately, too great for the resources of this Society.

[3] *The Ecclesiologist.* Vol. xvi., p. 141.

[4] *Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1886. These, however, are mere tourists' notes.

[5] *Gottland's Konsthistoria*, af C. G. Brunius, 1864.

[6] *Notes on the Churches of Kent*, by Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., 1877.

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commercial organization; so powerful a corporation that they could and did, from time to time, wage war with any of the neighbouring kingdoms when they found it requisite for mutual defence. The sea-laws of Wisby antedated the famous laws of Oloron, upon which the present maritime laws of the civilized world are based.

One would anticipate, therefore, that a study of the ecclesiology of Wisby would present a picture of the ecclesiology of the island, but the reverse is the case. Wisby was a great mercantile centre, attracting commerce from all parts of Europe, and, beyond that, was a distributing point for the products and manufactures of the East, which found their way more readily and safely by the route of the Black Sea and the Volga, to Wisby, as a depôt, than by the sea-route of the pirate-infested Mediterranean and the subsequent dangers of the stormy Atlantic. As a free Republic and refuge to natives of all countries not in accord with the government of the time, it presented, as London now does, a refuge from danger on the one hand, and on the other great facilities for commerce. Thus it happened that there settled in Wisby a large number of foreigners, who, though, as history proved, were thoroughly loyal to their adopted country, were, nevertheless, clannish, and each clan, or *ci-devant* nationality, built a church for their own religious requirements; and they built in the style which was prevalent at the time in their late domicile. Thus it happens that the churches of Wisby are of very varied architecture, and practically, present little of the type of architecture which is not only prevalent but universal in the rest of the island.

As regards what is called localism, we may note that, in mediæval times, in every district, architecture down to, or especially in its detail and monuments, had a strong tendency to local peculiarities, and that tendency was necessarily the strongest where the locality was isolated. Thus, to take types nearer home, Scottish architecture is distinctly different from that of England, and, though possessing its own individuality, shows a strong trace of the French style, such as one would expect considering the great association that country had with France prior to the union with England. Ireland displays a type quite of its own; and so the Channel Islands, and even the little Isle of Man, exhibit local peculiarities, quite sufficient to distinguish them from the style current in England or elsewhere. In fact, we may draw the line of localism much closer, and refer to the marked peculiarities of the Marshland Churches of Norfolk and of Romney; the glorious spires of Lincolnshire, the grand towers of Somersetshire, and splendid woodwork of Devonshire and Norfolk. In a country so especially isolated as Gottland, possessing great wealth and a considerable population, we may reasonably expect to, and in fact do, find a localism of great interest, while, for the reasons mentioned in reference to cosmopolitan Wisby, we must not anticipate that the one perfect church of that City and the ruins of a dozen more within the walls, interesting as they are, will exhibit marked localism.[1] One other exception must be made; that of the monastic church of Roma Kloster, built in the period of early transition from the Round-arched to the Pointed style; a very fine and simple specimen of architecture consisting of continuous nave and chancel, and aisles of almost equal length; a building of considerable size for Gottland, as, though devoid of tower, it measures about 140 feet long; but the character is exactly such as we might expect to find in a Carthusian church in England or France. Roma Kloster is (without referring to Wisby) the only monastic building in Gottland. With omission therefore, of Wisby and Roma Kloster, we find that every church in the island presents distinct characteristics and individualism marking the local type.[2]

Fortunately for ecclesiologists these churches have come down to us structurally almost untouched, though no doubt reft of much of their richness and beauty, and their wealth of decoration and monumental remains. In themselves very strongly and simply built, and little liable to injury from Time's defacing fingers, they have escaped the far more destructive process called "restoration." In a few instances windows have been enlarged; new and incongruous roofs substituted for the original vaulting, and a few other churchwardenisms introduced; for whitewashing and pews we must be prepared; but happily the latter are generally low and unobtrusive, and sometimes even decorated with paintings of Saints, selected from the Old and New Testaments.

The prosperity of the capital (which was notorious) included the prosperity of the whole island; it lasted, with little serious interruption, from a time prior to the year 1,000 (though there is no architecture earlier than what we call the Norman style), until the year 1361, when Waldemar III., of Denmark, attacked and captured Wisby, after a gallant defence, during

[1] These churches have, I learn, been most fully studied and measured by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., an ecclesiologist of well-known and well-proved ability and learning; who, we must strenuously hope, will some day give to the world the result of his investigations. There are some good lithographic sketches and plans in *Hansische Wisbyfahrt*, by Klingberg and others, fol., Hamburg, 1882; and some others in an excellent paper by our friend Mr. Carpenter, jointly with Mr. W. White, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects* in 1886, already adverted to.

[2] It will, of course, be understood that casual exceptions to the general rule are not necessarily referred to; such a course would only be irritating.

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which a large number of the inhabitants were slain, and the town was so effectually plundered of its wealth and crippled in resources, that it never recovered its commercial position and strength, but on the contrary became an object of prey to the neighbouring kingdoms, and the possession of Swedes, Danes, or Lübeckers, as the case might be, until at length it was finally taken by and annexed to Sweden in 1645. How completely the fortunes of the rest of the island were dependent on those of the capital appears from the fact that from about the middle of the 14th century, church-building practically ceased. Thus, it will be seen that the architecture with which we are concerned is limited to the period between the years 1000 and 1361, and, though we find many roods and reredoses, all subsequent to that date, they were chiefly, if not entirely, imported into the island.

In confirmation of the theory as to the earliest date offered, we may note that there is no conclusive example of what we should term Saxon architecture; as regards long and short work, there are only two examples, Othem and Lummelande, and a third, Ekeby, less clearly marked; but masonry of that kind, taken alone, is the reverse of conclusive.

Here it will be well to state that in the present paper, the terms familiarly used by English ecclesiologists to designate the several styles of Gothic architecture (imperfect as such a division must necessarily be where everything was constantly progressive), viz., *Saxon, Norman, Early English and Decorated,* will be used in the present paper to indicate the style prevalent at the particular period, through of course, in strictness, these terms, as applied to the architecture of Gottland, are altogether incorrect so far as the actual meaning of the words themselves, independent of their technical meaning.[1]

The churches are almost invariably surrounded by a strong wall, within which is a belt of trees, not very old, but thick enough to prevent a photographic general view from any point whatever, even when, as we sometimes tried, the camera was set on the top of the wall. One, two, or three lych-gates open the way through the wall to "God's acre;" their date is impossible to affix, but generally they present the appearance of Early English work.

As regards orientation, we may observe that the same system as in England prevailed in Gottland; that is to say, the long axis of the church always runs, more or less, East and West, but is liable to variation to either side.

The architecture of the island exhibits, in various particulars, a want of constructive skill, but that want was counterbalanced by a special solidity and massiveness of treatment, with the happy result that none of the old churches have needed rebuilding, or any costly work for their preservation. What a happy thing it would be if our scientifically built churches did not constantly require it, as we are assured by our most eminent architects that they do!

The general, or typical, plan of a Gottland church consists of a very large and fine Western tower abutting on a nave, the proportions of which are about a square and a half in length as compared with width; next a narrower and lower, square, chancel; and then, most frequently, but not always, a still smaller and lower apse, either semi-circular (which is most common) or square. There is never a chantry, though sometimes a small vestry is built out on the North side of the chancel (probably none very ancient). The walls are extremely thick (often 4 to 5 feet), though sometimes thinned off from ground to roof, so that the external face of the wall, instead of being perpendicular, batters or slopes inwards as at Mästerby, where every wall batters—a peculiarity which was often adopted in other things for the sake of effect as distinguished from any practical benefit; thus the opening of the tall doorways often diminishes from the sill to the lintel; and the same peculiarity may also be observed in some windows, as well as in most pillars. The walls built after the Norman period were strengthened by bold base-mouldings running round them on the exterior, and forming a marked and beautiful characteristic. The necessity for these thick walls is apparent, for they have invariably to carry the weight and sustain the thrust of a massive vaulting which covers the church, whilst there are no buttresses whatever to aid in counteracting the thrust. Above the vaulting rises an extremely high-pitched roof, sufficiently strong to throw off snow or rain, but otherwise of slight construction. One would assume that the high pitch was designed to meet some local requirement, such as a prevalence of heavy snowfalls, but it does not appear that the depth of snow is greater on the Island than on the mainland of Sweden where such steep roofs are not customary. One regrets to add that there is not now a single gable-cross to be seen.

During the earlier period the architectural style was almost identical with what we call Norman, and assume to have been introduced into England by the Normans after the conquest in 1066; there is scarcely a building or feature which, if seen in this country, would be noticed as special. The tower is rather larger, perhaps, and higher than usual, of which there are good examples at Gröttlingbo and Hemse; the small, narrow windows of the nave and chancel, set

[1] To some of the facts stated an occasional exception may possibly be found; but as the object of the present paper is to deal with general characteristics, it would overload the subject if each exception were specified; and for the same reason the writer has refrained from specifying the names of many of the churches particularly referred to or serving as illustrations of the point mentioned.

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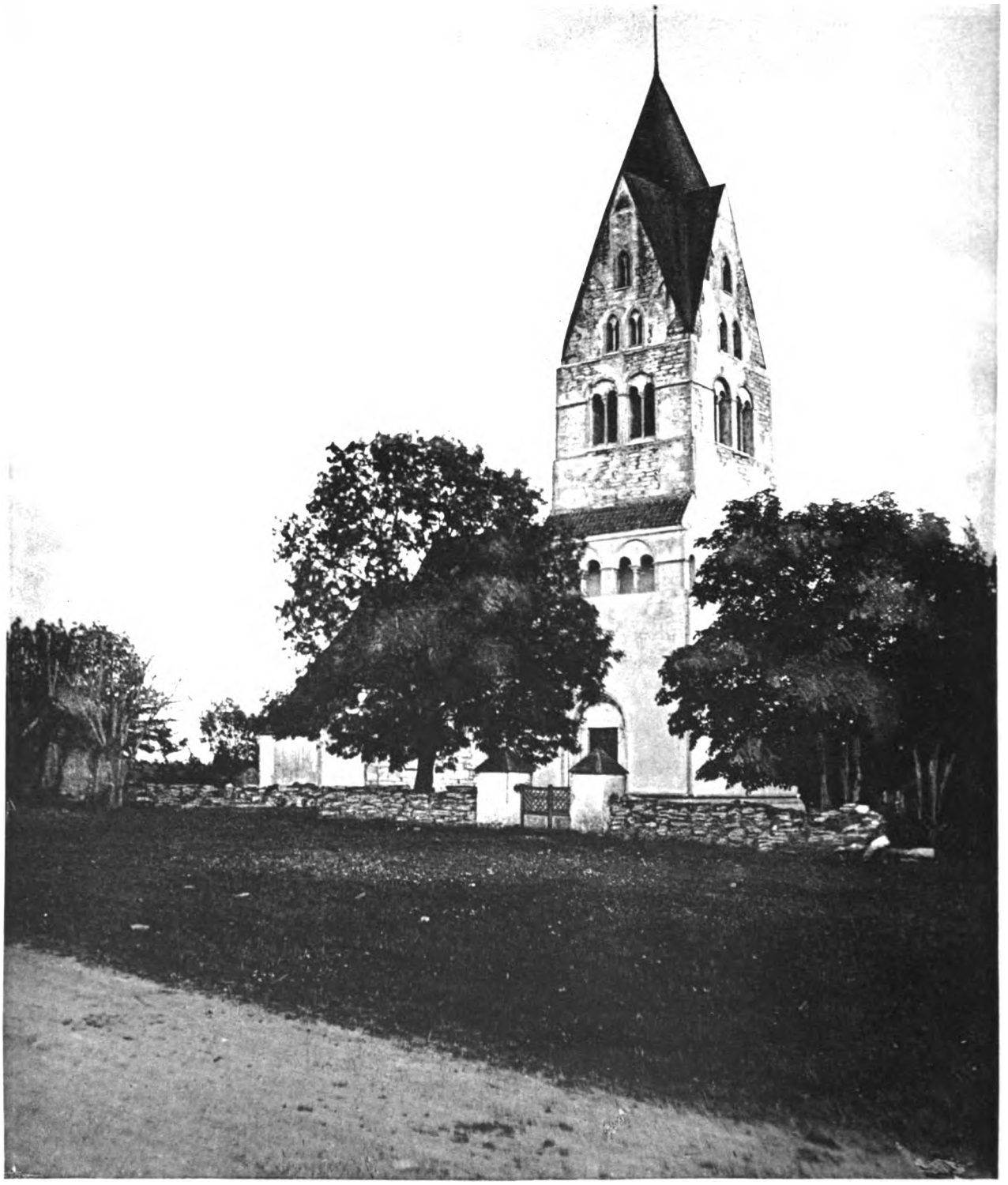

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high up in the walls, may be easily matched here; while if the East end has an apse it is lighted by three little loopholes, or, in default of an apse, by a triplet of extremely small, equi-distant windows. Presumably Norman churches in Gottland were not vaulted any more than was usual here, and, being ceiled, did not require a roof of more than moderate pitch. There is nothing to indicate what sort of covering the towers had, for what we find now are usually good wooden broach spires of certainly much later date, though when, definitely, there is nothing on which to form an estimate.

One curious fact will be observed, that neither at that nor any subsequent period was there such a thing in the Island as an original window on the North side of nave or chancel, nor till within the last few years was there ever a burial on that side of the building. In the Norman period a doorway is occasionally formed near the extreme West end of the North wall of nave, or less rarely, in the tower; but as now seen, are always walled up.

The gradually progressive changes of style are more prominently seen in the tower than in the rest of the building. Beginning with a plain, fair-sized tower, rather tall for its other dimensions, an entirely new feature was developed towards the end of the Norman period, and thus it may be accounted for. Newel or corkscrew staircases never occur in the Island, but access to the upper stories and belfry was by means of steep, straight staircases running up in the thickness of the wall of the tower, starting on the South side and opening at the West side on to the first floor or space above the first vaulting—they were generally vaulted two or three times, and thence in the same manner to the upper stories. The towers built towards the end of the Norman period, and subsequently, were much larger in proportion to the rest of the building, and also higher in proportion to their plan. Consequently the staircase hollowed out in the thickness of the wall became still more a source of weakness; the walls, indeed, were very thick but they lacked the strength which buttresses afford. To counteract this evident source of weakness a very ingenious and picturesque device was introduced, and soon was most frequently adopted; which was this, the North and South, and sometimes also the West walls, were thickened about 4 feet, up to the level of the 1st or 2nd floor, terminating in an open gallery, not unlike the external galleries often seen in Rhenish churches. In the great thickness of the tower wall thus fortified, no danger could arise from the cavernous staircase. Round-arched arcading in openings divided by a slender shaft into two are occasionally found though (since changes took place, but slowly), I imagine not earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century, soon followed by a development into pointed arches, of precisely similar character, which continued till the end, varied only in detail in towers of the Decorated period. The windows of the upper and belfry stories were always of a similar character, round or pointed headed, and divided by a slender shaft into two lights. Examples of noble towers at Westerheide, Alfva, Stenkyrka, Tingstäde (Plate I.), and Wall (Plate II.), may be specially noted.

After the Norman period the towers were always of very noble dimensions both in plan and height, and far grander in proportion to the rest of the building than were English towers. The top of the wall on each face ran up into a very steep gable, springing from which we see a timber broach spire of considerable height but still not nearly so lofty in proportion as our own spires, and therefore looking grandly massive rather than lofty. The towers and spires present a specially noble and characteristic feature. Unfortunately they are liable to danger from lightning, and even within the last few years several have been set on fire and burnt; one was struck a few days previously to my visit; the electricity exploded from the inside at about one-third of the height from the base of the spire, charring and throwing planks and woodwork to some distance outwards, but happily doing no further damage. There is no example of a stone spire in the island, probably on account of the general unsuitability of the local material for the purpose.

As we have already noted, the whole of the church, at least after the Norman period, was invariably vaulted. The division of the width of the church into a nave and aisles, although occurring in some three or four examples, was an arrangement evidently derived from abroad, and never thoroughly understood. In all other countries the nave (to which the aisles are appended) is wider than, or at least as wide as the chancel; here the reverse is the case. The entire width of the outer walls of the nave, when of larger than usual dimensions, would have rendered it very difficult to support the weight and thrust of vaulting, even making full allowance for the thickness of the walls, but remembering that they were unassisted by buttresses; and, therefore, intermediate bases of support were desirable, just as we find it here, although we have only the comparatively little weight of a timber roof. But when the division into nave and aisles was adopted in Gottland, the plan as carried out was so constructionally defective that the arrangement was, as I have mentioned, evidently not understood, and there can be no doubt that (as in many points of ritual in use here at the present time) the idea was simply imitated from some other country and its theory never learnt. The nave is always narrower than the chancel, and consequently the East end of the arcades rested against the walls on either side of the chancel arch, which, of course, afforded no more strength to resist their thrust than the

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thickness of the wall itself. The appearance of the arcade so placed is unsatisfactory to the eye. Roma, Lau, and Gröttlingbo (see Plate IV.) will serve as examples.

In two examples the exterior presents the appearance of a clerestory, but practically the openings are above the vaulting, and serve only to light and ventilate the space between the vaulting and the wooden roof which protects it from snow and rain.

Instead of the triple division into nave and aisles, another plan was adopted, and so frequently as to be a marked characteristic here, while so extremely rare elsewhere[1] that one is justified in attributing it to the invention of an early native architect; it is the division of

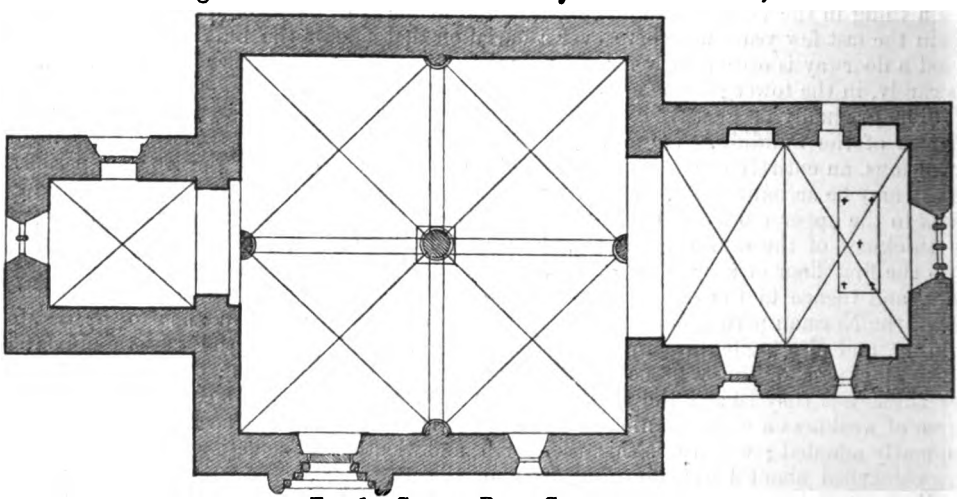

FIG. 1.—GROUND PLAN, GANTHEM.

the nave-vaulting longitudinally into two equal parts, which at their junction rest upon a single, very strong pillar, or two of them, forming a sort of arcade of two or three bays, running East and West down the centre of the nave. The bays of vaulting are each simply quadripartite. This unique arrangement of division of the nave lengthwise into two equal parts is not ineffective, though the position of a very stout pillar or two in the centre of the nave must always have been somewhat obstructive. In an architectural point of view it is faulty in construction, since the central groin of the vaulting necessarily abuts East and West on the cross wall, just over the point of the chancel and tower arches—a position singularly ill-adapted to carry the thrust, and requiring, as a matter of necessity, that the arch should be lower than it would otherwise be; at the west end for the tower arch, two smaller arches with a solid pier between them were often wisely substituted. Ganthem (see fig. 1), Björko, Rone (see Plate III.), Stånga, Stenkyrka, and many other examples might be cited.

On the South side of the nave is a grand doorway, and usually two tall and rather narrow windows, while the North side is blank; but sufficient wall-painting remains to show that the plain wall-space was made a feature of great beauty. The chancel arch is usually cut square through the wall, and has merely the most simple impost, and only moulded arch and jambs towards the latest date. The chancel itself is as plain in its architecture as the nave; on the South side is a very fine doorway and one window; the apse is narrower and lower, and if semi-circular, has three extremely small loopholes for windows, or if square, three detached lancets, the centre of which is rather the widest as well as tallest. Though there remains no wall-painting in the chancel or apse, except in one early example covering the conch of the apse, we cannot doubt that both were enriched by the skill of the artist. Two or three examples, however, of chancels built at the latest date are entirely exceptional in design and dimensions. They consist (as at Sanda and Eskelhem) of a grand choir flanked by aisles equally long, and almost equal in width and height, parted from it by an arcade of three wide and lofty arches, resting on slender, clustered marble pillars; the windows are large and very lofty, arranged in triplets at the East end, or in pairs. Such chancels were added to older and comparatively small and low naves; and the contrast is striking, incongruous, and unsatisfactory. Whether these examples were the work of a native architect or a foreigner one cannot tell; but the design was too ambitious, the slender pillars being insufficient to support the large space of vaulting, are now, more or less out of the perpendicular and in a hazardous state.

[1] The only examples I know in England of a similar treatment are at Caythorpe, Lincolnshire; Hannington, Northamptonshire; and Crayford, Kent. In these cases the *raison d'être*—the support of vaulting—is deficient, for there is none, and the arcade carries only a light, low wall, on which the ridge of the roof rests; the inconvenience of the arrangement remains, though without any equivalent advantages. A few examples may be met with on the Continent, but probably to be accounted for by some special circumstance of locality or requirement.

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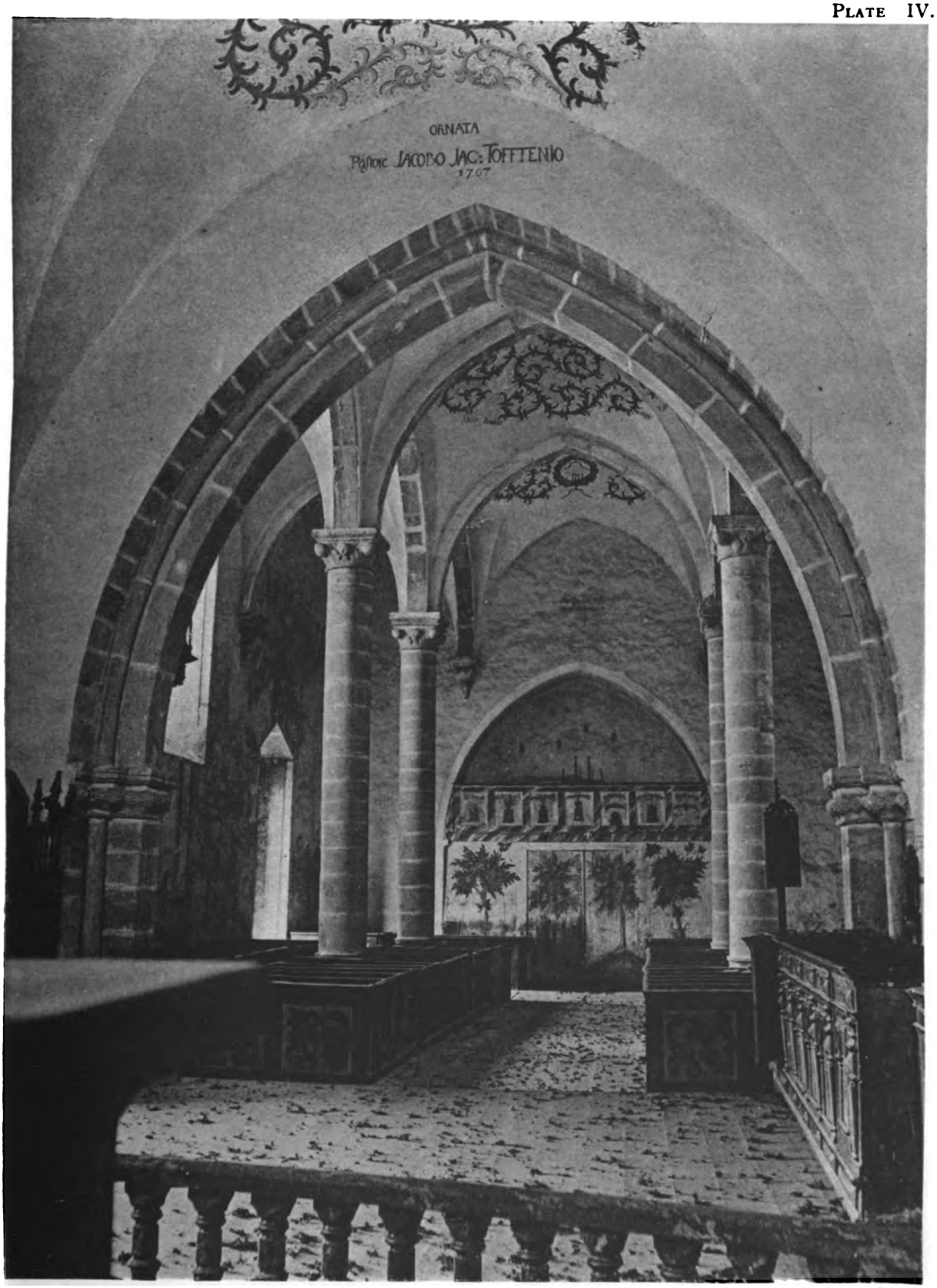

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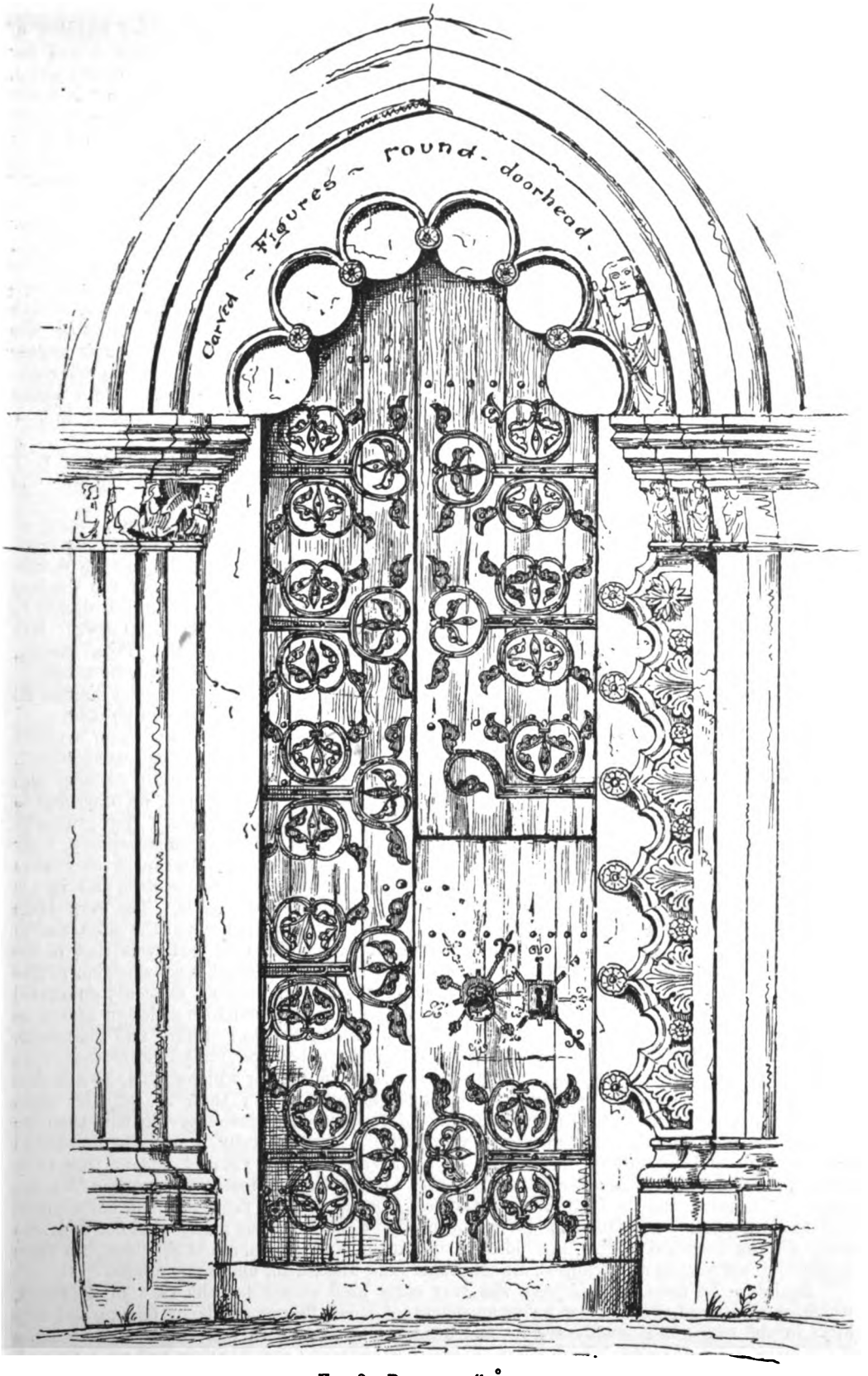

FIG. 2. DOORWAY, STÅNGA.

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Having thus noticed the constructive features, we will next look to the chief features of decorative construction—the doors and windows. The doorways are magnificent, and far surpass any equal group of parish churches in England; Wäskinde, Stånga, Burs, Gröttlingbo, and Rone may be named as good examples. The side walls of the church being much more lofty than would be those of a church of similar dimensions in this country, and so extremely thick, afford scope for a much larger and finer design, with numerously recessed jambs with shafts and mouldings; and, as though this were deemed insufficient, the wall surrounding the door is thickened outwards a foot or so, to give additional splay. The jambs generally consist of little rectangular recesses, one behind the other, with a cylindrical shaft in each recess; occasionally, in later days, mouldings were partially substituted. The caps are either separate or continuous, and carved with a series of small, single effigies, or heads, or else foliage, not unfrequently on one side heads and the other foliage. Above the caps the inner arch is foliated in even numbers (instead of uneven numbers, as nearly invariable with us), from two up to an almost indefinite number, and the foliations are often filled with flat discs, which (without regarding possible casual exceptions), are practically unique; these foliations are occasionally carried down to the ground on both sides or only on one. The outer arches of the head, beyond the foliation, were moulded, at first simply, and later with much richness; beyond that comes a very acutely-pointed pediment, occasionally capped by a small figure, and the tympanum is sometimes, but not usually, ornamented with sculpture in low relief. (Fig. 2.)

One peculiarity must be noted: the footway to the door is seldom raised, and never very much, above the ground level, but at the door itself a stone bar about four inches square runs across, which one has to step over in order to enter the church.

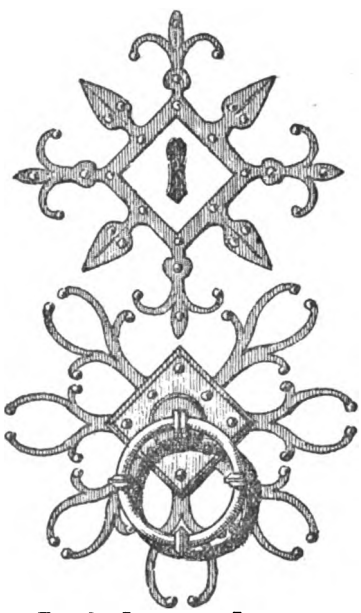

Fig. 3. Ironwork, Lockrum.

As to the doors themselves, it is probable that, taking an average of churches, no country in the world can now compare with their ironwork, either for richness, early type, and splendid preservation, and in it can be traced the gradual changes of style down from the stiff and formal design to the most beautiful and elegant Early Decorated work. Examples at Rone, Lokrume, Eskelhem, Fole, Lojsta, Träkumla, Martebo, and Stånga, may specially be noted.

In two or three instances there is an ancient bronze ell measure, fastened by a short chain to the church door.

The ecclesiologist who expects to find rich window tracery in Gothland, will certainly be disappointed. Windows of the Norman period are quite narrow, and set very high in the high walls, as, in fact, we often find to be the case in early Norman work here. They gradually developed in size, and at length, almost imperceptibly, their heads became pointed. Some time afterwards they were divided into two lights each, perhaps trefoiled, and in the head a trefoiled or quatrefoiled circle. The very large windows found in the splendid chancels of the latest period are identical in style, and the only variety is that in the East end of a few chancels is a broad window of four or five lights, having in the head a number of small, unfoliated circles, forming as clumsy and inartistic a design as can be found in Gothic work of any date; Endre and Barlingbo, Brö, Halla, and Follingbo will serve as examples. We must not, however, omit to notice that in the West face of the towers there has sometimes been inserted a circular window, three to five feet in diameter, with a tracery of circles as at Barlingbo and Atlingbo; these are of later date. But the windows contain a good many fragments of early stained glass, more, in fact, than we find in our own churches, and sometimes very perfect; very generally it is early fourteenth century work, and not unfrequently earlier, as in one early Norman chancel, wherein are comprised representations of the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem. The colouring is rich, good, and harmonious, and the design and workmanship leave nothing to be desired; one wishes that our churches could show as beautiful work. The oldest is that in the Norman Church at Sjonhem, but there is beautiful early glass at Barlingbo, Endre, Stenkumla, Eskelhem, and many others.

Sculpture for decorative purposes was very early used, except for the caps of doorways, which, as mentioned, were either an arrangement of small figures, heads, or foliage, and very little in the tympana; usually simple, and often rather rude. In one singular exception, a dozen large figures, carved in high relief, are arranged in several separate tiers, and set in the wall just East of the principal doorway, so incongruously, that we may fairly assume they were

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obtained from some other building, and imported into the island, and, in fact, they look older than the present church, which evidently dates from the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

Of decorative painting, by far the earliest, as well as one of the most perfect, examples is found covering the early Norman conch, or semi-dome, of an apse, and probably is its original decoration; it occurs at Mästerby. In the centre is a Majesty within an aureole of light green, powdered with roses; at the angles the evangelistic emblems. On either side are three standing figures, and below, separated by a broad band of scroll-work, are the twelve apostles. Above a small, round-headed window in the conch are three demi-figures, labelled, EVROPA, ASIA, AFRICA. Outside the arch of the apse, on the east wall of the chancel, are Moses and Aaron; beneath each a Prophet, and a King, with nimbus, below. The drawing is extremely archaic, and the colouring very dark, but that may have been partly occasioned by smoke. From this date there are many remains of painting—sometimes very extensive—and the subjects are more generally taken from Scriptural events than from legends or histories of the saints. At Wamlingbo, Hörsne, Laderbrö, Rute, Wallstena, Lye, and Fide, there are very good remains. Large dedication crosses, painted on the walls, are very common; their number is various.

In no instance is there a rood-screen, or any indication of such a thing having existed. But there is very frequently a splendid rood, with figure from four feet to life size; the shorter arms enclosed within a circle, and the whole richly carved, painted, and gilt. The date is almost always in the fifteenth century, early rather than late, and free from the agonizing postures we too often see. När, Sundre, and Wiklou may be cited as examples; the latter has each foot separately nailed. What position in the church these roods originally occupied there is nothing to afford any indication; one or two are suspended immediately under the point of the chancel arch, but the others are nearly all set high up against the North wall of the chancel—a very good position, receiving an excellent light from the window opposite, and relieving what would otherwise (now, at least,) be nearly a blank wall. In several it may be observed that the foot of the cross is planted in the jaws of the great dragon, as at Bjorke and Tingstäde.

It is interesting to note that the difference of floor level between the nave and chancel in Gothland was just as little as in England, and the level of the doorways was never more than a low step or two above the surface of the soil.

Only in two or three cases—Dalhem, Eskelhem, and Endre are almost the only instances one can note—are there any stalls, and they are situated only on the North side of the chancel, and date near the end of the fifteenth century: probably imported.

Referring next to the altar, we invariably find it still standing, detached from the East wall. It is as it used to be in England, a simple mass of masonry, with a plain mensa, rather larger, and with the under side chamfered; of rather large dimensions, varying, of course, according to the size of the chancel, and ranging from 9 ft. 7 in. × 4 ft. 9 in. to 6 ft. 6 in. × 4 ft. The five crosses are slightly incised. In some cases, where they are wanting, the slab has probably been renewed. A very curious feature is that in the back of the mass of masonry is a hollow, nearly cubical, from one to two feet in size; a very rough hollow, in very rough masonry—a circumstance which seems to controvert the theory which first presents itself, that it was intended for use as an Easter sepulchre, since for such a purpose one must assume that the masonry would be fine, and that there would always be a rabbet for a door, and traces of hinges and holes for lock-bolt.[1]

In later work it is not unusual to find a small leaf-shaped piscina bracketed out from the South side of the altar, close to the West end, and draining into the substance of the altar, as at Halla, Barlingbo, Kellunge, and Dalhem.

The mensa is generally covered with a cere-cloth and a white cloth, on which always stand a pair of brass candlesticks. The priest, when officiating, wears a small chasuble, either crimson with gold cross or black with a silver cross; none of real antiquity, though none very modern. From monuments dating in the fourteenth century the chasuble was then what we should consider rather short, and pointed, and little ornamented; apparently the alb reached to the ground, quite covering the cassock. There are no choirs, but in a West gallery there is very generally a small organ. Wafers are always used; two or three ancient boxes containing them (or, possibly, pyxes), formed of turned wood, or leather, are still in use.

Very few articles of ancient church plate remain.[2] The foot of one chalice, dating about the middle of the fifteenth century, bears the figures of three crowned female saints in low relief; the bowl is modern, but we learn from monumental effigies that the early form was nearly semi-globular. There are also two extremely small chalices in white metal, respectively measuring 5½ and 4⅛ inches high, with the same form of bowl; they are very richly moulded, and the perfection of workmanship cannot be surpassed. I saw one bronze cover and ring of a censer;

[1] In Martene we read that the Host was to be deposited on Good Friday "in una parte altaris," and the Roman rubric directs "*Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliquâ capellâ ecclesiæ, vel altari.*"

[2] It is possible, of course, that some may remain in the care of the priests, but all enquiries failed to hear mention of any.

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alms dishes of brass, with repoussé work, with representations of the Fall, or the spies returning with grapes, or similar subjects, such as were manufactured in such abundance in the Low Countries, are common.

Usually resting on, or else attached to the back of the altar, we frequently find a rich and beautiful wooden reredos, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, or rather earlier, up to nearly the middle of the sixteenth century, varying very much in design; sometimes rising in very light and elegant, lofty, open tabernacle work, with small detached figures, or else fine triptychs, with beautifully carved effigies, detached or in relief, the whole richly coloured and gilt, as at Wallstena, Lojsta, Träkumla, Kraklingbo, Wamlingbo, and Burs. It is probable that these reredoses were imported from various countries; some of them even bear German inscriptions commemorating the donors, as at Linde, while the lighter and more elegant examples are more like English or French work; painting occupied the place of sculpture in some instances. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the earlier reredos was often displaced for a small one of stone, much simpler in design, and somewhat rudely carved; on them are usually sculptured a few scenes from the life of Our Lord (often including the Crucifixion), set off by cherubs, and flanked by Moses and Aaron of disproportionate magnitude, always painted and gilt.

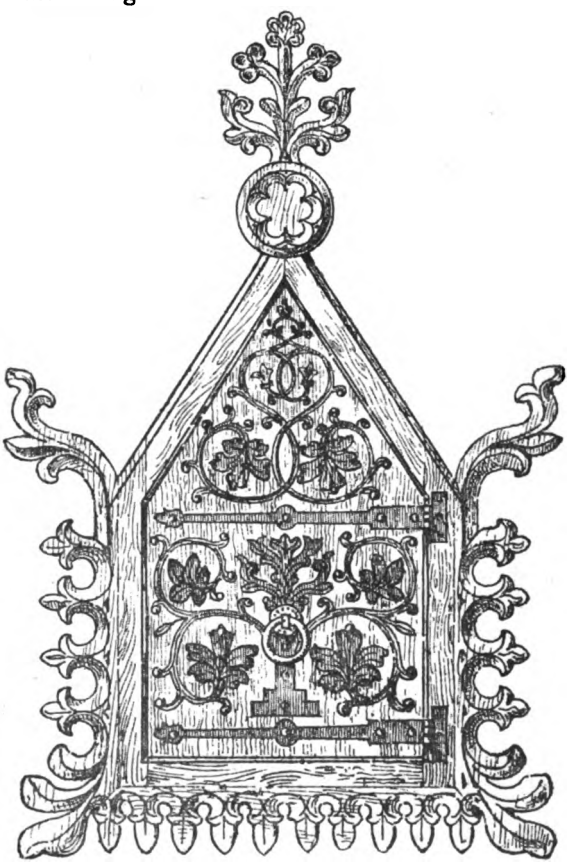

Fig. 4. Aumbry, Wall.

We have noted that there were no chantry chapels; but we very frequently find, especially in early and small churches, a little altar against the wall at the end of the nave, on each side of the chancel arch, which is rather narrow in order to allow room for them; Mästerby, Wamlingbo, and Wiklou will serve as examples. It seems probable that the arrangement was very usual in early churches in Gottland; nor was it rare in England at the same period. They are always small, measuring from 5 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4 in. by about 3 ft. I did not see any marked with the five crosses. The altar on the South now, not rarely, forms a substantial base for a pulpit dating some time in the seventeenth century, or later.

In the South wall of the chancel are rudely cut hollows for sedilia and piscina. Aumbries are a great feature: they are very large, and rich, and numerous; almost always in the North wall, and frequently also two or even three more in the East wall, always pedimental-headed; the interior, or the inside of the doors only, often richly painted with saints. After Wall (see fig. 4) we may specially note Stenkumla and Böjrko. It is probable that some of the hollows which we class with aumbries may have been reliquaries; Wamlingbo, När, and Sanda furnish good examples. In one or two instances they are set so high up in the wall that they can only be reached by steps; and in one example the door is formed of interlaced iron strips.

Ancient fonts are almost invariable, and very generally of Norman date, but frequently set on a curious, later base. The bowl is generally circular, but sometimes octagonal, and decorated with shallow panelling containing sculptured scenes, such as the Fall, Annunciation, Nativity, and Crucifixion, in low relief, fairly designed, well cut in a hard white stone, and generally in fair preservation. Brö is one of the earliest and most beautifully cut. Those at Halla, Wäskinde, Ekeby, Stenkyrka, Akeback, Rute, and Endre, are noteworthy. The base, when not original, dates probably from the fourteenth century, and of a strongly marked type, with four large, bold, grotesque heads or toads; unfortunately the material is a very soft sandstone, and they are now much decayed, presumably by action of weather. Probably these bases were bowls of later fonts turned out of doors at the Reformation, and subsequently brought in to serve as bases for the older, finer, Norman bowls. All the fonts have been removed into the

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chancel; but the spot where these formerly stood, in the middle of the nave, facing the south door, is sometimes still marked by the circular stones on which they rested. A few original covers which remain, represent a model of a cruciform church with spire, on the top of which is the symbolical Silver Dove, as at Endre and Heideby.

In several churches one may observe a suspended model of a ship, of no great antiquity, but evidently a votive offering—probably in token of thanksgiving for preservation from shipwreck.

Church bells afford special interest to those practical ecclesiologists who do not mind risking their necks occasionally. One may reasonably assume that these very capacious belfries would in early times have contained various bells, and may fairly attribute to sacrilegious spoliation the fact that each church now has but one. The bells are mostly of fair size, though not to be called large. One, at Barlingbo, bears this inscription in Lombardic characters, with a small standing figure between each word:—

XPE AUDI NOS: MARIA SIS PRECATA: SCE DUC' . . . ORA PRO NOBIS.

Below is a majesty in a vesica, and a merchant's mark. There are two black-letter examples, of which, one at När bears the date 1432: dated bells of each subsequent century are common. One only sacring-bell remains, and that is not very ancient.

Having thus described the main features of Gottland churches, and their special local peculiarities, it only remains to us to refer to the sepulchral monuments.

No such thing as a full, or even an alto-relievo effigy exists either in stone or wood; no high tomb, and no mural monument. Of brasses we have but one specimen, at Burs, and that is simply an inscription on a broad marginal band of metal. A few examples of sculpture in extremely low relief, such as are popular in parts of Germany, occur; but the monuments are almost all incised slabs; and these are very numerous, though many have been turned out into the churchyards to certain ruin by the elements or the growth of hard lichen; the clergy of the island (the only persons of any position or influence) care as little for antiquity, and feel as little reverence for the monuments of the dead, as our own clergy usually have; and thus it happens that when a church is "restored" (which in Gottland is happily confined, as a rule, to putting a deal flooring in place of stone, or a wooden roof and flat ceiling instead of repairing the vaulting), the ancient monuments, mostly dating from the first half of the 14th century, and some, with valuable Runic sculpture and inscriptions, are deliberately consigned to decay. The naves of the churches are now almost invariably floored; but a good many incised slabs yet remain in the chancels. The design on these is usually a cross, usually rather simple, but sometimes rich, or else the effigy of a priest or civilian, nearly life-size, and occasionally standing beneath a canopy. The slabs are large; the design is usually rather rude, but the cutting good.

Inscriptions are very generally marginal, but occasionally run up the stem of a cross. The Runic character and language usually occur on early crosses, and are found even as late as 1449, though Latin written in Lombardic letters was more common; and in 1483 we meet, at Barlingbo, with the first example of the national language of Sweden. These facts are interesting philologically.

Although the population of each parish is very small, and the priest and a farmer or two are usually the only persons above the position of labourers, the churches are well maintained. If, as has happened in two or three instances, the means of maintenance absolutely fail, the church is left to gradual decay, while the parishioners are annexed to a neighbouring parish. Of one such deserted church, at Bara, only the walls remain, but the bell still hangs in the bell-cote; in another (Trakumla), the abandonment of which is but recent, a splendid reredos of light tabernacle work, dating in the third quarter of the 15th century, amongst other things, remains untouched.

The churches generally seem well-filled, but no new churches are ever needed. Probably the population is stationary, and therefore the old requirements for church accommodation still fully suffice.

I think it will be seen from the preceding notes that the churches of Gottland offer to the visitor much that is fine, much that is interesting, and much that is peculiar.

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THE ORIENTATION OF CHURCHES.

THE CHURCHES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE EAST AND ITALY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

THE influence that the Cardinal points have had upon the aspect of buildings, as might have been expected, has been very great. From the earliest ages to the present day, the heavens have been studied to ensure warmth and brightness to the interior of our dwellings, and we continue to regulate our plans that the sunlight may fall upon some parts, and that it may be avoided on others.

How far symbolic reasons prompted the placing of buildings in ancient times, or what influences or beliefs were at work at different periods, can only be judged by the study of each monument and of the people who erected it; but the practice was extended throughout the ancient world. Thus, the Tower of Babel, one of the oldest of buildings, was placed four square to the Cardinal points. So was Babylon itself. The Great Pagoda at Tanjore is similarly placed. So are the Great Pyramids, the Temple of Segesta; those of Juno and Concord at Girgenti, and that of Minerva, at Syracuse, are so likewise. So is also the Great Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, but the axis of the building is North and South. So is, likewise, the Great Temple at Baalbec, the axis of which is East and West; the entrance being to the East.

The Temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, and also that of Theseus are orientated as an English Church. The Parthenon, the Erectheum and the Propylaem, are also orientated, but on the authority of Canini's plan, they are a little out of a true axis.

The Tabernacle in the Wilderness, as we all know, was made by Divine direction, and it faced the Cardinal points. In like manner, so did its successors the Great Temples at Jerusalem, erected in succession by Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod. The entrance to these Temples was to the East, the Holy of Holies being to the West.

The Temple area itself, that mysterious enclosure to which the attention of so many enquiring minds has been directed for centuries, still faces the Cardinal points; while the New Jerusalem, which the inspired Evangelist measured with the Angel, was also four square, with its faces North, South, East, and West.

Here in our own country, the Romans frequently laid out their cities with regard to the Cardinal points: London and Colchester are so, not to multiply examples, and York and Chester fairly so; the latter having its longer axis nearly North and South.

In many of these, we are at no loss to think that the element of perfection, completeness, was the governing principle to be expressed by the position, but no question of orientation arises with respect to any of these structures.

The arranging of churches with their principal entrance to the West, and the Holy Table to the East, appears to have had its beginning in early times; and although we have no examples remaining of the very earliest churches, yet there is sufficient analogy from those of later date which remain, to justify the belief that earlier churches were so placed. The idea of looking to the East had its beginning in times far more remote than Christianity. And, indeed, what could have been more impressive to the untutored mind of primitive man than for him, day by day, to see the darkness of night gradually give place to the blaze of the rising sun in the East? It must have seemed to be a daily miracle. This appreciation of the rising of light to illuminate the earth's darkness, accordingly appears early in the world's history. Stonehenge—to name but a single instance, amongst others which are amply enough of themselves for a lecture—appears to have been planned in reference to the light of the rising sun.

In addition to this, the position of a sanctuary was early associated in men's minds with the idea of looking towards it, and Daniel, in Babylon, looked towards the Holy Temple at Jerusalem when in prayer, as the Mahomedans of to-day look towards Mecca.

With the growth of our religion, these old-world beliefs were likely, rightly or wrongly, to find a place, and, as we all know, they did mingle. Thus the convert to the new faith looked to the East, not merely because the source of all light was from the East, but, as they were told, and as many are still told, there was also the Holy City, Jerusalem, containing Our Lord's Sepulchre; while the old Jewish belief that the Day of Judgment would be proclaimed from above the Valley of Jehoshaphat, also tended to the development of the practice.

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It is said, also, that the Apostles turned to the East in prayer, but were this on any better authority than mere tradition, there would surely be some allusion to the practice in the New Testament.

Let us now proceed to a hasty examination of the orientation or otherwise, of various churches in various districts. Here let me say, that my intention in bringing the subject of orientation of churches under your notice is, to do so by means of the tangible evidence of actual buildings, rather than from quotations from writers. The length of the subject requires me also to deal with broad principles without regard to interesting minor details, such as for instance, in our own country, the deflection of one part of a church more than another, and slight variations of axis. I propose to speak of buildings as being orientated when they are nearly so.

It is but natural that this enquiry should begin in the Holy Land, whence the faith went forth into the known world.

Jerusalem has many churches, of very varying dates, so far as regards their foundation. If the Dome of the Rock, according to Mr. Fergusson's hypothesis, be that erected over the supposed site of Our Lord's Crucifixion and His Sepulchre, then it is well marked by an octagonal building. If, on the other hand, the existing Church of the Holy Sepulchre marks the site of Constantine's original structure, then we have a building which is itself exactly orientated, and we start with this fact in relation to the first erected church in Jerusalem when Christianity became the State religion. Here I may say that when a church is once founded, there is but little possibility of its axis being altered, however frequently the fabric itself may be added to or rebuilt. There is a group of sanctuaries belonging to various local churches around the main church. They are all orientated. There are many others in Jerusalem, founded by the Crusaders for the most part: all are orientated in like manner. The Church of St. Anne, by far the most perfect, is of especial interest, for we know the period of its erection.

The Armenian Church of St. James, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Mosque on the Mount of Olives, and the ancient Church of the Holy Cross, are alike orientated.[1]

The fine Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, founded by Constantine, and of whose work so large a portion remains, is also truly orientated, as we know by Sandys' Travels.[2] The recent volumes of the "Survey of Western Palestine" also give a plan, as well as of numerous other churches, many of Byzantine date, and several of Crusading times. They are all more or less orientated, although several are inclined slightly to the North of West, while the church at Amwas, and that at Deir-el-Belak, resemble the Ancient Sanctuary at Hebron in having the angles, and not the faces to front the Cardinal points.

With such kind of exceptions turn we to Tyre, to Askelon, or elsewhere in the Holy Land. Whether the churches were erected under Greek influence, Armenian, or Frankish, the same amount of orientation is to be found.

Let us enlarge our field of observation. The churches of the East, speaking generally, are fairly orientated. Mons. Texier's great work and the translation by Mr. Popplewell Pullen are available for our enquiry, with certain plans, measured from the buildings themselves, and afford more information than the vague descriptions of travellers who frequently make no allusion whatever to the position of the buildings which they describe. The plan of the city of Thessalonica[3] has the appearance of that of an English town, so exactly are the churches placed East and West, if we may judge by the plan as given. A single church, and a single one only, is described as having its main entrance East—that of Eski Djuma.

Not only is this so of the large churches, but of the smaller ones as well. Even the circular Church of St. George, has the chancel and apse thrown out from it pointing to the East. The churches vary considerably in date and in architectural importance, but they all agree with respect to their orientation.

The Church of Myra (Lycia) is due East and West; as is also that of Dana, near the Euphrates, a building which was erected A.D. 540. It consists of a simple nave with side aisles, and a small semi-circular Eastern apse.

The Church of the Holy Wisdom at Trebizond, is of late date, but its position is the same as the earlier buildings; as is also that of the Church—now the Mosque of Orta Hissai—one of the last works of the Byzantine Emperors.

At Constantinople, the great church of Sta. Sophia, erected originally by Constantine, but rebuilt on a larger scale by Justinian, renders an unusual variation of much interest with respect to the peculiarity of its orientation, regard being had to the large size of the building. Its angles, and not its faces front the cardinal points.[4] Sta. Irene near it follows the same direction. There

[1] See the plans in Pierotti's *Jerusalem Explored.*
[2] Ed. circa 1620. See his plan.
[3] *Byzantine Architecture.* Texier and Pullen, p. 120. The exact compass points are not given.
[4] *Constantinople* von E. Stople, Berlin, 1867.
Plan de Constantinople par F. Friend, Vienne, 1830? Both of these maps mark the North Point by a line from angle to angle, through the centre of the dome of Sta. Sophia.

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are three Armenian Churches close together in the Kurn Kapu quarter, and two or three others not far off. Although the entrances must be in different faces, yet all these structures are similarly placed. Several of the Mosques, once ancient Churches, follow in the same direction, and the same may be said with respect to many other churches, Armenian and Greek alike. There are, in fact, only a few churches, the axes of which are East and West. The lines of the City, where the original ones can be traced, follow the same direction. Since Jerusalem is, roughly speaking, to the South-West of Constantinople, it may be just possible that the churches and the roads alike were thus arranged to look towards the Holy City.

We have thus evidence, the best of all evidences, that of existing structures themselves, of the prevalence of orientation in the churches of the East, not only at one particular age, but continuously. Not only in relation to convenience of position, but as a matter of observance, and not confined to one particular district, but evidently a prevalent custom over a wide geographical area. I consider Sta. Sophia and its neighbouring churches as being orientated, but as being so after a different method.[1]

We may trace in these examples cited, that the great bulk, at any rate, of them have no relation whatever either to our Lord's Sepulchre, or to the place of His Ascension, or the supposed place of His coming again to judgment, or to the position of the Holy City; were it so, we should find the churches, elsewhere than at Constantinople, pointing towards Jerusalem. But this is not the case. The churches beyond the meridian of Jerusalem look East, as does that of Bethlehem so close to it on the South, and as does St. Anne's, within Jerusalem itself, which is almost on the N. and S. axis of the Temple area. The churches of the City itself look in the same direction, whether erected by Greek, Copt or Frank, whether at an early or a late period. We are thus brought to the conclusion that churches point East solely for the remaining reason, namely that light comes from the East.

Some months since, at the desire of your Council, I had the honour of delivering a lecture before you, in the course of which I took occasion to compare the rigid orientation of the churches in the midst of crowded, ancient London, with the irregularity of the positions of those of Rome. In particular, I called attention to the fact that St. Peter's itself has its principal entrance at the East, and its choir altar, West. My remarks seem to have been somewhat of a surprise, and a member of your Council wrote questioning the position of the choir altar, stating that the celebrant at the high altar faces East; and questioning also the irregular positions of the Great Basilicas as named by me. In consequence of these remarks I exhibit two plans of St. Peter's. The first is that of the church erected originally by Constantine.[2] It shows the arrangement of the earliest fabric of which we have clear record, and the plan is a curious one as showing its apse at the West (not the East), and flanked by transepts. It shows also the usual arrangements, such as are found in many other fabrics, namely, an outer court and a nave with double aisles. The second plan shows the way in which the modern church stands in relation to the former fabric. A glance at these two plans is sufficient to show that orientation has never been studied in either of the churches, and that in the former fabric, as well as in the present, the principal or entrance front is, and was, at the East; while the principal altar of the earlier fabric, like the present choir altar, has always been at the West. The existing Baldachino and central altar under the dome did not have its counterpart in the previous fabric, so far as standing in the centre of the church is concerned.

Here are also two other designs for the re-building of St. Peter's. Neither shows an orientated church.

I exhibit a view of the choir altar from Pistollesi's *Il Vaticano.* It shows a large ordinary composition in Bernini's weak style, attached to the wall of the Western apse, and surmounted by the Chair of St. Peter. From the same work is a view of the central altar, and its Baldachino. It is difficult to see how a celebrant, if he faced the East, towards the entrance, could be seen by any congregation in the nave; and the choir altar appears designed for the service of the choir.

The view, like those of St. Maria Maggiore and St. Maria in Transtevere, shows a space on the East side as if the celebrant stood there in the manner usual in Roman Catholic Churches.

At San Lorenzo the altar is made with a double face, and a celebrant can look two ways. At St. Peter's, the Baldachino being square, it would doubtless be possible, were it desired, for the celebrant to stand either North, South, East or West. My remarks have relation, however, not to this matter of position, but to the axis of the buildings; and a church cannot be said to be orientated when its entrance front is East.

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[1] Should the position of the City be the result of other influence than that named, it may follow that the axes of the churches were determined by the course of the streets, and that orientation was not generally observed at Constantinople, whatever may have been the custom of the Eastern Church elsewhere, earlier and later.

[2] *Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms,* J. M. Knapp and Dr. Runsen, Plates 1 and 2.

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Time need not be occupied to explain that St. Peter's is not the original Cathedral of Rome. It became so only with the development of the idea of supremacy over other churches, and of associating the name of St. Peter as the founder of the church at Rome; when, in fact, they gave to St. Peter what they owed to St. Paul. The Basilica of St. John Lateran is the earlier of the two in this respect at least, and it retains much of the arrangement of the primitive fabric erected by Constantine. Like St. Peter's, its principal front is to the East, the altar is West.

I exhibit Barbazzi's beautiful internal view of St. John Lateran, looking from nave into chancel, that is from East to West. The main altar under the chancel arch is distinctly shown.

The number of churches in Rome being so great, it is impossible to render more than some rapid notes with respect to the positions of a few of them. Entering the city on the North, by Porta del Popolo, we find the church of St. Maria with its main front West, but with two other churches opposite, entering to the North. Two more at the Ripetta face West, but San Carlo near it, and Trinità del Monte are East; while San Lorenzo in Lucina is North, as are also San Ignazio and the Rotunda.

Let us turn to the South district, now mostly fields, and certainly not buildings. San Giovanni Evangelista faces North-west, San Cesareo, North-east, San Sisto, South-west, and SS. Nereo and Achilleo, opposite to it, North-west. On the Aventine Hill, Sant' Alessio faces South-east, while Santa Sabina, close at hand, is South-west. Santa Saba, on a spur of the hill, is South, Santa Balbina, East.

In the West, still in open ground, without any present structural impediment with respect to position, San Cosimato points nearly North; San Pietro, in Montorio, and La Scala, both alike face East; Santa Cecilia, and some others near it, South-east, following the lines of the roadways.

In the West the ancient church of San Clemente faces North-east, as do also San Martino a' Monti and Santa Prassede, Santa Pudenziana, and some others. By way of a change, Sant' Antonio, close to Santa Maria Maggiore, faces at right angles, and is accordingly South-west. These examples are all in the outskirts. Those in the heart of the city, in like manner, face in every conceivable way. They, like those elsewhere, are of all dates and sizes. Large and small alike, follow no rule of orientation, but are erected apparently to follow some line of street, possibly to take in some foundation of ancient work, probably only at the caprice of the builder. Here is a large plan of Rome with many of its 300 and more churches marked. The axes of the great Basilicas, which I named in my former lecture, may be followed on it, and they will be found to point as I said they did.

They, all alike, large and small, show the same indifference of position (I use the word in no sense of complaint); and when we come to a church which appears to point to the East, like the ancient Basilica of St. Paul without the walls, it appears to do so only because it is on the right-hand side of the Roman road to Ostia. I have already referred to the Basilica of San Lorenzo, which now points East; but the ancient fabric, attributed to Constantine, in the fourth century, or at least to the Empress Placidia, in the fifth, pointed exactly the reverse way. The alteration of the axis, a very unusual one, was made only in the thirteenth century by building a new nave to the West of the old building, which then became the existing chancel.

I exhibit plans of many of these churches. They are filled with side altars, grouped all round the fabrics. With such an appropriation of the interior, the axis of the main building is a very small matter.

Before quitting Rome it may be of interest to point out, as one of the curiosities of orientation that, while in Constantine's work at Rome the entrances are to the East, at Bethlehem it is to the West, while if the lines of Sta. Sophia are his, there is there again a change. The Roman examples were very probably so planned to be similar to the Temple of Jerusalem.

Other cities of Italy, as might be expected from the usages of the capital, render in the main similar results with respect to the positions of their churches, but some of the exceptions are so curious as to repay for their consideration. Next to Rome itself, Naples contains within its irregular extent the largest number of churches of any Italian city. I have turned over the sheets of a large recent map[1] of this city, on which the position of every church is marked. I should weary you were I to render the results in detail. Suffice to say that the axes of the churches are in every possible direction, following no rule whatever. They are built to fall in with the lines of other buildings, or to face the principal streets. This is so not only in respect to the parish churches, but those also of the monasteries. The cathedral is orientated.

Florence is very similar, although it is curious to observe that the Duomo and a certain number of churches in the older part of the city are orientated, or orientated to a certain extent; but the large church, S. Maria Novella, faces South, S. Croce in Gerusalemme is North-west, and the churches in the suburbs follow every conceivable angle.

[1] Napoli, 1858

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The same remarks apply also to Milan, where likewise the cathedral is orientated.[1] There are many existing churches that follow no rule. Old maps show a still larger number than at present exist.

The Cathedral of Pisa is orientated, but San Stefano has its entrance East, and other churches vary greatly. Ferrara shows variations as much as at Rome or Naples, allowance being made for its less size. Many of its churches face North, East, or South, but the cathedral appears, if I can judge from a recent map (1850) to be orientated.

Bologna presents similar differences; and while the large Church of San Petronio is orientated, the cathedral, only three streets away, is at right angles to the former, with its entrance to the South.

Pavia[2] is laid out with its streets at right angles—the axes being about E.S.E. The cathedral and the churches follow for the most part the lines of the streets, and there is as much difference with respect to orientation as in other cities. Palermo is somewhat similar, and the churches follow the lines of the streets. Turin is also laid out in squares, and similar results follow.

Genoa is a city very irregular in plan, and there is no rule with respect to the churches. The cathedral is only approximately East and West, but the others have axes to every angle. I exhibit Cav. Foppiani's plan.

I show an old plan of Venice[3] on which the positions of the churches are marked. You will see on it those of some demolished churches; and we may take some consolation from what it makes clear to us, that it is not only in London that ancient churches are destroyed. Unfortunately, the work of removal has begun again in our own days, at Venice. In this city, as in so many others, the cathedral, St. Mark's, is orientated, but the other churches have been left very much to go their own ways—one of the most recent, the Madonna della Salute, having its main front to the North. Byzantine influence, as apart from that of Rome, may have prompted the position of St. Mark's. The same is, doubtless, the reason for that of the churches of the East Coast, which are all well orientated. Mr. Freshfield has recently described the churches of Bari, Traini, Canosa, Brindisi, and others.[4] They were rebuilt by the Normans after the country had been taken from the Greeks. Here, then, we are brought face to face with evidence that, while on territory more or less subject to the influence of the Roman Church, we can find no rule for the orientation of the buildings, yet, as soon as we come to a district where such influence was not felt, or felt slightly, the rule is observed.

Perhaps no country experienced the influence of Rome more than Spain. In this country the City of Barcelona has many churches, not one of which is orientated, the cathedral facing North-west; Santa Maria del Mar, the next largest church, South-west; and the others vary equally.

The Cathedral of Tarragona faces nearly South, and, not to multiply examples, the axis of the modern Cathedral of Lerida is North-east and South-west. The churches of Madrid are mostly of late date, and there is no regard whatever to orientation.[5]

I have already referred to the fact that, passing over the Alps, orientation appears in the South of France, with variations, which are also traceable in other places on the border-land of the North of Italy. Thus at Rivoli, some of the churches are orientated, others are not; the same may be observed at Vercelli, and many other places.

These evidences are ample to show that in Rome and Italy generally, where the influence of the papacy was strongest, orientation has never existed. Where such influence has been weakest, it is found more or less marked.

But it is time to turn our attention to our own country, where we have through its length and breadth a series of ancient churches, second to none in any other land, and in which we may study all varying phases of development, from very small beginnings to the present large structures.

It is but right that our enquiry should begin at Canterbury, but my remarks need be but brief, for I have already pointed out, in the former lecture, that while, according to Professor Willis's restoration of the first Saxon Cathedral, it was a building which, from the old records, appears to have been designed to resemble the ground plan of St. Peter's at Rome; yet there is this remarkable difference—while the latter, as we have seen, has, and always has had, its entrance to the East and its choir altar to the West, the former was truly orientated. Notwithstanding the frequent rebuildings it is orientated to this day. I attributed this essential difference to the well-authenticated fact that, when Augustine founded the cathedral, there was on the spot a more or less dilapidated Romano-British church, erected prior to the Saxon conquest. Following the

[1] *Pianta della Citta di Milano.* L. Z., Coperto, 1829.
[2] *Tavola Storica di Pavia.* Milano, 1844.
[3] Presso Teodoro Viero, in Venezia, 1816.
[4] On certain churches on the East Coast of Italy, by Edwin Freshfield, F.S.A. *Archæologia*, L., p. 417.
[5] *Plan Géométrique et Historique de la Ville de Madrid*, 1761.

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analogy of the other two ancient Romano-British churches at Canterbury, St. Martin's, and St. Pancras, both of which are strictly orientated, it is but reasonable to conclude that the church in the city itself would follow the same arrangement, which would continue in the building as repaired by Augustine. Since in Rome he would be familiar with indifference to orientation, he would not be likely to remodel the building simply because it was so planned. Be this as it may, we find that orientation ruled the positions of the churches in Kent in Romano-British times, and we start on our enquiry with this as a matter of certainty. The evidence of the two existing examples named is not small, but it can be supplemented by others. At Lyminge, on the South side of the present church, which, itself, contains Saxon work, the foundations of a small church, far more ancient, have been excavated. They form part of the remains of a Roman villa of large size, in the centre of which the present church is erected.

The foundations are constructed of Roman brick and material resembling the walls of the villa, and it is impossible to say that there is any variation in date. The church consisted of a nave and a chancel, ending in an apse. The orientation is as marked as in the existing church, with which it is parallel.[1]

At Reculver the walls of the large ruined church are of Roman work, and they are parallel to the walls of the enclosing fortified camp, showing that both constructions were in relation one to another.[2]

There may be just some hesitation in believing that this structure was a church originally, although we know that it has been so since early Saxon times. Still, the more the subject is studied, the more its church-like plan will show that it was erected for Christian worship originally. It is perfectly orientated.

The same may, perhaps, be said of the ancient church in Dover Castle, for which the Revd. Canon Puckle has claimed a Roman origin. So far as his theory relates to the well-proportioned arches of the tower, there is much in it, at least, to merit our study. Churches now only of early mediæval date exist, or have existed, within all the fortified Roman sites along the Southern and Eastern coasts, all of which are equally orientated. These are at Porchester, Pevensey, and Bradwell, which, with Dover and Reculver, only leave one remaining Roman site to be noticed. This is Richborough. The analogy between all these sites is not to be overlooked. At Richborough, in the centre of the Roman walls, the curious platform of solid masonry, on which a flat cruciform foundation exists, claims our attention. The cross has two broad and two narrow arms, and the platform is large enough for a church to have stood upon it. The orientation claims our special attention, for we find that its four angles face, or very nearly face, the cardinal points, as we have seen at the ancient sanctuary at Hebron, and at Sta. Sophia, at Constantinople.

The Welsh churches, throughout the length and breadth of the principality, are orientated. They are called after saints of the ancient British church, and there are abundant evidences, such as inscribed stones of very early date, of Christian origin, which connect the modern fabrics with the sites, and lead us to suppose that where Christianity was first proclaimed, there a succession of churches have continued to exist to our own day. Precisely similar circumstances may be traced in Cornwall, and in those parts of Devon where the Romano-British power lingered longest. In some few sites very early buildings, or the foundations of them, still exist; such as Perranzabuloe, St. Gwythian, and Madron, in Cornwall, and Old Denbigh, Llanrhaidr, in North Wales.[3] The latter consists of the outline of a simple nave only, within an earthen bank, in form a parallelogram, similar to a Roman camp. These buildings are all orientated.

A type of church, similar to the last, is found in great numbers in the Isle of Man, where they are called Cabbals or Treen Churches.

They are of remarkably small size, very numerous, and are orientated. Their primitive aspect leads to the supposition that they are of very remote antiquity.[4]

It is in Ireland, above all other portions of our country, that churches and oratories of remote antiquity may be traced. They are sometimes met with singly; at others, as at Clonmacnoise, grouped together. At other times, they are found within the walls of an ancient Rath, and of similar construction to the beehive huts of the early Celtic race. In these, as well as in the other buildings of later date, we find that orientation is prevalent in so many of these abundant examples that it is the rule of their position. There are a few exceptions.

In some others, as in the case at Clonmacnoise,[5] some of the churches are slightly out of parallel, but in this respect they are no more so than are to be found in all countries, for few churches which are orientated are so to exact accuracy. There are many reasons why this

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V. 185. Also various papers by the Revd. Canon Jenkins.
[2] Large scale Ordnance Map, Reculver Parish.
[3] It is called also Hen Eglwys (Old Church). *Arch. Camb.*, 1878, 106.
[4] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1866, p. 261. Keeills and Treen Churches, in the Isle of Man, by J. R. Oliver, M.D.
[5] See the plan in M. Brash's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, plate 25.

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should be so. What Miss Margaret Stokes has recently done for Irish Antiquities, Mr. J. Anderson and others have done for those of Scotland.[1] Mr. Anderson has rightly told us that we cannot study the antiquities of Scotland apart from those of Ireland, so constant must have been the communication, which resembled, in this respect, the intercourse between the allied British Church of Wales with Cornwall and Brittany. We find, accordingly, that the most ancient churches of Scotland resemble those of Ireland, and generally those of these other districts. They are orientated for the most part. At Teampull Ronan, North Rona,[2] is a simple cell, to which a nave has been added. Its angles face the cardinal points, and it is a matter of no little curiosity to find this position, which we have already traced, at places remote from one another, on this bleak rock in the wide Northern Ocean.[3]

We are now in possession of abundant facts proving that the earliest, the primitive, Church of these islands adopted orientation as a general rule.

That this was not adopted from the Italian Missionaries of Pope Gregory, under Augustine, is apparent from two circumstances, one of which we have already noted; that is, that the Church of Rome did not observe orientation in Italy. The other is that the Mission was addressed to the heathen Saxons, and there was no correspondence with the independent Church of the Britons, no recognition of it, and no interchange of communion. So, to a considerable extent, did matters continue until the progress of the Anglo-Saxon arms laid the early Church at the mercy of its conquerors. The Irish Church continued to be independent until the reigning Pontiff gave the country—it was not his to give—to Henry II. With respect to the long continuance of the early Church, Mr. Warren[4] has rendered a graphic account, and the large amount of territory it continued to occupy testifies to its vitality.

It is evident by many circumstances that the Christians of the North and West did, in their individual capacities, hold friendly relations with those of Saxon England, and many customs were derived by degrees from them; and in respect to orientation, which was not at Rome to come to England, the example we have seen at Canterbury Cathedral can be traced all over England. In fact, the Saxons learned orientation from the British Church. The great bulk of our churches are of Saxon foundation. They are all fairly well orientated. They have been rebuilt, it may be, again and again, but the primitive axis has been preserved.

Two instances, among hundreds, will be sufficient to cite to show how punctilious the Saxons were in this respect. I have already referred to the position of the city of York. The axis of the Roman city is out of East and West, and by so much the churches are out of axis. The minster has, however, been set out with stricter regard to orientation, and, accordingly, it is not parallel with the streets of the city. At first sight an observer would consider that this had been done when the fabric was rebuilt in fourteenth century time.

A close observer will see that the later work stands on a Norman Crypt, which has the same axis; and still further observation will show that the descent to this crypt is work of very remote antiquity.[5]

Its axis is the same as that of the cathedral, showing that the lines of the existing fabric are derived from, perhaps, the earliest building on the spot.

The churches of Chester folow the street lines of the Roman city, and are slightly out of axis. The cathedral differs from them in being orientated. The earliest part of the present fabric is Norman, but there is evidence that an ancient church of St. Peter previously occupied the site, from which, most probably, the orientation was derived.

Our comparison is over. It may be summed up very briefly. While the churches of the East are orientated, but few of those of Italy are so. On the other hand, the churches of these Isles are orientated, and the practice can be traced to remote times.

This enquiry may be of interest in respect to the origin of Christianity in Britain. We do not know whence it came, but it is most probable that it was introduced from a country where orientation was practised, and that orientation was not originated here. As churchmen, the enquiry has some bearing upon us, but not much, for no question of doctrine is involved by it, and the rubrics of our Church are all but silent on the subject. Indeed, it may be considered by many minds puerile for us to be over-careful with respect to the position of our churches. Why should they turn East when the Wise Men of the East were the first to turn West to the cradle at Bethlehem? Why should they look to a single point of the heavens, when the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain the Church's Head? Why should they turn East when our Lord deigns to be in the very midst of His people?

[1] See especially *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, and, *passim*, *the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

[2] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, plate 1, p. 113. The plan is there taken from Muir's *Characteristics*.

[3] Scottish Churches are orientated very irregularly in the majority of cases. Several others, besides the example cited, have their angles to the cardinal points, while others approaching to a parallelogram on plan, have two of their angles only East and West.

[4] *The Ritual of the Celtic Church*.

[5] Hugall's *York Cathedral*.

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If we do so, it is but in deference to a time-honoured custom, of interest on that account, and on that account alone, and which need not be departed from simply for the sake of doing so: but it is no help to our faith. Nor should it prevent the use of an otherwise good site for a church.

In conclusion, the history of the progress of Christianity has some records of attempts made to dispense with the custom. Thus the church at Antioch, and that at Tyre, were erected in early times West and East, different to other churches. St. Patrick built a church near Down, North and South. Finally, Sir Walter Mildmay founded the chapel of Emmanuel College purposely in the same position, as a protest against Roman Catholic usage, as it was considered by many to be. Research now shows us that it never was so.

NOTE.—Since the delivery of the above lecture, I have received editorial request to refer to the statements made by Mr. G. G. Scott, Jun., on the subject of "Orientation" in his "History of English Church Architecture."

I have, accordingly, gone through a good many pages of this eminently interesting, but somewhat fanciful book, and I now render the following observations.

A complete chapter is devoted to the subject of the Orientation of the Early Churches, but Mr. Scott deals with it from a different standpoint to mine. While I have regarded the position of the buildings named as perpetuating, possibly, some systems of orientation probably derived from pre-Christian times, and from influences external to them; he attributes their positions entirely to that of the arrangements within. This is, doubtless, the way in which the subject is ordinarily treated, but it affords me no help in my enquiry as to any connection between the orientation of our earliest buildings and the churches of Christian date. In speaking of orientation as being possibly external to the fabrics, I would instance the Temple of Jerusalem in illustration. We know of no internal ceremony which would have been helped by the orientation of the building, or, of its influence upon the positions of either Priest, Levite, or Worshipper; yet, as we have seen, the Temple was so placed that the light of the rising sun would fall full upon its eastern doors, and we have a system of planning which, apparently, has its counterpart at Stonehenge, and in some temples of antiquity. There are a vast number of early buildings arranged on a similar plan, but I had time in the lecture only to indicate this subject, and no more.

Mr. Scott says, distinctly, and, I think, correctly, that, in the Early Church, the priest "had his face towards the people." When he adds, however, as he does, that he faced East, then as in the Middle Ages, I can but point out that this statement is not at all borne out by the facts he has collected. I will rapidly pass some of these in review. Page 15. The altar tombs of the Martyrs in the Catacombs are instanced to show that, at times, the priest had his back to the congregation, but looking east. Doubtless: but the faithful must have gathered closely around him in the limited compass of the cave, and the Eastern position is not helped; for a reference to many existing altar tombs shows plainly enough that the Presbyters must have faced every point of the compass. On page 15 there is also a curious reference to the position of the Basilica which Constantine erected on the (supposed) site of the Holy Sepulchre, which, like the Temple of Jerusalem was entered from the East. The existing Church, as I have already shown, faces the other way. Page 16 speaks of the Church of Tyre as being similarly placed; but to this I have already referred, and I need only add, that Eusebius distinctly speaks of this building and that of the Holy Sepulchre as being arranged for the portals to face the rising sun, as if this was the dominant idea; for there is no mention of it as being for any eastern position of the clergy.

Page 18 deals with the churches of Rome, "than which no city contains so many "monuments of the primitive age of Christianity," and a list of eleven, and another of 41 examples is given. "In this very imperfect list," he says, "we find, however, about forty churches "of early date, or giving evidence of the preservation of early arrangements, in which, contrary "to the mediæval or modern rule, the sanctuary is placed at the western end of the building, "as against seven of distinctly early date arranged upon the more modern plan; while three of "these are of very doubtful value as evidence of early usage." I notice that, of the list given, five only have their entrances to the west and the main altars to the east—this being the only mode of orientation that I have undertaken to compare with that of the churches of Great Britain and Ireland. It is but fair to say that there are several more in Rome, which Mr. Scott has not referred to.

The lists are statedly incomplete, for there are about 300 churches in the city, of all varying ages; but the existence of the 40 referred to as having their sanctuaries to the west and not to the east, requires careful examination. I have been over it again and again, and I find

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that it refers, in fact, to churches of almost every conceivable angle. It states very much what I have called attention to in the lecture. Of these 22 face west and no more. Is the "about 40" of the text a mere inadvertent statement for 20? I think it must be so, for the examples are given by name. Reference to a map of Rome, however, shows that a great number of these 22 are far from being exactly east and west. Their positions seem regulated, in several cases, by some lines of old road, ancient walls, and such like. Even St. Peter's, the axis of which is almost west and east, stands mainly upon the same site, and parallel to the same axis as that of the Circus of Nero; and it may be well open to enquiry as to whether or not the retention of some of its old foundations, valuable for the long nave, may not have determined the direction of the Christian church. In Great Britain, the axis of the early churches was probably determined by the shadow from a pole set up at sunrise, and it would be more or less exact; but, surely, we should expect to find exact accuracy in the setting out in the case of costly fabrics erected in the Imperial City, had orientation ever been determined upon. This applies equally to Mr. Scott's churches facing east as to any others facing west. Accuracy, however, hardly ever occurs, and when it does, other circumstances may possibly have brought it about.

What I have said already with respect to St. Peter's applies to the rest of these 22 examples. They are not orientated as in our own country, and their existence but adds point to my enquiry, "whence came the Orientation of the Churches of our land?" since even when churches in Rome have appearance of orientation, the orientation is exactly the reverse way.

The occurrence of only a few churches of equally ancient foundation with those named—a few out of many that could easily have been cited—placed in any and every way, indicates that unanimity in regard to position did not exist, and, it cannot justly be said, "that it is only since the Middle Ages that orientation has been abandoned at Rome."

Page 20. "The Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, originally erected by the labour of "Roman believers, had a western sanctuary." But, as I have already shown, it had an eastern one as well, which was, apparently, the principal one, surviving in its position in the existing fabric. "The early church of Lyminge, near Folkestone, was a Roman Basilica; the "foundations, now exposed to view, had a western sanctuary." The Roman foundations which I have referred to are on the south side of the existing church, and it has an eastern and not a western apse.

There are, it is true, some very remarkable foundations in the churchyard, and a large western apse, doubtless that referred to; but their resemblance to those of a church is, at present, at any rate, remote, and they are likely to be portion of the large Roman villa on the site of which the existing church is founded. If they should prove to be those of a Basilica, then it will be one of the most important evidences of early work in England, of earlier Roman date than the little church which I have named.

Page 23 speaks of the plan for rebuilding St. Gall, and that of the Cathedral of Naumberg, a plan similar to that of the Cathedral of Canterbury, and which survives more or less exactly in several of the large Rhenish Churches. While they are orientated, inasmuch as their axes are east and west, there is an apse at each end. How this arrangement can be instanced as examples of the celebrants having to face east, it is hard to see; for had they done so at the altar at one end, they must have had to face the reverse way at the other, since we must suppose that the altars were similarly placed. It is true that Mr. Scott, in his plan of the eastern apse of Canterbury, shows the altar fully up to the east wall, so that no one could stand behind it; but in the original plan of St. Gall, the eastern and the western altars are shown alike, detached from the walls. This is so, also, in all the early Roman Basilicas. Even in England, this arrangement survived the advent of the Latin Church, in some places at least, to a late date. Thus, at Norwich Cathedral, there are actual traces remaining in the Norman eastern apse of the Bishop's seat, backing on to the wall where Mr. Scott would place the altar. The altar must have been in front, in the chord of the apse possibly; and it is a reasonable supposition that in celebrating, the Bishop would have faced the people, looking west, on rising from his seat, as he still actually does in Rome itself, in certain cases, and as was the case in the Irish Churches.[1]

The plan of the church at Wing, p. 44, shews a similar arrangement, for where else but East of the altar is there space for the celebrant to stand? The same is the case at Brixworth, plan, Plate xi. The plan of the church at Dana, p. 54, is so generally similar, that, although the position of the holy table is not given in the latter, yet we can but conclude that the position was the same. This church is far away in Armenia. The orientation is not given by

[1] Page 22. Mr. Scott gives some curious instances at Rome itself, where the priest still faces eastward and "towards the people in no less than 17 of those churches which have a westward sanctuary"; but to prevent misconception, he says that, "while the orientation of the primitive church was the reverse of that of later times, it was no principle that the celebrant should face the people."

Page 72. In the Irish Churches "there is a space between the altars and the east ends, while along the latter there is a stone bench for the clergy," looking west.

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Mr. Scott, but it appears by Mons. Texier and Pullan's plan of the village, to be orientated as in England. Mr. Scott, p. 62, gives a plan of the Eski Djouma, one of the churches of Thessalonica, now a mosque. He marks it as being, as it is, East and West, but having its apse to the West. I have already referred to the fact, derived from Messrs. Texier and Pullan's work, from which the plan is extracted, that all the other churches of this town, of which they give plans, face the contrary way. It is a pity that, in the pages before me, Mr. Scott has singled out this solitary example, and has made no allusion to the others. The impression that must be left on his reader's mind is, that the example given is the usual mode of arrangement, when the exact contrary is the case. I have already stated on Messrs. Texier and Pullan's authority with others, that the churches of the East are, as a rule, orientated as in Great Britain.

Mr. Scott's remarks as to some churches being orientated West and East are of value as showing the existence of a certain number of examples so arranged; but he has failed to prove that this was a prevalent practice at any one period or at any one place. The evidences that I have passed in review are abundant to show that in a vast number of cases, while the celebrant faced the people he did not face the East, even when the axis of the building was East and West.

It is not my intention to refer to much historical evidence, since my purpose is to consider that of the actual fabrics; yet it may not be inopportune to refer to the ancient liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom[1] on this subject. While they both provide for the bishop to face the communicants standing or sitting before the Holy Table, yet there is no direction either for him or the people to face East.

The reason for orientation for the purpose of any ritual observance becomes more and more doubtful as it is examined. A few remarks relative to the position of the altar may be of service in illustration of this, and the more so since no little stress is laid upon it in the book before me. There is actually as much evidence of diversity of position both of Holy Table and of Altar as there is in the orientation of the churches; nor indeed is this to be wondered at, for, as we all know, many diverse opinions have been held, and are held by Christian communities with respect to it. We can readily trace its evolution, by historical evidence, from a table of wood, through its intermediary stage of a tomb, until it became in Mediæval Western Europe an altar of sacrifice, and in Eastern Europe a mercy seat, but veiled after the model of that of the ancient Jewish Temple. St. Augustine tells us that the Donatists burnt the boards forming it, and St. Chrysostom calls it the "Holy Board." Origen says that "we have neither images nor altars." Although there were possibly some Communion Tables of stone erected at an early period, yet so late as the time of St. Augustine, he speaks of its being the duty of the Deacons to remove or carry it, which could not have been the case had it been of stone. That each church had but one Holy Table is shown by St. Augustine, "That is the Lord's Table, that standeth here in the midst." Eusebius says, "The church being finished, and the altar placed in the midst." References to all these authorities, and to many more, are given by Bishop Jewell in his *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England*, or in Harding, and they need not therefore be further quoted here. It is more to my purpose to refer to the buildings; and two illustrations will show the continuance of early and later arrangements in the Greek Church. Petrus Gryllius' *Antiquities of Constantinople*, ed. Lon. 1729, reproduces a plan of Sta Sophia from Du Fresne, curious as showing the building prior to the advent of the Turks. The Holy Table stood in the chancel apse away from the end wall, so that the Presbyter could face his congregation, the chancel being screened or veiled after the manner of many modern Greek churches, although the veil of the Jewish temple was rent asunder when the Divine Sacrifice was finished once and for all. The same book has a rough plan of the ancient church of the Apostles before its demolition. The Holy Table is shown to have stood full and clear in the centre of the church, in the midst of the people.

Mr. Scott has considered the Holy Table in its later phase, but not greatly in its earlier and more correct form, happily restored to our own church; but it is the earlier use alone that could have originated orientation of the fabrics, if orientation has sprung from Christianity.

I may aptly conclude this note with reference to two very ancient churches, one of which has just been discovered, the other was unknown to me at the period of the lecture, as it seems to be still to the majority of ecclesiological students. The last number of Forbes' *Roman Bulletin* contains a notice of the excavation of the ancient Basilican Church of St. Valentine, founded in the third century.

Its apse is to the East, and to place it there it was necessary to excavate into a cliff behind it to obtain space. This portion of the fabric appears from the description to be of remote antiquity, since it is decorated with frescoes as in ancient Roman buildings. The hemicycle of the altar remains with a space behind it and the wall. The second is on the site of an ancient Roman city in Algeria, now occupied by the modern French town of Orleansville. Its

[1] The Eastern Liturgy of the Holy Catholic Church. London, 1866.

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plan is a remarkable union of the Basilican churches of Rome, and that of the monastery of St. Gall. It is the antitype of all the buildings which we have been considering, having an apse at each end.

The building is almost exactly orientated, the eastern apse appears to have contained the Holy Table, the Western one a tomb, and possibly a font. Mr. Scott will be interested at hearing that there are two aisles on each side, without transepts, going to the extreme East end. The Western apse is of slightly later date. The whole of the floor of the church is covered by Roman mosaic, in which is remarkable evidence of the period of the erection. An inscription records that it was built before A.D. 300. We can therefore in this building consider all the arrangements of a church of fairly large size, fully 30 years anterior to the time of Constantine, and possibly not altered afterwards, for destruction soon came upon the country. In the Western apse, the mosaic had been taken up and relaid to insert a memorial of a Bishop, Restitutus, interred, as is recorded, A.D. 403. There is a plan, detail of the mosaics, and a description by F. Prevot in the Revue Archéologique, so long ago as 1847 (p. 660), since which time, until now, the discovery appears to have remained unnoticed. This circumstance is almost as remarkable as the fabric itself, had it not its counterpart in many another Christian church of Roman times, which have recently been excavated by the French, but which appear to be wholly unknown to English students. Among some diversities of orientation they agree generally with our English churches. Whence comes the resemblance of the Eastern churches and these with our own? How is it that the ancient temples of Athens agree far better in respect to their orientation with the churches, say, of Thessalonica and London, than do the latter with the churches of Rome?

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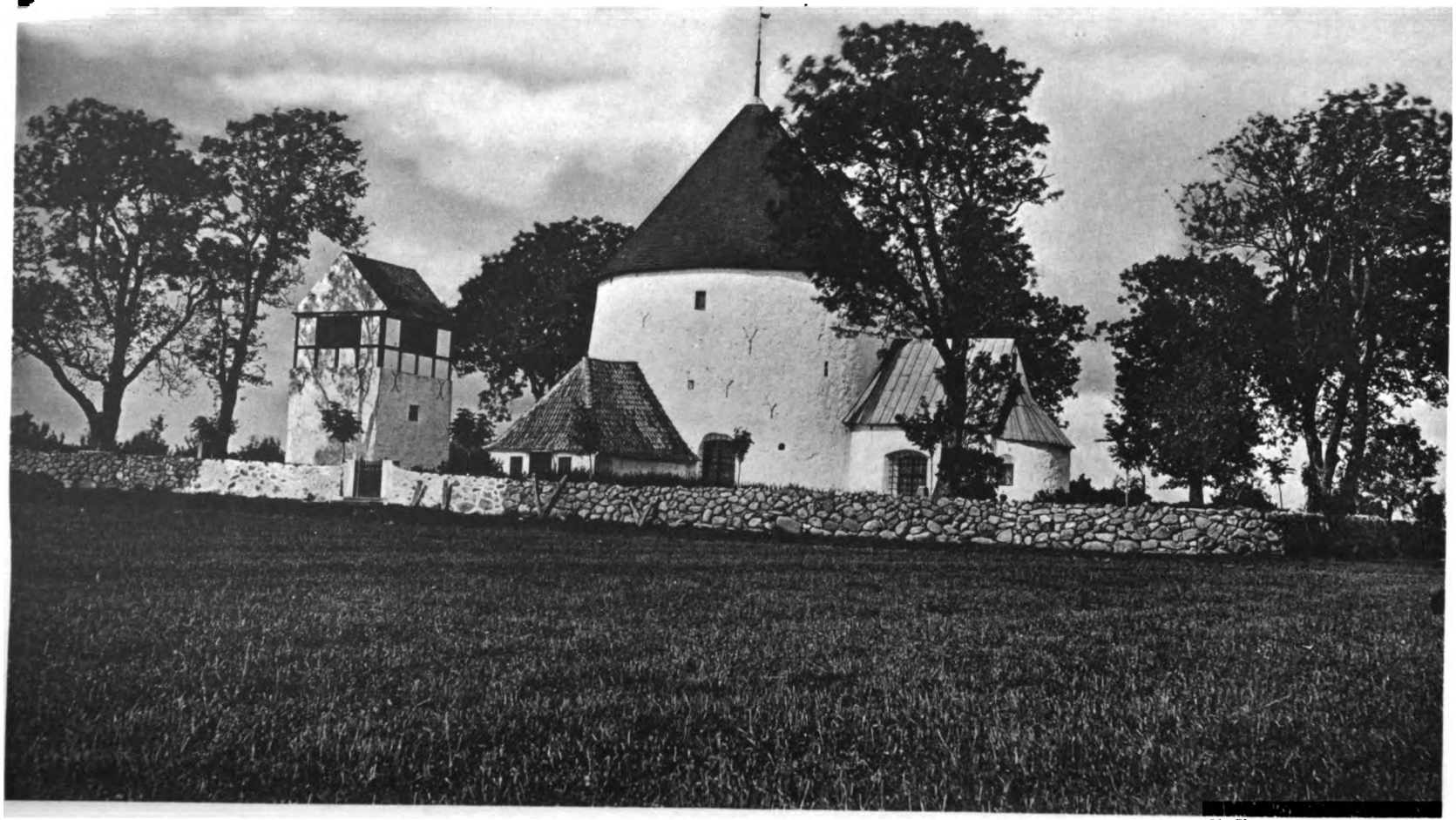

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BORNHOLM.

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THE CHURCHES OF BORNHOLM.

By MAJOR HEALES, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

The Island of Bornholm is not very large; in form somewhat similar to the Isle of Wight, rather larger, and less diamond-shaped. The locality not being familiar, it may be well to premise that the Island is situated near the foot of the Gulf of Bothnia, towards the German coast. From early historic times it belonged to Denmark, but in 1645 was conquered by Sweden, to which it was given up by Treaty in 1658; but in that same year the inhabitants revolted, and rejoined Denmark, to which country it has since remained permanently attached.

It is a bright, pleasant-looking island, undulating, and even hilly in places; sometimes descending gently to the sea, and sometimes rising abruptly from it to a considerable elevation; fertile, and very well wooded. The inhabitants, not very numerous, are very kindly, and appear industrious and fairly thriving. Rönne, the capital, is built of wood, with wide streets (as a precaution against fire), laid out in rectangular blocks, and occupies a far more extensive site than would otherwise be necessary in consequence of the houses rarely having more than two stories, and frequently but one. Round the coasts there are several little fishing ports. So few English travellers visit Bornholm, that these particulars may not be without interest.

And now to our immediate object—the churches, which are fifteen in number, besides some chapels. Considering the small number, one would scarcely anticipate that they would afford sufficient material for an ecclesiological paper; but their strongly-marked local peculiarities, and the novelty of the subject, remove that impression.

Fergusson, in his "Handbook of Architecture"[1] (a monument of personal observation and information collected from the works of travellers and other writers, combined with a singular power of generalization, and a study of what may be called the Comparative Osteology of Styles of Architecture), referring to the Bornholm churches, says that, although sometimes described, they had never been correctly drawn: they are round churches, of which "all apparently possess the peculiarity of four great pillars in the centre supporting the vault, and are more remarkable for their massive rudeness of style than for any beauty of architectural design"; so much so, that it had been sometimes doubted whether they owed their circular form and peculiar arrangements to ecclesiastical or military considerations. Nearly thirty years have elapsed since the publication of Fergusson's work; but, so far as the present writer is aware, nothing further has been published in England affording more information on the subject. The inadequacy of Fergusson's information will be seen from the fact, that—whereas he states that all the churches of the Island are round, and built with four central pillars—out of the fifteen churches of the island, there are but four circular, and of them, but one has more than a central pillar.

In fact, we may divide the Bornholm churches into two distinct types, which we may call the Curvilinear, comprising the round churches, and the Rectilinear, comprising the remainder.

The Curvilinear churches are named Olsker (Old Church), Nysker (New Church), Oester Larsker (East St. Lars Church), and Nylarsker (New St. Lars Church). Each consists of a circular nave, a chancel, and an apse. The dimensions are always moderate; the internal diameter of the naves respectively is as follows:—Olsker, 34 ft. 2 in.; Nysker, 35 ft. 4 in.; Nylarsker, 38 ft. 2 in.; Oester Larsker, 42 ft. 3 in.; but the capacity of the latter is more than usually diminished by the central support of the vaulting. The chancels are very small, and measure—following the same order—9 ft. 6 in. long by 14 ft. wide; 16 ft. 3 in. by 14 ft. 8 in; 15 ft. 2 in. by 18 ft. 5 in.; 18 ft. 3 in. by 29 ft. 3 in., at the widest part, diminishing eastwards to 15 ft. 10 in. The apses, which are semicircular or segmental, give only a diameter of between 7 ft. 4 in. to 8 ft. 4 in. The total internal length lies between 53 ft. 10 in. and 73 ft. 8 in.

[1] Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, edition 1859, p. 929.

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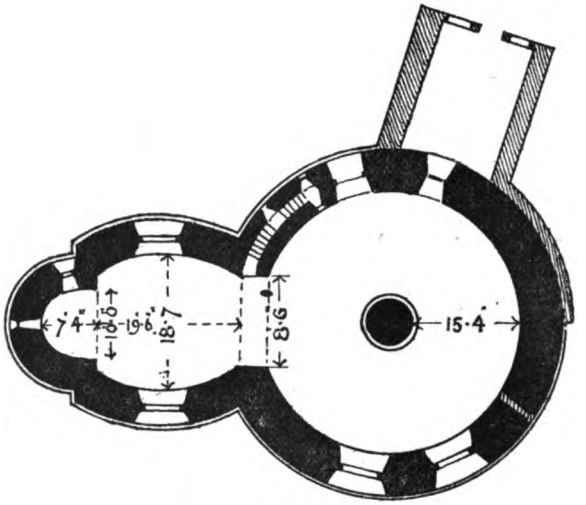

FIG. 1.—NYLARSKER.

How well the term Curvilinear is merited appears from the fact that even the side walls in two of the four churches are definitely convex in plan, so that their ground-plan is formed without a single straight line: an eccentricity which, probably, would be difficult to parallel.

The nave (or tower, as it might best be described, if there were anything else in the nature of a nave) is divided into three, or, probably, always four stories by massive vaulting, turned from a massive central pier to the outer walls, except in the case of Oester Larsker, where, instead of a central pier, there are on the ground-floor six plain piers round a hollow, inner circle. With this exception, where a somewhat similar arrangement is continued above, the central pier, perhaps of increased dimensions, rises through the next two stories, each with similar vaulting. The masonry is rude and very rough, but may, of course, have been plastered over. The pillars measure only from 6 to 9 feet high, and the whole height of vaulting may be from 10 to 15 feet above the floor: there is no cap, impost, or base.

The walls of the nave vary in thickness from 5 to 6 feet; but either the stone was ill-adapted for building purposes, or else the foundations were insufficient for the vast weight they had to carry; for it has been necessary, in modern times, in every case to add buttresses, which, unhappily, as well as being enormous, are most atrociously hideous. Beyond a small doorway, and a few loopholes measurable by inches, there are no external openings, except in the upper story, where will be seen a feature which tends much to solve Fergusson's doubt as to the object of the structure. This is a gallery formed in the thickness of the wall, and lighted by loopholes, arranged not to correspond with the openings by which the gallery is entered from the central chamber. Thus it will be seen, that if the doorway be well secured, the occupants of the tower would be quite safe from attack, and could shower down missiles upon the enemy: a defender standing at one of the external openings, could scarcely be seen against the dark wall. Even if the door were burnt or forced, or if the chancel or apse were entered by breaking through the solid masonry, which is extremely thick (the chancel and apse being vaulted), or by enlarging the loophole windows sufficiently

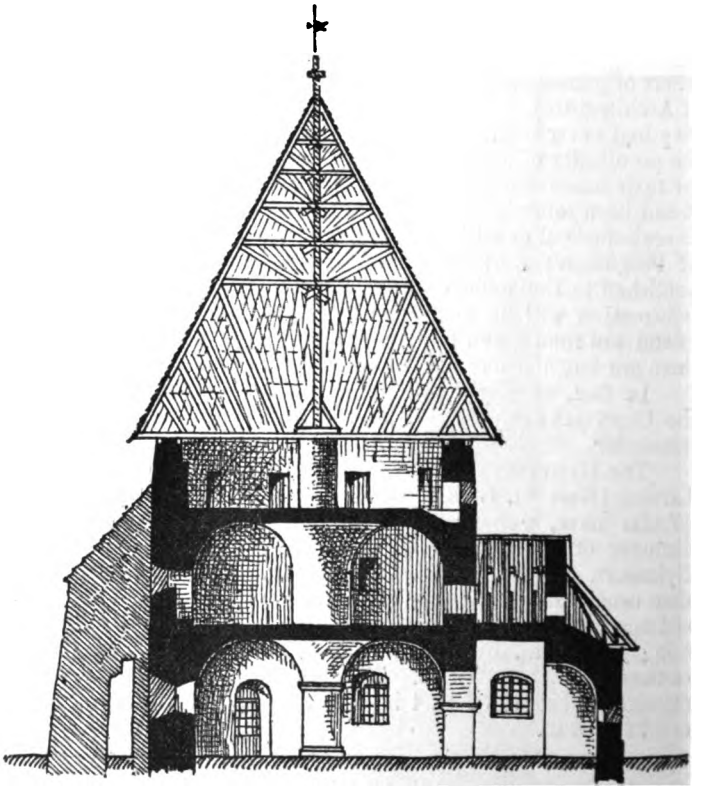

FIG. 2.—OLSKER, WEST TO EAST.

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for entrance,[1] the defenders would retire to the next floor, access to which is by a very narrow, steep, and crooked staircase, in the thickness of the wall, which a single resolute man might defend against a host; while those of the enemy whom he killed or wounded, would fall back upon and crush their comrades beneath them. In the same way each successive story would furnish a similar position of defence; so that the tower might be considered impregnable, except from a lengthened attack: freebooters, coming by sea, would not be likely to stay longer than necessary for the purpose of plunder. What the original roof was we cannot now tell; at present it is conical, and heavy-looking.

Thus much as to the appropriateness of the structure for the purpose of defence. On the other hand, it will be seen that, for the purpose of a church, the circular nave, with its massive central pier, and still more the six great piers surrounding a small circular space in the centre (as in the fourth example) would be singularly inconvenient.

Taking the facts altogether, I think there can be no reasonable doubt that defence was the primary object in designing the circular nave, and one can well imagine the presumably small population taking refuge here, with their valuables, on the incursion of pirates or rovers; they could not, of course, stand a long siege, for destruction of the central pier would cause the fall of the whole vaulting; moreover, there is no water-supply.

As to the date of these remarkable structures, there is very little to afford an indication; nothing architecturally except a doorway or two, and the round-headed, loophole windows. Most barbarous square windows have, probably, during the last century, been broken through the walls of nave, chancel, and apse, in order to supply the light needed for modern requirements. But so far as we have internal evidence, the date of all four churches would seem to be between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century; the earliest being quite early Norman;[2] and, in fact, the cap and vase of a door-shaft at Oester Marie have a very Saxon-like appearance. The dedication of two of the four churches to St. Lars, if I am right in believing him to be the same person as St. Olaus, or Olaf, or Olave[3] (to whom four London churches were dedicated),[4] affords a presumption that the date is not earlier than that suggested, since he died in the year 1030; though, of course, there is the possibility (in this case a great improbability) of a re-dedication of the two churches which are under his invocation; but, bearing in mind that in those early days, before a Papal Decree of canonization was required, and the fact that the saint was held in high honour at the time of his decease, the dedication adds to the presumption afforded by the architecture as to the date being as above suggested.

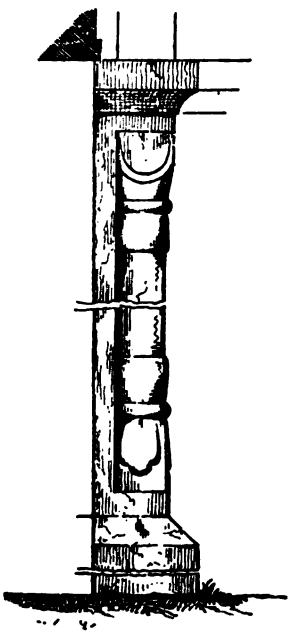

FIG. 3.—OESTERMARIE.

On the Swedish coast there are a few circular naves of a similar character, as at Solna, near Stockholm, and Hagby and Voxtorp, to the south of Kalmar.

At some date subsequent to the building of the church there was added a weapon-house, which is a peculiarity of Northern architecture: it is an extremely large porch, in which weapons were deposited by their owners before entering the abode of peace, and were taken up again on leaving it—a custom telling of turbulent times. The arrangements for the custody of the weapons during the interval would be highly interesting if known. None of the weapon-houses appear to be very ancient, though in one at Aarkirkeby is now, at least, a small Norman window divided by a central shaft; but this example is inconclusive, since the church has undergone what modern British Vandals would

[1] At Nyaker, the window on the east of the chancel, which at the external face of the wall is splayed to 2 feet 3 inches wide, narrows to 7 inches at the actual opening, 2 feet back, and the height at the same point is only 1 foot 9 inches.

[2] The English terms for the styles of architecture of various periods are used in the present paper for the sake of convenience of description, and not, of course, as indicating that the structure was erected by the Normans or others, but as indicating the period and style.

[3] St. Olaf, the patron Saint of Norway, very popular all over Scandinavia. He spent his life chiefly in raiding sea-coasts; first at Stockholm, in 1014, then wintering in Gothland; on the next spring he went up the Baltic, and down to Denmark, Friesland, and Holland, and on to England, where he assisted Ethelred in a spirited attack on and capture of Southwark, leading to the taking of London from the Danes, and passed a winter there. In the following spring he attacked and captured Canterbury, and then sailed away with the plunder. He was very successful in the extension of Christianity in Norway, Sweden, and Iceland, by means of sword and fire, and was killed in battle in 1030. His festival is 29th July, and his emblem a long-handled axe, which first cut him down, and a sword and spear finished him.

[4] St. Olave, Hart Street; St. Olave, Jewry; St. Olave, Silver Street (united to St. Alban's, Wood Street); and St. Olave, Southwark, the corruption of which name gives its name to Tooley Street.

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call a thorough Restoration, at which time the central nave arcade was carted away, and nothing but the massive external walls left; this took place in 1874, and the building is now absolutely devoid of interest.

There are no ancient vestries. The circular nave being, from the lowness of the vaulting, as well as the paucity of openings for sound, quite unsuited to use as a belfry, the bells were hung in a large square tower built near it, apparently not often at an early date. The earliest existing bell is at Hasle, and dated 1493; at Rönne is one dated 1506, and another 1533; at Ruth are two dated respectively 1586 and 1631; several elsewhere bear date in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the others are modern.

The RECTILINEAR churches which form our second division, are also (with one exception) very singular in their ground plans: the different parts are not located with much regard to the other parts, but are constantly set more towards one longitudinal side than the other, or else at an angle to them, and, what is still more curious, they are seldom equilateral, and right angles are frequently absent. It is difficult to suppose that such irregularities were accidental, even where the dates of the several parts were different; and even more difficult to suppose that they were intentional.

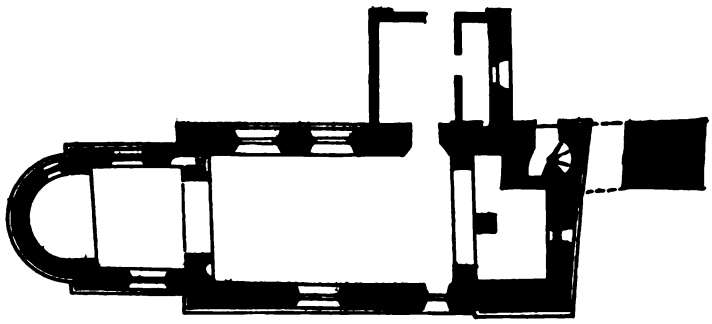

FIG. 4.—KNUDSKER.

The invariable plan consisted of a west tower, nave, chancel, and semicircular apse, usually with the addition of a weapon-house. There is no instance of an aisle, but in one exceptional instance (at Aakirkeby) there was a regular central arcade of round-headed arches, stated to have been built in the year 1150, carrying a wall on which the ridge of the roof rested; this was the largest and widest church in the Island, and the arrangement may, therefore, have been adopted for convenience of roofing, just as in Gottland it was necessitated by the exigencies of vaulting; there is nothing in this, or any other example, to indicate whether the nave of the church was vaulted, except the fact that the arcade seemed too light to carry a large vault. One must, unhappily, speak of this central arcade in the past sense, as it disappeared in a great Restoration in 1874.[1]

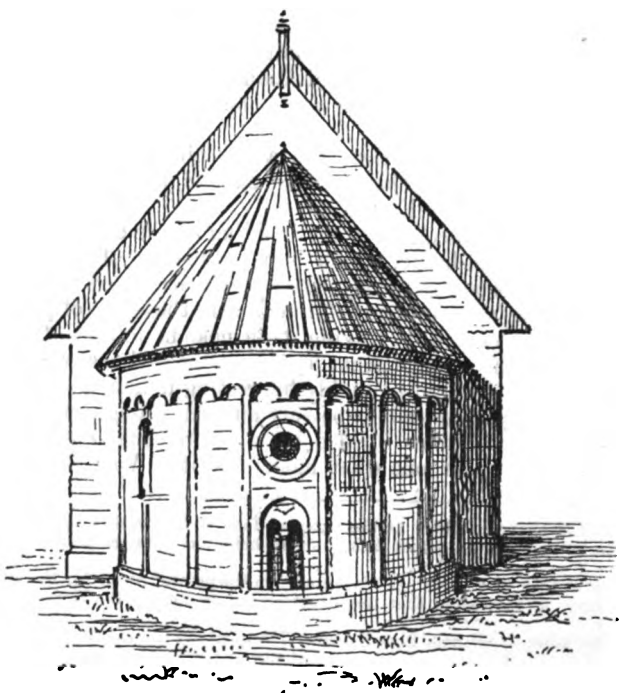

FIG. 5.—RUTH'SKER.

There are no ancient buttresses, but the tower walls occasionally batter.

The general date, where definitely apparent, is good Norman, especially noticeable in apses panelled with fine arcading, as at Ruth's, or having a round-arched corbel-table; only one chancel (Aarkirkeby) has later vaulting. At Oestermarie is a good example of eave (see Fig. 7).

The total internal admeasurement of length is, in three cases, under 70 feet; in four others, under 80 feet; in three, under 100 feet; and the largest is 129 ft. 6 inches; but this was evidently built at various dates. The width ranges from 17 ft. to 23 ft.; and the widest is 29 ft. 3 inches.

[1] In my account of the Churches of Gottland I have referred to the somewhat similar, but later, examples in England, viz.:—Caythorpe, Lincolnshire; Crayford, Kent; and Hannington, Northamptonshire.

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The tower is more frequently oblong than square, being, as it were, flattened against the end of the nave; if square, it measures from 15 to 17 ft.; but the oblong measures, in one case (Oestermarie), 12 ft. from E. to W. by 25 ft. 6 in. wide; another (Knuds), is 9 ft. 9 in. by 17 ft. 8 in. wide; and the most singular example (Rö) is 10 ft. 7 in. by 40 ft. wide; these are internal measurements. With these irregular proportions the sides are not always rectangular.

Assuming (as there is reason to assume) that the erection of the Rectilinear Churches, or some of them, immediately succeeded the Curvilinear, and that defence was still a prevailing motive in the design of towers, one notices that they, and, indeed, the entire walls, are extremely thick. Massive vaulting separates the three or four stories of the tower; the arch, or entrance to the nave, is small; there are no windows larger than loops; and the staircase runs up in the thickness of the wall, more or less directly, with the exception of Oestermarie, where the staircase is winding, though without a newel. The vaulting divides each story into two or three compartments of barrel-vaulting, not necessarily one over the other, but sometimes differing in the arrangement of the compartments. The roofing is transverse, which would obviously be the easiest method of roofing; the gables are stepped; there is no instance of a cross-gable. There are no buttresses, but the tower walls occasionally batter, as at Bodils and Oestermarie. The tower opens to the nave by one or two small arches (according to the arrangement of the vaulting), round-headed, and cut straight through the wall.

The length of the nave is usually rather more than twice its width, and the side walls are not necessarily parallel; for instance, Ibs is 40 ft. 9 in. long by 23 ft. 10 in. wide, narrowing eastwards to 22 ft. 4 in. Where the tower and nave are of different dates, the wall of the earliest part is not made use of for the purpose of the other, but the second part is built up independently against the previously existing wall. Good examples of this are seen at Knud's and Oestermarie.

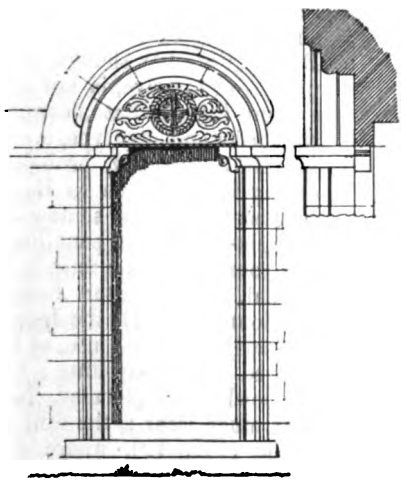

Fig. 6.—OESTERLARS.

Scarcely any ancient doors or windows remain, though there is a curious example at Oesterlars (Fig. 6) of transition to pointed date, and a good specimen of decorated date at Knuds, and in their stead have been cut barbarous house-windows. The objection prevalent without exception in Gottland, against any window opening to the north, seems unknown here.

Fig. 7—OESTERMARIE

The chancel is always very small, and generally nearly square in plan, but several are less in dimensions from east to west, than from north to south: thus, Pouls measures 10 ft. 9 in. by 19 ft. 6 in. wide; Peders is only 4 ft. 10 in. deep by 15 ft. 10 in. wide. The chancel is generally vaulted: at Knuds it has barrel-vaulting, and in the later example of Aarkirkeby, the vaulting is eight-sided, with ribs; eastwards it opens by a semicircular arch to the apse, which is of less diameter, and is vaulted in a semi-dome, or conch. The exterior of several apses has (as already mentioned) a Norman corbel table arcading: Ruths Church (Fig. 5) furnishes a good example.

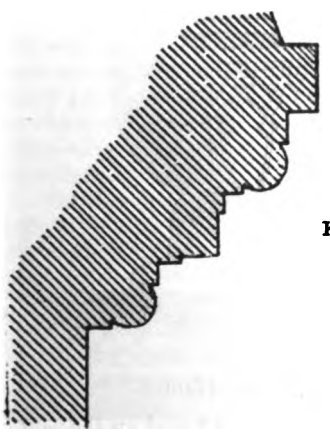

Fig. 8.

KNUDS. Fig. 9.

The masonry is coarse, and the building material is a hard, rough limestone, except in one or two cases where the tower (as at Knuds), and the whole church, even down to the font (at Ruths) is granite. Occasionally, the door-jambs narrow from base to cap, as at Oesterlars and Oestermarie. The putlog holes are generally left, especially in the round naves.

Clemens Church has been re-built, and is absolutely devoid of interest; so also have Hasle, Svanike, and Allinge, and Oestermarie all but the east-end. At the time when these notes were made, Oestermarie was about to be re-built; the interest in Aarkirkeby was destroyed some time since. The structures

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which replace the ancient churches are "Little Bethels," having not the slightest pretence to architecture; they are simply "buildings." The tower of Rö was in course of destruction, and that of Pouls disappeared long since.

The national religion being Lutheran, almost every description of ornament which the churches may have possessed, has disappeared; so that little remains to be said about detail, except by almost a succession of negatives. There is no ancient window, with the exception of a few absolutely plain, round-headed loopholes; only one or two doorways, very small and simple; no sedilia, or piscina; no gable cross, except a modern one of wood, at Ibs.

Of the altar, nothing particular need be said; it is, almost necessarily, detached from the wall; at Svanike, what appears to have been a tabernacle above it, now carries a stove-pipe. The altar rails at Nexö are dated 1639, and of good design. A minor altar was usually located on each side of chancel arch, which is evident from the small semicircular recess in the west face of the wall on either side of the arch, as at Peders, Pouls, Bodils, and other churches.

At Hasle is a fine German triptych, of rather late date, with figures almost detached; the whole of the centre is occupied with the Rood and SS. Mary and John; on the dexter wing are representations of two scenes—the Flagellation, and Pilate washing his hands; and on the sinister, the Mocking, and the Bearing the Cross. Another triptych is to be found at Gudhjem, dating c. 1500, of rude execution; amongst other figures, placed singly, that of St. Olaf will be noted: the centre may be modern.

Fonts were at first very simple, circular; and subsequently went through a transition, till they arrived at the hock-glass pattern; the bowl usually ornamented with trefoil-headed panelling rarely filled with sculpture. At Knuds is a very simple, early example; that at Ruths (Fig. 10), though still plain and massive, is not inelegant. Intermediate, between the earlier and later type, is the font at Aarkirkeby, probably dating in transition to Early English; the bowl somewhat straight-sided, with panelling, and round the base four half-animal, half-monster heads. At Rönne (Fig. 11) the design is clearly somewhat late, as indicated by the panelling; but the bowl is half globular. Not very much later is the font at Hasle (Fig. 12), where the depth of the bowl, as compared with its other members, is extremely reduced, and the stem takes the "German hock-glass" form. At Peders and Oestermarie the fonts are of a similar type, but quite of the hock-glass form.

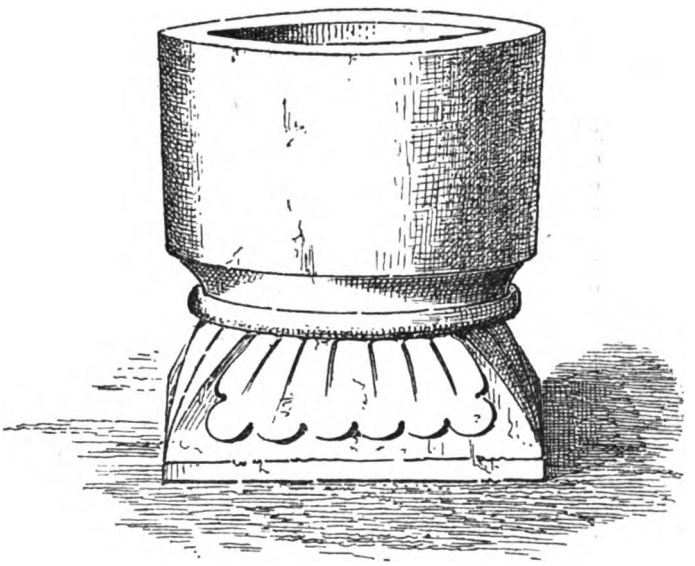

Fig. 10.—RUTHS KIRKE.

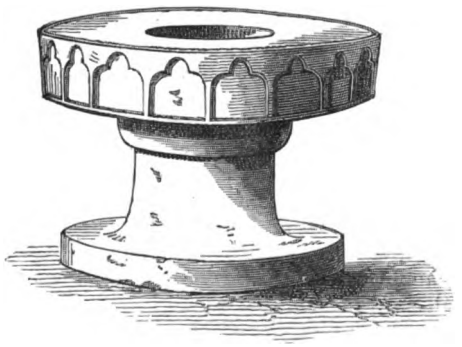

Fig. 11.—RÖNNE.

Fig. 12.—HASLE.

Almost the only example of wall-painting, of any consequence, is to be found on the central pier of the round nave of Nylars, and, so far as it has not been renewed or restored, is of extremely early date, and needs a full description.

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The central pillar, being the surface for decoration, measures 18 ft. 8 in. in circumference; it has a simple abacus chamfered off on its lower side, above which are wall-paintings of the following series of designs, beginning at the north-east, and thence round with the sun to the south-east :—The creation of man ; formation of Eve ; Adam and Eve in Paradise ; between this and the next design is a green-winged angel or archangel, in lilac robes, and holding a disc ; the Temptation, in which the serpent has a human head ; the Fall ; expulsion from Paradise. The ground is a light sky-blue ; the figures flesh-colour. The drapery of the Creator is light green, with chocolate mantle, lined with white ; of the angel, white, with lilac mantle, and he has a nimbus marked with light yellow roses or cinquefoils. The figures are nearly four feet high. Above this painting is a broad band of foliage, and beneath it a band of a rich and very effective foliage pattern, of which the colours are reddish, yellow, lilac, green, and white. The abacus itself is painted in bands of yellow, white, and dull red, and the chamfered edge is green. The shaft of the pier, the height of which is about nine feet, is lined to represent regular masonry, in double lines of chocolate. On the wall of the circular nave are some foliage-patterns, which are partly carried over the chancel arch, on its soffit, and round the chancel and apse. It was stated that the painting had been slightly (probably a good deal) restored, at the expense of the Danish Government, and that the eastern part was modern. So far as one can form an opinion, there has been a good foundation for the carefully-studied restoration, however undesirable and contrary to the love for maintenance of ancient art such a restoration necessarily must be.

On the north side of the chancel arch of Oestermarie Church were remains of old wall-painting ; but at the time of my visit the structure was about to be pulled down.

I discovered no ancient plate, but at Allinge there is a bronze crucifix over the sounding-board of the pulpit, apparently a work of the fifteenth century.

Bornholm contains by no means a large number of sepulchral monuments; of these the greater proportion are early, as evidently appears from the fact of their inscriptions being in the Runic character and language. There is no monumental effigy dating in the fifteenth century, and only one or two of subsequent date remain. All are incised, except the latest example, which is very slightly in relief. Most of the sepulchral monuments have been turned out of the church, as though the persons commemorated, instead of being (as was most probably the case) benefactors, or otherwise eminent Churchmen, were classed among the wicked, and it was desired that their memorial should perish from off the land as soon as might be. Pagans and idolaters in all lands, and throughout all history, have in esteem the memory of their ancestors—as witness the sepulchral memorials of Babylon and Egypt, of ancient Greece and Rome, of Mexico and Yucatan, but it is reserved for Christian ministers, in this enlightened age, not only to take no care for the preservation of the memorials of their predecessors, and their other fellow-Christians, but to cast them forth from their place in the house of God, to the speediest and most economical mode of destruction. I am writing of the Lutheran clergy of Bornholm; I wish I could find that the clergy of the Catholic Church of England were (with most rare exceptions) in this respect one whit more Catholic than they.

There is not the same variety in the nature or design of monumental memorials in Bornholm as we find in our own or other European countries; and, in fact, with the exception of a single sixteenth century example in low relief, they are limited to incised slabs ; but these all date from a good period, the majority bearing Runic legends, and the rest are Lombardic. Possibly there may be some inscriptions dating in the seventeenth century and later; but I have not noted any in my notebook.

The Runic monuments we may divide into four sections. I should assume (1) that those whereon there appears the incised or slightly raised representation of the Serpent, with the commemorative legend engraved upon or about it, are the earliest in date ; (2) that those on which the serpent and cross appear, or are combined, will follow in date; (3) that the examples on which the cross is represented without the serpent may be probably later; and (4) those which have but a Runic inscription, without any emblem or device, may be of any one of these three dates, but most probably of the third period, or later.

Of the first class, there is a fine example of an involved serpent, with inscription, at Nylars (the slab measuring 6 ft. by 4 ft. 10 in.), now in a modern porch; another at Oestermarie, now turned out into the churchyard for destruction by the elements. At Nykirke is a good specimen with involved serpents.

A fine example of the second class, whereon the serpent and cross are combined, occurs at Nylars, and another at Nykirke.

Of the third class, where the serpent is no longer seen, but the cross only, a fine and perfect specimen at present exists at Oesterlars, turned out into the churchyard for destruction by the elements.

Simple inscriptions, which form the fourth class, may be seen at Rö, where the legend runs up the centre of the slab ; at Aarkirkeby are two large specimens ; at Oestermarie, a simple

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one has been turned out into the churchyard; so at Gudhjem; at Svanike is one on a slab measuring 9 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 10 in., and very thick, on which the legend is now nearly defaced.

Next, we come to the monuments with Lombardic inscriptions, of which we find marginal examples at Oesterlars and Rö (very large), but both turned out into the churchyard for speedy destruction.

Of the class of sepulchral monuments which date next, and complete the mediæval period (with which, alone, I profess to deal), there is but one; on it, in very low relief, are depicted a knight between two ladies, which, in default of inscription, we may safely ascribe to the Elizabethan period.

Professor Stephens, in his great work,[1] translates some of the inscriptions to the following effect:—

At Nylarsker—

The Lord God help his spirit; also St. Michael.

Another:

Sasur put up this stone in memory of his father Alnarth. He was drowned, with all his crew. Holy Christ help his soul! and may this stone long remain.

At Clemenskirke:

Christ help the soul of Anthbiarn into light and Paradise; and help it, St. Michael, into light and Paradise.

At Hasle:

God help his soul; and St. Michael.

St. Michael would not appear to have been a specially favourite saint, and there is nothing to indicate why he should have been selected for invocation on these monuments.

FIG. 13.—AARKIRKEBY.

1 "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." By Prof. Geo. Stephens. Vol. I., pp. 795 and 812. I have ventured to put the effect of the inscriptions in a little less cramped form than in the original.

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ON THE ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.,

Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

It is now nearly seven years since Dr. Wickham Legg communicated to the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society a paper entitled "Notes on the History of the Liturgical Colours,"[1] which, in spite of its modest title, is one of the most important and valuable contributions on the subject that has yet been written; and, so far as I am aware, the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Legg have neither been seriously challenged nor attempted to be set aside. In fact, no unprejudiced person can read Dr. Legg's paper without being struck by the enormous amount of information that it contains, and by the many weighty arguments brought forward therein.

Seeing how deeply Dr. Legg has gone into the subject, it may be asked what further light can be thrown upon it?

Dr. Legg divides his paper into three parts:

I. The Sources of the Liturgical Colours.
II. A Comparison of the Colours used in various Western Rites.
III. English Liturgical Colours.

With the points raised in parts I. and II. I am not now concerned; but the subject of part III. is one in which I have for a long time taken the deepest interest; and I have spared no pains to collect together all the evidence bearing thereon.

Now, the authorities quoted by Dr. Legg in the third part of his paper are almost exclusively the *rules* for colours, as laid down in the mass-books, pontificals and other service-books, and in the several ordinals, statutes, and consuetudinaries. But there is one large field for research, which has hitherto been only imperfectly worked, viz., that afforded by an exhaustive examination of wills and inventories.

The particular value of these documents lies in the fact that they tell us what colours were *actually used*. They are also not open to the objection that has been raised against the rules laid down in the pontificals, viz., that they are the mere caprice of an individual bishop. The inventories, moreover, have this further advantage, that they give us a continuous record from the first quarter of the thirteenth century down to the reign of Elizabeth.

It is on the information which I have been able to collect from the inventories, aided by occasional extracts from wills, that I have based the contents of my paper.

I am bound to say that the result of an examination of inventories is, on the whole, disappointing; for, although the ornaments of the ministers and altars are frequently most fully described, it is only occasionally that any hints are given as to when they were used, these being chiefly confined to the vestments and hangings assigned for use in Lent. There are, nevertheless, a fair number of entries of a miscellaneous character, which show us both how far the sequences were followed, and how the gaps in them may, perhaps, be filled up.

I have noticed a few cases where the Edwardian commissioners *appear* to describe hangings actually on the altars at the time when the inventory was taken, *e.g.*:

Monken Hadley, Middlesex, August 3rd, 1552 (Invention of St. Stephen).
ij clothes hanging before thalter of Satten of Bridges color white.[2]

Leckhampstead, Berks, August 4th, 1552.
A cloth that hangith before thaulter of white satten spanged with white Sylke.[3]

Aldworth, Berks, same date.
One payntid clothe before the alter of canvas.[4]

Bedon, Berks, same date.
The clothe that hangithe before thaulter of blewe sattyn bridges.[5]

Shenfield, Berks, August 6th, 1552 (Transfiguration).
The upper hanginge clothe of the hight aultr paned wth Tisshew & Dunne velvet wth flowres. The lower hanging cloth of the said aultr paned wt yellow Damaske & blacke Saten.[6]

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[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. I., pp. 95—134.
[2] *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, iv. 282.
[3] Money, *Church Goods in Berks*, 27. [4] *Ib.* 4. [5] *Ib.* 5. [6] *Ib.* 35.

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FARNBOROUGH, KENT, November 13th, 1552.
A fronte of cremyson velvett upon thigh alter braunched with flowers of gold.[1]
FOOTS CRAY, KENT, November 23rd, 1552.
Another old cloth hanging before thighe alter of whit cruell and grene flowers of silk.[2]

I shall refer to a still more interesting case presently in discussing the Lenten vestments and ornaments.

The colours chiefly in actual use in England were white, red, blue, and green, with yellow and black. Of less frequent mention are tawny, purple, violet, brown, dun, etc. Various combinations are also found, of two colours, such as white and blue; or of three, as red, green, and yellow. Vestments and altar clothes are frequently described, too, as striped, paled, checky, motley, etc. When these parti-coloured ornaments were used is doubtful; but occasionally, though rarely, we meet with an entry which helps us. Thus, at Exeter, in 1506, at St. Gabriel's altar was *j casula deserviens tam pro blodio quam albo colore checky*[3]; *i.e.*, being of blue and white check it might serve for either colour. The same inventory also mentions a chasuble, etc., of green and red velvet checky, which was used for the commemoration of SS. Peter and Paul. Again, at St. Paul's, in 1245, was a tunicle *virgulata croceo et rubeo*, striped with yellow and red, for feasts of apostles; and at Lincoln, in 1557, was a cope for St. Mark's day, "paned with white, red, and black silk, with a good orphrey," probably for use in the procession and litanies of this day. Possibly, therefore, parti-coloured vestments were used for feasts of apostles.

There are one or two colours of doubtful hue occasionally met with in English inventories, such as popinjay-colour or crane-colour; *e.g.*:

1552. SARRATT, HERTS.
A vestment of sylke popingey coller.
A coppe of yallow sylke popingey. — Cussans, *Church Goods in Herts*, 24.
1552. THERFIELD, HERTS.
A vestment of popingeay grene Damaske, etc. — *Ib.* 86.
1552. ESSENDON, HERTS.
ij alter clothes of crane colered Sarsnet. — *Ib.* 107.

Here "popinjay-colour" is yellow or green; while "crane-colered" is probably the Latin *craneum*, meaning yellow.

I have also met with three or four cases of vestments of "horse-flesh colour," *e. g.*:

1539. ST. OSYTH'S PRIORY, ESSEX.
A vestment of horsefleshe color. — *Trans. Essex. Arch. Soc.* v. 59.
1552. BERMONDSEY, ST. MARY MAGDALENE, SURREY.
ij dekens of sylke, one blewe, another of grene, and the other of horseflesh color. — J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, *Church Goods of Surrey*, 97.
1552. STAUNTON, WORCESTERSHIRE.
ij vestments of horsefleshe coloure. — *Assoc. Societies' Reports*, xi. 333.

What horse-flesh colour was I have not the slightest idea.

Most of the modern ritual manuals and kindred works speak of ash-colour as being of frequent use in England, probably for Lent. Whence this idea originated I do not know; no such colour is mentioned in any of the pontificals or service-books, and the only cases that I have met with throughout a very great number of wills and inventories are these:

(1) 1327. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Una capa cinerei coloris pro Die Cinerum. — Oliver, 319.
(2) 1552. WIMBLEDON, SURREY.
A vestment of grene sylk with a crosse of asche color damaske. — Daniel-Tyssen, 134.

To which may be added (3) a record of the gift to his cathedral church, by Robert Orford, bishop of Ely (1303-10), of *duas cappas tenues cinerei coloris*.[4]

It would, of course, be absurd to deny that grey or "ash-colour" was ever used; but my contention is, that they were looked upon and classified as *white*, just as various shades of pale greys and buffs are called *white* in ordinary every day use.

The use of cloth of gold does not seem to be properly understood, it being usually cited as a substitute for all colours. The medieval usage hardly bears out this theory, as the many items quoted in this paper plainly show; the real facts of the case being probably this, that when cloth of gold *looked* gold, it was used for principal feasts, etc., but when its general appearance was that of some colour, it was described as "red cloth of gold," "black cloth of gold," and so on, and its use was guided by the prevailing colour.

With regard to the colours themselves, there can be no doubt that some such classification of principal and secondary colours as that laid down by Dr. Legg was recognized.

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[1] *Archæologia Cantiana*, viii. 100, 153. [2] *Ib.* viii. 156. [3] Oliver. [4] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 641.

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Thus, bishop Clifford of London, in his pontifical, besides describing the respective meanings of *albus, rubeus, croceus, violaceus, viridis*, and *niger*, says that *purpureus* and *violaceus* are reckoned the same, as are *croceus* and *viridis*, and that *violaceus* is also equivalent to *niger*.

So the Westminster inventory, *circa* 1540, under "Redd albes," includes those with apparels of murrey, dark purple, and crimson; and the inventory of Magdalen college, Oxford, 1495, under *capæ blodiæ*, or blue copes, includes "sex de purpull velvet." The same license is also indicated by the alternative uses of *rubea aut subrubea, niger vel quasi niger*, and *croceus aut glaucus*, etc., at Westminster; the *rubeus sive purpureus*, at Wells; the *viridis sive fuscus*, at Lincoln; and the *indicus vel blauus*, and *croceus vel viridis*, at Exeter, etc.

I shall have more to say on this point further on.

The analysis of any inventory or set of inventories, interesting as it is in some respects, is unfortunately not productive of any very practical results as regards the liturgical colours, though the information thus tabulated is occasionally useful. The chief difficulty arises (1) from the colours of the vestments, etc., not always being given, and also (2) from the indiscriminate use of the words "vestments" and "suit." Thus, *vestimentum*, or "vestment," does not always mean a chasuble only, with or without its appurtenances, but may include the albe, amice, girdle, fanon and stole, and the copes, altar cloths, towels, curtains, and even the Lenten veil. Thus, to quote one example, at Warwick, in 1407, we find:

> "An hole vestiment of white tartaryn for lenton that is to say iij aubes iij amytes wyth the parures a. chesible iij. stolis iiij. fanons iij. girdels ij. auter clothis wyth. a. frontel & a towail iij. curtyns a. lectron cloth & a veyle of lynnen cloth."[1]

The Edwardian inventories for the several counties vary greatly in fulness and archæological value. Those for Kent, Berks, and Surrey are very useful; but others, such as the Cheshire and Warwickshire inventories, are almost entirely devoid of interest. In any case, these particular inventories must be regarded with caution, as the period when they were taken was characterized by spoliation and embezzlement, and thus the scheduled contents of a parish church may fall far short of what was actually in common use a few years before.

Inventories of any date before 1535 are always of value; but, unfortunately, they are comparatively rare. Those of the jewels and ornaments of great and rich churches, like York, Lincoln, St. Paul's, Windsor, etc., are generally well known; those of parish churches, on the other hand, are but seldom printed or transcribed, although they are far more common than is usually supposed; and it is probably owing to the neglect of these valuable documents that much of the prevailing ignorance of the furniture and ornaments of our old parish churches is due. Some of the Bristol churches, for instance, possess original inventories even of 14th century date, and many of the London city churches have very full and rich inventories of all dates during the 15th century. Some of these early inventories have already been printed, *e.g.*, All Saints, Bristol (1395); and of the London churches of St. Peter Cheap (1431), St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, etc.; but these are only a portion of what is still buried in MS.

I should here like to say one word as to the transcription of an inventory, viz., that no attempt should be made to translate it, if in Latin (unless the text be also given), or to extend it, if in English. The latter is not fraught with the same evils as the former; but a translator may so easily stumble over the names of the colours, or of stuffs, that the text should certainly be allowed to speak for itself.

I will now pass on to the main point of my paper, the information to be gained as to the colours from wills and inventories.

It will be convenient to divide the subject into two questions:

(1) What are the chief points to be learned from the inventories?

(2) How far do they affect the known sequences, or aid in restoring the old ones?

The information as to the colours for the seasons afforded by the inventories is somewhat imperfect. Thus, for Christmas and the Circumcision I have, as yet, found nothing; and for some of the other seasons but one or two entries. As the Christmas and Circumcision colours were invariably white, so far as the English rules are known, the non-occurrence of entries in the inventories does not much matter; but it is otherwise in cases where the rules differ much. For Advent, the rules prescribe black, violet, blue, or white; and for Septuagesima, red or violet. The inventories, so far as they go, give the same colour for Advent as for Septuagesima, viz., purple and violet at Exeter, and blue at York, *e.g.*:

[1] P.R.O. *Chartulary of Warwick college. f.* ccij.*b.* In this paper P.R.O. means Public Record Office.

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1327. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
1 casula *purpurea* cum floribus, etc., pro Adventu et Septuagesima.
1 capa de *violet* cum aurifragio lato et 2 capæ *purpureæ* stragulatæ pro Adventu et Septuagesima.
Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (1861), 318.

Circa 1500. YORK MINSTER.
Una secta *blodia* del bawdekyn pro adventu et septuagesima. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 233.

1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Tres capæ de *purpureo* serico quasi unius sectæ propter Adventum.
1 larga casula usitata in Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimæ de *purpull* operata per totum opere acuali cum magnis bestiis aureis in circulis aureis, etc., cum stricto aureo orfrey in pectore.
Oliver, 336, 344.

This use of the same colour for Advent as at Septuagesima was the rule at St. Paul's, and, as well as in practice, at Exeter also.

The Epiphany colour was usually white; but at Lichfield, red. I have found it mentioned only in the following entries in the Westminster inventory:

1540 (?). WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
A cope of *whyte* garnysshyd with Columbyns and a chezabull, etc., of *white* bawdekyn with sterrys of gold servyng for the xii^ve day.
A front for benethe for the day of ye Epiphanye of *whyte* wyth starrys.
Trans. London & Middx. Arch. Soc. iv. 326, 330.

At Exeter, although white was prescribed for the Epiphany by bishop Grandisson himself, we find in that prelate's will, dated 1368, a bequest to his cathedral church of:

Vestimenta pro diebus Epiphaniæ, Pentecostes, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, viz., Casulam tunicam et dalmaticam cum una capa *de pannis rubeis et aureis* qui vocatur de nakta.
Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc. i. 85.

According to the rules the same colour was used throughout from Septuagesima to Lent. One example, however, occurs of a vestment for Sexagesima, viz.:

1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
1 *blodia* casula per se de panno lineo, stayned cum rubeis rosis propter Sexagesimam cum duabus dalmaticis sine paruris et aliis. Oliver, 337.

An inventory of the same church also gives the only example of an Ash Wednesday vestment:

1327. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Una capa *cinerei coloris* pro Die Cinerum.[1] Oliver, 319.

With regard to the colour for Lent, the inventories give much information.

Only four sequences give a Lenten colour, viz., London and Exeter, which enjoin violet, and Lichfield and Westminster, which prescribe black. The inventories, etc., on the other hand, are almost unanimous in showing that the English colour for the vestments and altar-hangings in Lent was *white*.

To show how universal this colour was, I have found instances in every diocese, except Chichester and Carlisle, for which I have seen no inventories; in the cathedral churches of York, Ely, Durham, and Salisbury; among the Benedictines at Westminster, Durham, Peterborough, St. Albans, etc.; among the Cistercians, as at Fountains; among the Black Canons at Oxford, Dunmow, etc.; among the White and Black Friars; in the royal chapels of St. George's, Windsor, and St. Stephen's, Westminster, and in the royal wardrobe; in collegiate churches and chapels, such as Warwick, Cobham, Thame; at King's, Christ's, and Clare colleges at Cambridge, and Magdalen and All Souls at Oxford; with numerous parish churches throughout the length and breadth of England.

In spite of the overwhelming evidence of the use of white in Lent, there are, of course, objectors who would try to prove otherwise. One objection is that the real colour was *ash-colour*, and not white. To this I reply that ash-colour is nowhere mentioned, and that the Latin word is *albus*, and the English "white," which must mean what they say, or how are they to be interpreted when used to describe the gorgeous vestments for principal feasts? Another objection is a new one to me, and has been raised by a gentleman who wrote to me recently, as follows:—"Not long ago some one wrote to the papers suggesting that white was formerly "commonly used in Lent. He based his argument, if I remember rightly, on the fact that the "inventories not unfrequently give 'a white frontal for Lent'; but all the examples he quoted "were of altars of our Lady, or some special saint—none were of the High altar. So, really all "that his instances showed was, not that white was a Lenten colour, but that some altars were "white throughout the year, with special plain frontal for Lent." Now, I have an idea that I am the "some one" who wrote to the papers, as a year or two ago I contributed several letters to

[1] This is the *only* mention of an *ash-coloured* vestment that I have met with in the very many inventories I have examined.

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the *Church Times*, giving a long list of white vestments and hangings for Lent. In this list I omitted, for brevity, all reference in words to the high altar, on the assumption that most of the entries referred to it, and only named chapels and chantry altars to show that white was the Lenten colour for side-altars too. A reference to the long list of entries relating to the Lent colour given below will show, however, that in a large number of cases white hangings and ornaments for the high altar are expressly mentioned. More than this, a great many entries specify white vestments and suits for the ministers; and so a third objection, that the white ornaments were merely coverings for the altars, can no longer be upheld. It may be worth while noting, that on 27th March, 1536, the Commissioners engaged in taking an inventory of the goods and chattels of the Benedictine nunnery of Minster, in the Isle of Sheppey, actually found "*upon the High Aulter* iiij alter clothes of lynyn one front for above and a nother for byneth of lynyn with crosses red and blew for the Lent."[1]

The following entries may, I think, be taken as conclusive evidence that white was the universal English colour during Lent; it will be noticed that the series extends from 1220 to 1560, in the reign of Elizabeth, a period of over three centuries. I have for convenience also included a number of items relating to the Lenten veil, as well as those giving other colours than white for Lent:

1220. Wokingham, Berks.
Duo *linthea*, unum cooperiens crucem in Quadragesima, et aliud *ante altare*.
Reg. S. Osmundi, R. S. i. 280.[2]

1222. Salisbury cathedral church.
Velum unum de serico Quadragesimale. *Reg. S. Osmundi*, R. S. ii. 131.

1297. Thorpe-le-Soken, Essex.
Velum quadragesimale de panno lineo *stragulato albo et blueto* cum rosis.
MS. WD16. *penes Dec. et Cap. S. Pauli*, f. 47b.

1297. Kensworth, Herts.
Velum quadragesimale decens consutum cum bestiis *de lineo panno*. *Ibid.* f. 55

1354 (?). Hulne priory, Northumberland (White Friars).
Sex panni *albi* cruce rubea signati, canobio novo duplati, pro tribus altaribus in Quadragesima, septimus pro pulpito, octavus pro cruce, nonus pro nō ejusdem, decimus pro velo ejusdem sectæ.
Harl. MS. 3897.

1355. Will of lady Elizabeth de Burgh, lady Clare.
Among other bequests to Clare Hall, Cambridge:
j vestiment de *blank* tartaryn raie door pur quaresme ove tut lapparail.
Un vestiment dun *blank* samyt auxint pur quaresme. *Reg. Islip*, f 165b; and Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 31.

1373. Coldingham Priory (A cell of Durham).
ij panni *albi pro summo altari* in tempore quadragesimali. *Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Soc. 12), lxx.

1384-5. Windsor, St. George's chapel.
Item unum vestimentum (a set) de panno *albo* pro Quadragesimali tempore, etc. etc.
Item unum vestimentum quadragesimale de dono ducis Norfolciæ cum tribus casulis ridellis contrafrontellis et frontellis cum toto apparatu altaris.
Item unum velum quadragesimale palleum, blodium, et *albi* coloris cum gartiers et aquilis auro poudratis.
Item unum ridellum ejusdem sectæ per totum *pro fronte super summum altare* cum cordulis de filo albo pro eisdem. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1363, 1366.

1388. Westminster Abbey (Benedictine monks).
Frontellum pro tempore quadragesimali *assignatum magno altari* de panno de bawdekyn *coloris de tawny* cum frontilecto.
De velo et pannis quadragesimalibus.
Velum est unum *pro magno altari* de Serico in medio divisum *Crocei et blodii* coloris et vj. alii panni quadragesimales quo primus pannus *lineus* latus cum signis Dominicæ passionis pro cruce velanda. Secundus et tertius pro ymaginibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli velandis. Quartus et quintus pro costis magni altaris. Sextus longus pro trabe sub pede Crucifixi velanda. *MS. Inventory, penes Dec. et Cap. Cantuar.*

1393. Wells, St. Cuthbert, Somerset.
Belonging to the high altar. Two sets of vestments, one of no value, of *white* colour for Lent.
Belonging to St. Mary's altar. 1 *white* cloth for hanging in time of Lent.
Belonging to St. Katherine's altar. 1 cloth intended for the time of Lent.
Belonging to St. Michael's altar. 1 *white* cloth for Lent.
Serel, *Hist. Notes on St. Cuthbert's Wells*, 100, 101, 102.

1395. Bristol, All Saints,
j lente cloth of *wyte*.
iij lente cloths for ye Awterys.
j Steynyd cloth for ye hye Awter yn ye lenten tyme of ye passyon of Cryste.
Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii. 106.

1397-8. London, St. Antony—Altar of the Grocers' Company.
Item unum vestimentum *de albo* pro presbitero . . . . pro quadragesima.
Item duo Curteyñ *de albo* pro quadragesima.
Item duo long' Curteyñ *de albo* cum duabus crucibus pro quadragesima.
Facsimile of first vol. of archives of Grocers' Company, part i. f. 79.

[1] P. R. O. *Chapter House Book* A $\frac{3}{12}$. [2] R. S. means works published in the Rolls Series.

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1368 × 1419. NORWICH, ST. LAURENCE.
Three *white linen* cloths powdered with great red crosses of saye for the service of the same three altars with c vers of the same suit for covering all the images in the church in the time of Lent.
Norfolk Archaeology, v. 111.

1400. INVENTORY OF THOMAS DALBY, ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND.
Pro *albis* curtyns pro altari in Quadragesima. *Test. Ebor.* iii. (Surtees Soc. 45) 13.

1400-1. BRIDPORT, DORSET.
St. Andrew's chapel.
One *white* set of vestments for Lent.
Two cloths for Lent stayned. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Rpt. Appx. 476, 477.

1407. WARWICK, COLLEGE OF ST. MARY.
An hole vestiment of *white* tartaryn for lenton that is to say . iij aubes . iij . amytes . wyth the parures . a . chesible . iij . stolis . iiij . fanons . iij girdelis . ij . auter clothis wyth . a . frontel . & a towail . iij . curtyns . a . lectron cloth . and a veyle of lynnen cloth.
P.R.O. *Chartulary of Warwick college*, f. ccij.b.

Temp. Henry IV. (1399—1413) ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY, HERTS (Benedictine).
Item habentur septem casulæ *albæ* de bustian pro Quadragesima. (p. 340)
Apparatus altarium pro Quadragesima:
Item habentur ornamenta altarium pro Quadragesima *albi* panni cum crucibus de rubeo sandalio; viz. *pro magno altari* totus apparatus tam sub quam super cum ridellis competentibus.[1]
Similiter integer apparatus de eadem secta pro altaribus Sancti Hugonis, Salutationis, Quatuor Cereorum, et Sancti Stephani.
Et habentur ridelli pro altaribus Quatuor Cereorum et Sancti Stephani; pro aliis duobus non habentur ridelli, et omnia sunt ista ex dono Domini Thomæ Abbatis.
Item pro altari Sancti Michaelis habetur integer apparatus tam sub quam supra de *albo* panno cum crucibus ut supra dictum est cum ridellis de eadem secta.
Similiter pro eisdem altaribus Sancti Edmundi et Sancti Petri habetur idem apparatus sine ridellis.
Item habetur unus pannus de eadem secta pro altari Sancti Amphibali. . . . . .
Item habetur una casula pro Quadragesima ad modum rete (*sic*) *de filo albo pro magno altari* et septem de bustyan pro aliis altaribus et decem albæ de bustyan.
Item habentur duo *albi* panni de secta Quadragesimali ad cooperiendas duas magnas cruces, crucem viz. in corpore ecclesiæ, et juxta orologium.
Amundesham's *Annales Mon. S. Albani.*, R.S. ii. 359.

1417. EXETER, ST. KERRIAN.
j velum linthium pro alta cruce tempore Quadragesimali.
j velum Quadragesimali, cum fune.
Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of Edmund Stafford* (Bishop of Exeter), 483.

Temp. Henry VI. (? 1426-27) SELBORNE PRIORY, HANTS. (Black Canons).
Inprimis xxii amitæ . xxxi. aubes viz. v. sine parura pro quadragesima . xxii manicul.
Item xxii stolæ. Item viii. casulæ viz. iij *albæ* pro quadragesima. White, *History of Selborne*, 463.

1429. ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY, HERTS. (Benedictine).
Altar of St. Lawrence:
Item duo panniculi *albi* cum Quinque Plagis Christi desuper staynati pro coopertura ymaginum Sanctorum Laurentii et Grimbaldi tempore Quadragesimali.
Amundesham's *Annales Mon. S. Albani.*, R.S. i. 450.

1431. LONDON, ST. PETER CHEAP.
A long list headed *Vestes Quadragesimales* including:
j veile steynede wt j crosse of rede for lent in the quere.
iij clothes steynede of the same suyte *above the hy auter* and j clothe of the same befor the auter wt ij ridelles of the same suyte.
ij clothes of the same suyte wt crosses wt ij ridels for the auter of our lady.
ij clothes of the same suyte wt ij ridels for the auter of Sant Dunston.
j clothe of rede lyynge befor the hy auter.
iiij vestyments of *white* of oone suyte for lente wt stoles & fanons of the same.
Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc. xxiv. 158.

Temp. Henry VI. BRIDGEWATER, ST. KATHERINE'S AISLE, SOMERSET.
A per of vestiments of Bustyan for lent tyme.
A cloth to sett before Seynt Katryn in the lent time.
ij steyned clothes to stond bifor the Tablement in ye lent tyme.
Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc. vii. 102.

1432. BRISTOL, ST. NICHOLAS.
Item viij clotf of *wyzht* wt crucyfyx for leynt for iiij awters. *MS. Inventory*, Bristol, St. Nicholas.

1434. SCARBOROUGH ST. MARY, YORKS.
Duo *alba* vestimenta pro quadragesima.
Quatuor cortina *alba* de panno lineo pro ozmento altaris tempore quadragesimæ. *Archaeologia*, li. 66.

1440. SOMERBY, LINCOLNSHIRE (*ex dono* Sir Thomas Cumberworth).
A vestment of *white* demyt for lenten and vigils, etc.
All the array for Lenton for the altar both over dose and nether dose with curtines and fronturs all of *lynnen cloth*. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 182, 183.

1446. DURHAM CATHEDRAL CHURCH (Benedictine).
Duo Panni *albi* pro Quadragesima cum Crucibus rubeis superconsutis.
Wills and Inventories, i. (Surtees Soc. 2) 91.

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[1] Thomas de la Mare, abbot of St. Albans, 1349-96, "Contulit insuper ecclesiæ, pro tempore Quadragesimali, unum apparatum *de panno lineo circa magnum altare* et alia altaria ecclesiæ, cum crucibus de rubio sindone consutis decem libris pro eodem persolutis. *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani.*, R.S. 330.

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1447. THAME, OXON.
A clothe of *blewe* card to cu're the ymages in lent w^t ij custos. of the same.
Lee, *Hist. & Antiqs. of Thame church*, col. 35.

1448. THAME, OXON.
It' a *white* weyle for the Croce in lent tyme . and ano^r *white* weyle to be hangyng in the chauncell befor the hy aut^r in lentyn tyme.
A chesebyll off *white* w^t an albe for lent. *Ibid.*, col. 33.

1453. KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
iij chesibles of bustian th' orfrez of raied riban of threed iij aubes iij amites with parours stoles & phanons accordyng to the same. viij aulter clothz of lynen cloth with reed cros^z iij pair curteyns & j vail of the same j painted cloth to hange tofore the Crucifix ij baners of the same with figures of the passion for Lenton.
iij dalmatiques of *reed* with aubes amytes stoles & phanons & iiij aubes for childre with parours accordyng to the same, for lenton.. *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 311, 313.

1454. WILL OF WILLIAM HALIFAX OF NOTTINGHAM.
Lego j. steyned cloth of *white & blew* that is writyn on *Soli Deo Honor et gloria* to Seynt Mary auter (in St. Mary's church, Nottingham) to hynge in tyme of Lenten before ye auter.
Test. Ebor. ii. (Surtees Soc. 30) 172.

1454. BRISTOL, ST. EWEN.
A pair of *white* vestments for Lent that is to say one white chasuble, alb. etc.
ye veyl, otherwise called ye lent cloth, of *white* lynen cloth, with a cros of blue & ye lyne therto.
Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii. 250.

c. 1462. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH (Lady Hungerford's chantry).
Among the Foundress' gifts:
Item, Two Autar cloths for Lenten time, of *Linnen cloth;* with crosses of Purple in every cloth, & a Crown of Thornes hanging upon the head of every cross; with a frontel to the same of *blak* Bokeram between, with Letters of gold, saying *Qui cognoscis occulta cordis, parce peccatis nostris*, & a Chesibil, with all the apparel to the same belonging.
Item, Two Curtains of *Linnen Cloth*, to cover the Images with in the Lent, of elle-broad Cloth; two leves of bredth, and three yards of length.
Item, An Hanging of *Linnen Cloth*, to cover the Pictures of the chappel in Lent time, round about from the one Arch to the other. Dugdale, *Baronage*, iii. 208.

Ante 1462. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.
Item 3. Vestimenta *alba* pro XL. 2 frontalia 2 suffrontalia 1 frontellum cum 3 curteyns *de tartarano albo.*
Item 1 Velum de serico et 1 *de panno lineo* 1 descloth cum rubea cruce pro XL.
Item 7 frontalia 7 suffrontalia cum rubea cruce pro XL *de panno lineo* pro septem Altaribus, 1 pannus pro Cruce. Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 263 *et seq.*

1466. LONDON, ST. STEPHEN COLEMAN STREET.
j hole sute of vestments of *whyte bustyan for sondayes in tyme of lent* w^t Rede Roses enbraudet, w^t stoles etc. of the same sute.
j vestment of *white* sylke in tyme of lent, w^t stolle, etc.
j vestment of *whyte* fustyan for lent w^t stolle, etc.
Hanging ffor the *hy auter* Item ij steyned clothes for a boue and beneth w^t the passion of oure lorde for tyme of lent.
(Three other altars were similarly provided.) *Archaeologia*, l. 38 *et seq.*

1467-8. LAUNCESTON, CORNWALL.
In the accounts:
"*Blewe* bokeram for the layent clothe" Peters, *Hist. of Launceston*, 149.

1470. LONDON, ST. MARGARET PATTENS.
Itm for the same (*high*) *awter* a ffronte & a nether fronte. of *whyte* for lent.
Itm for the same awter (of our Lady) a ffronte and a nether ffronte *whyte* for lent w^t ij curteyns.
(For St. Johns Altar) a ffronte and a countre ffront of *whyte* w^t rede crosses for lent
Itm for the same awter (St. Mary Magdelene's) a nother ffronte and a nether ffronte steyned w^t ij curteyns for lent of *white*. w^t rede crosses.
Itm a Cloth of whyte and blew called a vayll for lent. *Archaeological Journal*, xlii. 317, 319.

1473. SANDWICH, ST. MARY, KENT.
A chesebyll of *whyte* for lent *to the high autre*, with ij paire of pannis for that and for a dekyn.
Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 375.

1479. COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT.
Vestimenta cotidiana:
Item vestimentum *album* pro Quadragesima.
Item velum *lineum* pro Quadragesima cum panno pro Crucifixo.
Item ij. panni de *albo* serico cum bina cruce de rubeo pro Quadragesima.
Ornamenta pro altare sanctæ Mariæ:
Item vestimentum *album* de serico pro Quadragesima.
Item aliud vestimentum *album* pro cotidianis in tempore Quadragesimali.
Item ij. panni serici *albi* pro altari picti cum ymaginibus de passione Christi cum ij. ridellis sericis pro Quadragesima.
Ornamenta pro altare sanctæ Trinitatis:
Item vestimentum *album* pro Quadragesima.
Item ij panni *linei albi* picti cum passione Christi cum ij. ridellis pertinentibus eidem pro Quadragesima. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 240, 241.

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1479-86. London, St. Margaret Pattens.

a vestement of *white* Bokeram. for to serve for lenton . . . w^{t} red spottes & a redcrosse on the bake & Jhs writt' in the myddes of the same crosse.

ij newe awter clothes ffor Lenton on above the awter w^{t} the cruciffixe of our lord & a nod^{r} beneyth the awter w^{t} the Sepulcur of our lord. *Archæological Journal*, xlii. 321.

1480. Hadleigh, Suffolk.

Item ye Vesm^{t} of *white* Busturn for Lenton.

Item 2 altar cloaths for Lenton with 2 curtains. *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Archæology*, iii. 257, 258.

1483. London, St. Christopher le Stocks.

Lente Clothes:

Item *for the high Aulter* ij clothes of *whyte* stayned with the Sonne uppon them and a Crosse with Scorges upon the other.

Item ij Clothes for the postellys Aucter steyned with the Crosse and Scorges to hange on aboue and the other before the Aucter.

Item ther beth for ij Aucters of the Same Sewte both for a boue and beneth.

Item there beth iiij Clothes of the Same Sewte that s've for Riddelys in the Quere in the lentyn Season.

Item iij Symple vestements of *whyte* bustian & the Orpharies of Red velvet to serve in the lente Season. Freshfield, *Minutes of Vestry Meetings of St. Christopher Le Stocks*, 68.

1485. Langley priory, Leicestershire (Benedictine nuns).

Lentyn clothes.

j complete vestiment of *white* sewde warke.

j aulter cloth ande vale of ye same.

j *white* and ij *blew* clothys to kever and auter ye ymages in lenten seysyn.

ij curten for ye quere.

xviij pesys of *lynyne* to kever ye ymages with in ye same sesyne.

Associated Societies' Reports, xi. 203.

1485. Canterbury St. Andrew, Kent.

Item j autercloth *for the High Auter* tempore xlme with the crucifix payntid and ij curteyns *rayd with whyte and blyw.*

Item ij auterclodes for the ij syde auters tempore xlme with j curteyn for the same.

Item j *lynnyncloth* to hang afore the cross in the forechirche tempore xlme. *Arch. Cant.* xvii. 151.

1485. Southwark, St. Margaret, Surrey.

It' iij *whyte* frontelles with Rede crosses for Lente seson.

It' ij steyned clothes for lente seson with ye passyon *for ye hey auter.*

It' a festement of *wyght* fostyan for lent.

1491. Jarrow Priory, Durham. (A cell of Durham.)

. . . . de *alba* fustian pro tempore quadragesimali.

Inventories, etc., of Jarrow & Monkwearmouth (Surtees Soc. 29.), 125.

1495. Lynn, St. Nicholas' chapel, Norfolk.

An olde vestment *white* for lentin. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 122.

1495. Magdalen college, Oxford.

Item aliam sectam *rubeam* pro Dominicis in tempore Quadragesimali.

Item duo frontalia et duo dorsalia *alba*, unum de serico *albo*, aliud de fuschen in tempore Quadragesimali *pro summo altari.*

Item unum dorsale et unum frontale de *sangwein* tewke *pro summo altari* et pro Dominicis Quadragesima. *Harl. MS.* 4240.

1498. Bassingbourne, Cambs.

A vestment of *wyght* fustion for lenten.

j veyle off lynyn *wyght and Blewe.* *The East Anglian*, iv. 63, 64.

c. 1500. York minster.

Pro summo altari. Duæ peciæ de *albo* panno lineo cum cruce rubea pro quadragesima et duabus curtinis.

Panni pendentes pro choro. Unus pannus del bokeram coloris *blodii* pro coopertura Sancti Petri in quadragesima.

[Unus pannus de bokeram, coloris *blodii*, pro coopertura ymaginis B.M.]

York Fabric Rolls (Surtees Soc. 35), 227.

1500. Canterbury, St. Dunstan, Kent.

A *whyte* vestment off fustyan w^{t} awbe and paramits for lent.

xxxiij newer lenteyn clothes; j w^{t} curteyns for the aulters and imagies of dyvers pyctories of the passion of Cryste. *Gent. Mag.* 1837, ii. 570, 571.

1500. Will of Henry Aleyn, of Beverley, priest.

Volo quod comparetur j vestimentum *album* operis Quadragesimalis ad deservien'am ecclesiam parochialem de Rudstan, cui olim præfui vicarius singulis temporibus Quadragesimalibus.

Test. Ebor. iv. (Surtees Soc. 53) 178.

1503. Reading, St. Laurence, Berks.

An aulter clothe staynyd w^{t} an ymage of o^{r} lady of Pyte and ij angels and a nother w^{t} the sepulchre and ij angells *for the hy awlter* in lent. Kerry, *Hist. of St. Laurence's, Reading*, 111.

1503, 1517, & 1523. Reading, St. Laurence, Berks.

A *white* Chesible w^{t} a red Crosse and all apparell for lent.

ij awter cloths w^{t} red crosses for lent w^{t} curteyns to the same. Kerry, 105, 107.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.

3 panni *blodii* cum rosis albis et armis Domini Johannis de G(randissono) pro frontispicio magni altaris tempore Quadragesimali cooperiendo de dono ejusdem

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1 larga casula, usitata *in Dominicis* Adventus et Quadragesimæ de *purpull*, operata per totum opere acuali cum magnis bestiis aureis in circulis aureis, etc., cum stricto aureo orfrey in pectore.

Panni quadragesimales:

Duo panni, vocati le Lent Cloth, unius sortis cum scriptura in summitate *Querite Dominum dum*, etc.

1 pannus lineus stayned cum cruce et aliis signis de Passione Domini pro cruce cooperienda in choro.

1 pannus stragulatus cum magna rubea cruce per medium operatus cum leopardis glauci coloris pro magna cruce cooperienda.

Capella beatæ Mariæ:

1 front. *rubea* cum ymaginibus quondam aureis cum tuello de canvas annexo pro tempore Quadragesimali.

Altare sancti Gabrielis:

1 pannus de *blodio* bokeram pendens per anulos pro le front cooperiendo tempore Quadragesimali.

Altare sancti Johannis Evangelistæ:

1 pannus de *nigro* bokeram pro Quadragesima cum Jesus in medio.

Altare Bratton:

1 pannus de *blodio et albo palyd* ad cooperiendum le front altaris tempore Quadragesimæ.

Oliver, 328, 344, 352, 354, 357, 358, 362.

1509. Will of lady Margaret Beaufort.

Among other bequests to Christ's College, Cambridge:

Item ij aulter clothes for lenten of *white saten* with pagentes of the pacion in white and blake.

Cooper, *Memoir of Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby*, 131.

1549. London, Hatherley's chantry, Queenhithe.

A vestyment of *whight bustyan* for lent. P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Gds.*, $\frac{4}{1}\frac{4}{47}$.

1520-1. York minster. Chantry of SS. Agatha, Lucy, & Scholastica.

Vestimentum *album* pro xl^{a} de fustian cum capsa et corporale. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 276.

1524-5. Reading, St. Laurence, Berks.

Altar of Our Lady:

An awlter cloth of *lynnen* w^{t} ij curteyns to the same w^{t} rede crosse for lente.

A *white* vestement of fustien for lent. Kerry, *Hist. of St. Laurence's Reading*, 35, 36.

1529. Long Melford, Suffolk.

To the high altar:

One (altar cloth) for Lent with whips and with angels.

To Jesus altar—a Cloth for Lent, painted about with whips and Angels.

A Cloth of Adam and Eve, to draw before the High Altar in time of Lent called the Veil.

Neale & Le Keux, *Churches in Great Britain*, vol. ii.

1533. Lindisfarne priory, Holy Island. (A cell to Durham.)

One veil for the quire in Lent of *blacke* silk. Raine, *North Durham*, 125.

1534. Huntingfield, Suffolk.

A *whytt* fustyn vestmentt for lentt.

1534. Dunmow priory, Essex (Black canons).

A vestement of *whyte* ffustian for Lente. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* NS. i. 139.

c. 1535. Fountains abbey, Yorks (Cistercian).

j *white* westiment for Lent.

iiij payntid clothis for Lent. *Memorials of Fountains* i. (Surtees Soc. 42.) 291. 292.

1535. Minster, Isle of Sheppey, Kent (Benedictine nuns).

Item upon the *high Aulter* iiij alter clothes of *lynyn* one front for above and a nother for byneth of lynyn with crosses red and blew for the Lent.

Item one greate lent clothe of *lynyn* to draw overthwart the quyer in the lent.

Item a vestement w^{t} the albe and apparell of *white* bustyan for lent.

P.R.O., *Chapter House Book*, A$\frac{3}{12}$.

1536. Lincoln cathedral church.

Among the *Casulæ et Copæ nigri coloris:*

A chesable of *yellow* silk with an orphrey small with a crucifix of gold in red upon the back and two tunacles with three albes and the whole apparel with two copes of the same suit and colour for Lent.

Among the *Panni de serico pro summo altari:*

Item a double cloth *white & red* for Lent with a plain altar cloth with a frontlet of the same suit.

Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 1285, 1286.

1536. Waburn priory, Norfolk (Black Canons).

A *white* vestment of ffustyan for lent. P.R.O., *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Gds.* $\frac{10}{32}$

1536. Kilburn priory, Middlesex (Benedictine nuns).

A cope of *white* w^{t} roses for Lent season. *Mon. Angl.* iii. 425.

1536. Ouston priory, Leicestershire (Black canons).

A vestment of *whyte* ffustyan ffor Lent y^{e} crosse of silke. Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*. i. cxxxvii.

1537. Stanlaw abbey, Cheshire (Cistercian).

On other olde vestement to serve for lent *checked* without an albe.

On olde hangyng for lent to hange before the alter. P.R.O., *Exch. Q.R. Misc., Church Goods*, $\frac{10}{35}$.

1538. Salisbury, Black Friars.

iij sengeill vestmentes for lent fustian.

a gret meny of clotheis for lent.

a grit clothe to hange before y^{e} rode. *Wilts Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.* xii. 361.

1538. Salisbury, Grey Friars.

iiij sengeill vestments for Lent, y^{e}j *yelawe*. *Ibid.* xii. 362.

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1538. CAMBRIDGE, WHITE FRIARS.
A single vestimente of *whyte* bustian for lente. Searle, *Hist. of Queen's College, Cambridge*, 227.

1538. WORCESTER, BLACK FRIARS.
To the High Altar:
a dyaper clothe with j clothe with a rede crosse on it for Lent. *Reliquary*, xx. 29.

1539. ELY CATHEDRAL CHURCH (Benedictine).
In the Ladie Chaple Chamber:
A vestment called the Lent vestment.
Certeyn linnen clothes for the Lent. *Gent. Mag.* 1783, i. 438.

1539. PETERBOROUGH ABBEY, NORTHANTS (Benedictine).
In the farmery chapel:
One vestment of *white* fustian for Lent. Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 63.

1539. LUDLOW PRIORY, SALOP (White Friars).
It' a chesabull and ij decones of *whyte* nedell work for lent and albes to y^e same.
P.R.O. *Chapter House Book*, $A\frac{3}{17}$.

1539. ST. OSYTH'S PRIORY, ESSEX (Black canons).
A sute of Lenten vestments. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, v. 60.

Circa 1540. ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.
Itm a vayle of *red and whit* s^r cenet for lent.
Itm iij garmentes w^t albes vestiment deacon and subdeacon of *whit bustian* for lent.
Itm one alter hangyng an vpper and anether of *whit lynyn* clothe stayned for lent.
Item iiij alter hangynges ij vpper & anether for the ij alters in the body of the churche of *whit lynyn clothe* stayned for lent w^t iij curtens of the same.
Item a vestiment w^t an albe of *white ffustean* for lent. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 369, 370.

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
Lent Stuff.
A Travers of *grene* sylk.
A *yellowe* awter clothe with the iiij Evaungelysts.
A steynyd clothe to cover the sepulchre with the Trinite and ij clothes for Peter and Paul.
A gret clothe paynted for the crucifix over the highe awter.
ij drawyng *perpull* curteyns for the vayle afore the highe awter.
a staynyd clothe ffor the Crokyd Rood.
Lent Stuffs.
A frontell with an awter clothe benethe reyd (rayed) lackeyng ij curteyns.
A *white* clothe of sylk with a red crosse servyng for Lent.
iij chezabulls of *whyte* one sute & a cope.
ij *white* sydaryes.
In Seynt Edwardes Chappell.
A nether frounte of *white* sarsenett with a redde crosse for Lent.
St. Nicholas' chapel.
ij auter clothis for Lent of *whit* sarsenett with a rede crosse.
St. John Evangelist's chapel.
ij Cortens of *blew* bokeram for Lent.
j *whit* cloth for the auter in Lent.
St. Michael's chapel.
A cloth of *blew* bokeram for Lent.
ij *whit* clothes of staynid cloth for Lent for the auter above and beneth.
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc., iv. 327, 328, 345, 350, 353, 354.

1541. CHAPEL OF THE VYNE, HANTS.
An altar cloth and a fronte, *white* Damaske, with red roses, for Lent.
vii *lynen* altar cloths, with redd roses, for Lent.
(The only other altar cloths in the chapel were one richly embroidered with gold for the upper part of the altar, and a pair for above and beneath of crimson velvet and cloth of gold paned.) Chute, *History of the Vyne in Hampshire*.

1543. YORK MINSTER.
All Saints chantry.
Another vestment for Lent, of *white* fustian, w^t a read crosse & all things.
St. Wilfrid's chantry.
A Lent cloth of *blacke & tawne* sarsenet. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 275, 305.

1544-5. OXFORD, ST FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY (Black Canons).
A veall of new *whitt sercenet* for Lentt.
Hangings *for the highe alter*, for aboue and benethe, of new *whit* sercenett wth redd crosses, called alterclothes for Lentt. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii. 167.

1545. POOLE, ST. JAMES, DORSET.
It' for the lent tyme iij awter clothys to honge aboue and beneth of playne cloth furnyshyd wth crossys of the same cloth.
It' a uayle to be hongyd vppon ye lent afor ye hye awter. Sydenham, *Hist. of Poole*, 313.

1545-6. LONDON, ST. KATHARINE'S HOSPITAL NEAR THE TOWER.
A vestment for lent of *white* fustian. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 244.

1546. LONDON, ST. PETER CORNHILL.
A vestment of *whyte bustian* for lent w^t a black crosse and blew garters w^t all the apparell.
Among "the apparell of *the high awter*":
An awter clothe of *whyte* for lent w^t crosses of red w^t ij curtens of *whyte lynnen*.
P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Goods*, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$.

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1547. Ornaments of "The Vestry" of king Edward VI., late Henry VIII.'s.
Lenton Stuff:
Item oon preist Deacon and Subdeacon of *white Damaske* wth redd Crosses.
Item twoo ffrontes for an Aulter of the same *white Damaske* with like redd Crosses.
Item twoo vestmentes for side Aulters of *white Damaske* with redd Crosses.
Item foure ffrontes for side Aulters of the same *white Damaske* with redd crosses.
Item twoo Deskeclothes one of *white vellat* and thother *white Damaske* with redd Crosses in them.
Item one vaill of *white Sarcennet* with a redd crosse of Sarcennet.
Item one small pece of *white Sarcennet* wth a redd Crosse painted with five woundes.
Soc. Antiq. Lond., M.S. cxxix. ff. 466b, 467.

1548. Westminster, St. Margaret.
A vestment of *whyte* buckram for Lente. Walcott, *Hist. of St. Margaret's Westminster*, 70.

1548. Salisbury cathedral church.
Lord Hungerford's chantry chapel:
A vestment of sarsnett for Lent with an hangynge to the same.
Robert Hungerford's chantry chapel:
A *white* vestment of lynnyn for Lent with two frounters for the same.
Wilts Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag. xxii. 322, 323.

1548. London, St. Margaret Coleman Street.
Solde to Christopher Stowbbs a *whyt* lenten vestment for ijs. viijd.
P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Goods*, $\frac{1}{1}$-$\frac{4}{47}$.

1548. London, St. Olave Upwell.
A curtayene of *grene & red* saye to draw ov'whart the quere.
P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Gds.* $\frac{1}{1}$-$\frac{4}{47}$.

1548-9. London, St. Bartholomew Bread Street.
An alter clothe of *white tuke* of aboue and benethe for lent.
A vestmentt of *blacke* satten of Bridges for lentt.
P.R.O. *Excheq. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Goods*, $\frac{1}{1}$-$\frac{4}{47}$.

c. 1550. Wingham college, Kent.
j vestyment of *redd* with a crosse of blewe worsted used in Lente.
j vayle for Lent with ij lenten aulter clothes with Jesus and a mother with Christ. *Sacristy*, i. 376.

Temp. Edward VI. York Minster.
A *blewe* vestement with two dalmaticks for Lent. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 312.

1550. London, St. Dunstan in the East.
Vestments for Lent:
Itm ij of *whyte* Bustyn w^t^ Red Crosses w^t^ fflower delyce at the end w^t^ thapp^r^tennce.
Itm another of *whyte* Bustyn w^t^ a Red Crosse of Seye in the mydds w^t^ thapp^r^tennce.
Itm another of *whyte* Lynnyn w^t^ a Red Crosse & fflowers delyce at the ende w^t^ thapp^r^tennce.
Hangyngs for Lent:
Itm one of *whyte* Bustyn for aboue and beneth *for the highe Aulter* w^t^ Curtyns of the same w^t^ Red crossis.
Itm one of *whyte* Lynnyn for aboue and beneth for Jhus Aulter w^t^ Curtyns of the same.
Itm a Hangyng for aboue and Beneth of stayned Cloth for o^r^ Lady Aulter w^t^ Curtyns of ye same.
Itm ij Hangyngs of *whyte* Bustyn for ij small Aulters w^t^ thre Curtyns of the same.
P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc. Ch. Gds.*

1550. London, St. Augustine next Pauls gate.
Item ij passion banners of *whyte* Sarsenet. *Ibid.*

1552. London, St. Alban within 'Crepulgate.'
Itm a vestment of *whight* for lent. *Ibid.*

1552. London, St. Edmund Lombard Street.
Dyvers auter clothes of canvas painted for lent & other ceasons.
P.R.O. *Exch. Q. R. Misc., Ch. Goods*, $\frac{1}{1}$-$\frac{4}{47}$,

1552. London, St. Anne & St. Agnes.
A nold vestment of *whyte strypyd* & a aube for lent.
viij Curtens of lynnyn Cloth paynted for lent. *Ibid.*

1552. Shrewsbury, Holy Cross.
A vestyment of *whyte* fostyan with a blake crosse of velvett. *Archæological Journal*, xii. 270.

1552. Shrewsbury, St. Chad.
A *whyte* vestment for lent. *Ib.* 271.

1552. Shrewsbury, St. Mary.
A sute of vesmentes of *whit* bustion for lente. *Ib.* 271.

1552. Bexley, Kent.
on vestment of *white* tuke for lent with all thapparell to the same. *Arch. Cant.* viii. 108.

1552. Lewisham, Kent.
j vestment of *red* velvett for the Lent.
one sute of lenten clothes of *white* spotted with redd. *Ib.* ix. 279, 280.

1552. Erith, Kent.
ij clothes of *lynnen* to hange before *thighe alter* in Lent.
A vaile of lynnen cloth for lente of *white & blewe.* *Ib.* viii. 150.

1552. Shadokherst, Kent.
A *white* lent cloth. *Ib.* xi. 410.

1552. Boxford, Berks.
A lent vayle before the highe aulter *w^t^ paynes blewe and white.* Money, *Church Goods in Berks*, 6.

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1552. London, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.
A vestment of *white* for Lent.
Eight Altar Cloths of *white* with drops of blood for Lent. *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 124, 125.
1552. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Item a vestment of *redde* silke for lente wt two tunycles to the same. *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 208.
1552. Droitwich, St. Andrew, Worcestershire.
v vestments of *lenten whyte*. *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. 318.
1552. Send, Surrey.
One *white* vestiment for Lent with thappurtenances. Tyssen-Amherst, *Church Goods of Surrey*, 30.
1552. Farnham, Surrey.
a clothe of *lynnen* called a vale clothe.
j Lent vestement and ij cortyns of *lynnen* and ij hanginges for the aulter for Lent of *lynnyn*. *Ib.* 29.
1552. Frensham, Surrey.
j *white* Lent clothe. *Ib.* 30.
1552. Farley, Surrey.
A Lent clothe of canvas steyned with blew and red spottes. *Ib.* 57.
1552. Bermondsey, St. Mary Magdalene, Surrey.
A vestement of *whyte* bustean for Lent & all thynges to the same. *Ib.* 97.
1552. Northcave and Southcliff, Yorks.
A vestment of *whyt* twill for Lent. *Reliquary*, xiii. 163.
1552. Yattendon, Berks.
A Clothe called A vayle clothe of *lynnene* & lyned wt blewe lynene wch was wonte to be drawene before the heyghe Alter in the lente time. Money, *Church Goods in Berks.* 47.
1560. Chelmsford, Essex.
A lent clothe of *lynnen* for ye hygh alter paynted with drops.
A vayle clothe for Lent. *Trans. of Essex Archæol. Society*, ii. 216.
1566 (8 Eliz.) Bodmin, Cornwall.
Toe lent clothes for ye commyon table. Maclean, *History of Trigg Minor*, i. 341.

It will be noticed, in going through the above entries, that a few cases occur where other colours than white were used in lent, *e.g.*: In 1388, at Westminster abbey—a frontal for the high altar "de panno de bawdekyn coloris *de tawny*" with a frontlet; and in 1453, at King's college, Cambridge, in addition to three complete suits of white, were "iij dalmatiques of *reed*," etc.

In 1495, at Magdalen college, Oxford, besides the two white frontals already noticed, was a red suit for Sundays in Lent time, and a dorsal and frontal of blood-coloured tewke (*de sangwein tewke*) for the high altar on Sundays in Lent.

In 1506, in the cathedral church of Exeter, were blue cloths for the high altar, a large purple chasuble for Sundays in Lent and Advent, and cloths for covering the fronts of various altars of red, blue, black, and black and white paled. Possibly these latter were Lenten veils.

In the 1536 inventory of Lincoln, among the *Casulæ et Capæ nigri coloris* are a chasuble, two tunicles, three albes, etc., and 2 copes for Lent of yellow silk. A "*yellowe* awter clothe with the iiij Evangelists," also occurs amongst the "Lent Stüff" at Westminster at the Suppression, although most of the altars had also white frontals and vestments.

In 1548-9, at St. Bartholomew Bread Street, London, besides an altar cloth of white tuke, there was also "a vestmentt of blacke satten of Bridges for lentt."

Red occurs as a Lent vestment at Wingham, Kent, c. 1550, and at St. Paul's in 1552. At York Minster, besides numerous white ornaments, we find *temp.* Edward VI. "a blewe vestement with two dalmaticks for Lent"; and at Lewisham, Kent, in 1552, there was a "vestment of red velvett for the Lent" as well as "one sute of lenten clothes of white spotted with redd."

The red ornaments were probably used for the last fortnight in Lent.

With respect to other Lenten stuff, the Lenten veil seems usually to have been of white and blue, paned or striped, though white, blue, and black alone are found. At Westminster, in 1388, the lenten veil was of yellow and blue silk, but in 1540 there were "ij drawing perpull curteyns for the vayle afore the high awter." Other colours are:

c. 1540. St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster.
A vayle of *red and white* sarcenet for lent.
c. 1543. York minster—St. Wilfrid's chantry.
A Lent clothe of *blacke and tawne* sarsenet.
1547-8. London, St. Olave Jewry.
A curtayne of *green and red* saye to draw ov' whart the quere.

The cloths for covering the images were frequently blue, or blue and white; while the veil that hid the cross, or "cross-cloth" as it was often called, was usually green or red, especially in Herts, Kent, and other southern counties. The following are a few entries of cross-cloths from the Kent inventories:

1552. Ashford.
One crosse clothe of *grene* silke.
1552 Ash.
One crosse clothe of *red* silk.

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1552. Beckenham.
ij clothes for the crosse thone of *grene* sarcenett thother of paynted cloth.
1552. Bethersden.
A crosse clothe of sarcenat with ye pyctor of our Ladye and Aungells thereon.
1552. Bexley.
ij cloths for the Crosse, one of *red* sarcenett, thother of *grene* silke.
1552. Brabourne.
A crosse cloth of *red* silk & another of *Russett.*
1552. Chislehurst.
j pece of *red* velvett for the crosse on Good Frydaye.

The Lent vestments, hangings and clothes, were by no means always plain; they are described as spotted with red and blue, with drops of blood, with red crosses, with the five wounds, or the sacred monogram. Others were more ornate still; thus, lady Margaret Beaufort bequeaths, in 1509, to Christ's college, Cambridge, "ij aulter clothes for lenten of white saten with pagentes of the pacion in white and black;" and at Long Melford, Suffolk, in 1529, there were altar cloths painted "with whips and angels," and "a Cloth of Adam and Eve to draw before the High Altar in time of Lent called the Veil."

The materials of the Lent ornaments, too, were certainly not always mean or common. Thus, the Lent veil at Salisbury, in 1222, was of silk, and lady Clare, in 1355, bequeathed vestments of white tartaryn and samite for Lent to Clare Hall, Cambridge; the frontal of the high altar at Westminster, in 1388, was of tawny bawdekyn; and at Cobham, in 1479, the high altar ornaments were silk, while the side altars had linen. Still, the general rule seems to have been to use plain stuffs like bustian, linen, fustian or canvas, and most of the ornaments of these materials so often met with in inventories were almost certainly for Lent, though not always so described.

The colour for Passiontide, according to the Sarum, Wells, Lichfield, and Westminster rules, was red. The inventories also give the same:

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 casula cum 2 tuniculis de *rubio* satino deserviens a Passione Domini usque ad Pascha. Oliver, 337.
1539. Peterborough abbey.
27 *red* albes for Passion week (i.e. with red apparels). Gunton, *Hist. of the Church of Peterborough*, 59.

For Palm Sunday the rules prescribe red at Sarum, Wells, Lichfield, and Westminster, but white at York. The following are the only entries I have found in the inventories:

c. 1257. Durham cathedral church.
Capella Nicholai (de Farnham) episcopi.
Una casula de *rubeo* samette cum largis orariis et multis magnis lapidibus preciosis, in qua celebratur in Die Palmarum. *Wills & Inventories*, i. (Surtees Soc. 2) 5.
1315. Christchurch monastery, Canterbury.
Pannus *niger* cum albis leonibus pro festo palmarum.
Dart, *Hist. and Antiquities of the cath. ch. of Canterbury*, Appx. xvi.
1506. Exeter cathedral church.
6 albæ de cressecloth sine paruris deservientes pro Dominica in Ramis Palmarum.
10 amictæ de eodem panno pro eodem die. Oliver, 340.
c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A cope a chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn* bawdekyn . . . . . serving for *Palme Sonday* and Sherthursdaye and Seynt Andrew's Day.
A cope and iij chezabulls of *purpull satten* servyng for Good Fryday ffor *Palme Sonday*.
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc. iv. 329, 332.
1552. Moulsford, Berks.
A canabe for palmesondaye of *grene & Red* satene of burgyes wyth A sylke frynge.
Money, *Church Goods of Berkshire*, 29.

The Maundy Thursday colour was white or red according to the rules; but only the Westminster inventories have any entries relating to it:

1388. Westminster abbey.
j tunica *stragulata* per se *de pluribus coloribus* pro lectione ad collacionem tempore mandati in die Cenæ Domini. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* v. 431.
c. 1540. A cope a chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn* bawdekyn . . . . serving for Palme Sonday and *Sherthursdaye* and Seynt Andrew's Day. *Ibid.* iv. 329.

The colour for Good Friday, according to the sequences, varies from red, through purple and violet to black. The majority of the entries from the inventories give red or purple; but at Exeter we find black, and at Meaux, a Cistercian abbey, and at Bodmin, Cornwall, so late as 1566 (8 Eliz.), white for Good Friday:

1396. Meaux abbey, Yorks.
Casula una de *albo* serico pro die Parascevæ cum 2 stolis et 3 manipulis.
Chronica de Melsa, R.S. iii. lxxxi.

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1432. Bristol, St. Nicholas.
j *rede* chysypull for gode fryday. *MS. Inventory*, Bristol, St. Nicholas.
1466. London, St. Stephen Coleman St.
j *purpyll* chesebyll for gode fryday. *Archaeologia*, l. 38.
1485. Southwark, St. Margaret, Surrey.
A chesebull of *Rede* for good fryday.
1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 casula de *nigro* serico pro Die Paraschive cum 1 orfry quasi rubii coloris cum crucifixo pendente in viridi cruce, ex dono Johannis de Grandissono. Oliver, 344.
1517 & 1523. Reading, St. Lawrence, Berks.
A *Red* Chesible wt narrow crosse and all apparell for good ffriday.
Kerry, *Hist. of St. Lawrence's Reading*, 105.
1536. Lincoln cathedral church.
A chesable with two tunacles of *red* for Good Friday. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1282.
1537. Bishop's Stortford, St. Michael, Essex.
A *rede* vestment for good fryday. Glasscock's *Records*, 126.
c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A cope and iij chezabulls of *purpull* satten servyng for Good Fryday (&) ffor Palme Sonday.
iij cópes of *purpull* satten servyng for Good Frydaye [Headed "Red Coopes."]
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc., iv. 332.
1548. Westminster, St. Margaret.
A vestment of *purpyll* satten, beynge for Good Fryday. Walcott, *Hist. of St. Margaret's Westminster*, 69.
c. 1552. York minster.
One vestment of changeable taffety for Good Friday. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 311.
1566. (8 Eliz.) Bodmin, Cornwall.
One *whyte* vestment of satyn & more toe copes used on good fryday.
Maclean, *History of Trigg Minor*, i. 341.

For Easter Even the sequences give red at Wells, violet at Exeter, and white at St. Paul's. At Westminster we find:

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A tunycle of *red* satten for the Skons berar on Easter Evyn.
ij other tunycles of divers colors oon to hallowe the Pascall and the other for hym that bereth the Dragon on Easter Evyn.
ij *grene* copes of bawdkyn servyng for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost.
Trans. Lond. and Middx. Arch. Soc. iv., 332, 334.

The colour for Eastertide is usually assumed to be white, and so it is by the rules of Salisbury, Exeter, Lichfield, and St. Paul's; at Westminster and Wells, however, the rules prescribe red, though white was used at the latter church on Low Sunday.

The only entries I have met with referring to Eastertide are these:

1402. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Duo vexilla processionalia pro tempore Paschali de panno serico *viridis* coloris auripictæ . . . . et unum aliud vexillum . . . *viridis* coloris.
Item unum vexillum de serico *viridis* coloris pro magna cruce tempore paschali cum ymaginibus petri et pauli auripectis in eadem. *Archaeologia*, l. 505, 516.

For Ascensiontide white is universally prescribed. But at Thame, Oxon, in 1448, there was:

A sute off *grene* and *Black*, wt White hundys and Chapletys of gold and Egylles of the Same. that ys to say A cope wt all the apparell for prest Deken & Subdekyn wt a clothe to keep hem to syrve for holy thorsday and Trynyte Sonday. Lee, *Hist. of St. Mary's Thame*, 30.

With regard to the Whitsuntide colour, the Westminster inventory of *circa* 1540, has:

ij *grene* copes of bawdkyn servyng for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost.
Trans. Lond. and Middx. Arch. Soc., iv. 334.

For Pentecost itself the rules prescribe red at Wells, Exeter, and London; red or yellow or green at Westminster; and white at Salisbury and Lichfield.

At Thame, Oxon, in 1448, was:

A sute of *blew* imbrowyd Wt gold wt Antlopp & byrdes of gold the Orffrayes wt crocknys and sterres of gold. That ys to say ij copes wt all the Aparell ffor Prest Dekyn and Subdekyn . . . . . the which by assent off the Parysh syrvyth for Witsonday. Lee, 30.

And in 1329 abbot John Wygmore gave to his abbey of Gloucester, among other vestments, one

de *viridi* samyt cum volucribus deauratis pro festo Pentecostes quam propriis manibus texuit et fecit.
Hist. Mon. S. Petri Gloue., R.S. i. 45.

While in 1368 John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, bequeathed to his cathedral church, *inter alia:*

Vestimenta pro diebus Epiphanie, Pentecostes, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, viz. Casulam, tunicam et dalmaticam cum una capa *de pannis rubeis et aureis* qui vocatur de Nakta.
Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc. i. 85.

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The colour for Trinity Sunday appears to have been very variable. The rules order red at Wells, green or white at Exeter, and white at St. Paul's and Canterbury, while it was optional at Lichfield. The only item afforded by the inventories is:

1448. THAME, OXON.
A sute off *grene & Black*, etc., to syrve for holy thorsday and Trynyte Sonday. Lee, 30.

For Corpus Christi four sequences give the colour, viz., red at Wells, red and white at Exeter, and white at London and Canterbury. The inventories show that blue and green were also found:

1473. SANDWICH, ST. MARY.
A palle of *blewe* bawdekyn of Venise gold for Corpus Christi. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 376.

c. 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
iij Copys a chezabull ij tunycles, etc., of fyne bawdkyn and the orpherys being of blewe velvett with swanys and this letter A of perle for Corpus Xpi day. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 329.

1552. CANTERBURY, EASTBRIDGE HOSPITAL, KENT.
A vestment called Corpus Christi vestment with the apparell, of *grene* saten with a crosse of red saten. *Arch. Cant.*, viii., 125.

We must now pass on to the consideration of the Sunday colour.

I have seen it stated many times, and I believe many people hold, that the only Sunday colours in England were white and red. By "Sundays," I presume is meant those from Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from Trinity to Advent.

The sequences are by no means uniform; at Wells, Westminster, and Salisbury, red was prescribed; at Exeter and St. Paul's, green; and at Lichfield the colour was *pro voluntate sacristæ*.

The variety of the inventories is interesting:

c. 1345. DURHAM CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Capella Ricardi Byry episcopi.
j pannum longum de *rubea* camica cum vinea et literis intextis; ex quo facta sunt quatuor vestimenta et j casula; ex quibus unum ad magnum altare pro Dominicis cum duabus tunicis et ij capis et iiij albis. *Wills and Inventories*, i. (Surtees Soc. 2) 26.

1360 & 1364. YORK MINSTER, Chantry of St. Mary.
Una casula *alba* de serico cum stola, fanona, amita de eodem colore cum paruris et spaniers de aliis diversibus coloribus, cum alba pro Dominicis diebus. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 295.

1378. YORK MINSTER, chantry of SS. Paulinus & Chad.
Unum vestimentum de *ynde* (blue) camaka pro Dominicis diebus et aliis festis minoribus. *Ibid.* 300.

1394. FARNE ISLAND, NORTHUMBERLAND (a cell of Durham).
A vestment for Sundays of *cloth of gold* embroidered with birds. Raine's *North Durham*, 347.

1396. MEAUX ABBEY, YORK (Cistercian).
Casula una *aurei operis* pro Dominicis diebus cum duabus tunicis ejusdem sectæ. *Chronica de Melsa*, R.S. iii. lxxxi.

1409. WILL OF WILLIAM KYRKEBY, CLERK.
To St. Mary's altar in Kirkby church.
aliud *nigrum* vestimentum pro dominicalibus. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 128.

1431. LONDON, ST. PETER CHEAP.
Item j vestymente of *blew* bawdakyne wroghte w^t white grenehoundes for j preste Dekyn and sudekyne for sondaies with ij stoles j fanon and j cope of the same lakkynge ij fanons.
Item j olde cope of *rede clothe golde* w^t orfeis of gren clothe of golde for sondaies. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.* xxiv. 155, 156.

1432. BRISTOL, ST. NICHOLAS.
j cope & j chyssypull & ij tyncellys of rede for ye Sunday. *MS. Inventory*, Bristol, St. Nicholas.

1434. SCARBOROUGH, ST. MARY, YORKS.
Vestimentum integrum *de rubeo stragulatum* pro dominicis cum una capa ejusdem sectæ. *Archaeologia*, li. 66.

1466. LONDON, ST. STEPHEN COLEMAN STREET.
j olde *yollowe* cope w^t *grene strypis* for sondayes. *Archaeologia*, l. 33.

1479. COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT.
Item iii. capæ, j casula, ij tunicæ, etc. etc., de panno serico *viridi* pro dominicis diebus. Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.* 240.

1480. JARROW PRIORY, DURHAM. (A cell of Durham).
j vestimentum stragulatum *viridis* coloris cum alba, stola et manipula pro Dominicis. *Inventories, etc. of Jarrow & Monkwearmouth* (Surtees Soc. 29), 122.

1485. CANTERBURY, ST. ANDREW, KENT.
Item j vestemente olde of *redde* callid the Sunday vestment and a cope to the same. *Arch. Cant.* xvii. 150.

1495. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.
Item unum frontale et unum dorsale *de ly panys rubeis et albis* pro Dominicis diebus pro summo altari. *Harl. MS.* 4240.

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1495. Will of Cecily, duchess of York.
twoo copes of *crymysyn clothe of gold* that servith for Sondays.
Wills from Doctors' Commons. (Camd. Soc.) 4.

1498. Bassingbourne, Cambs.
iij Vestymentes for Sondays & other duble festes. The first off ye iij off *wyghte* silk Strayled with grene sylke. The secunde off *Rede* sylk wroughte w^t lyons & swannes in golde. The thirde of velewet wroughte in *Chekir* w^t a rede crosse & broydryd w^t Crownys off golde.
East Anglian, iv. 63.

1500. Canterbury, St. Dunstan, Kent.
A vestment, off *gren*, for sonndays, w^t a robe & paramits. *Gent. Mag.* 1837, part ii. 570.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
Headed *Vestiarium quotidianum, inter alia:*
1 vetus capa cum ymaginibus et scriptura per dorsum, et 1 capa *de panno aureo* cum volucribus, etc., pro dominicis per estatem ad matutinas. Oliver, 339.

1527. Derby, All Saints.
One *Redde* sute called the sonday sewte. Cox & Hope, *Chronicles*, 171.

1527. Wing, Bucks.
Thre course vestmeynts, one for evry Sondey, and two for evry worke day.
Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn. xliv. 53.

1529. Long Melford, Suffolk.
A vestment of cloth of Bawdkin with birds, called the Sunday vestment.
Neale & Le Keux, *Churches in Great Britain*, ii.

1534. Huntingfield, Suffolk.
A vestmentt off *motley* ffor the sondaye.

Circa 1540-50. Lynn, St. Margaret, St. Leonard's chapel.
A vestment of *blue* satten for Sundays. Taylor, *Antiqs. of King's Lynn*, 120.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A chezabull ij tunycles iiij albes ij stolls iij phanams and a cope of course *crymsyn* satten enbrotheryd with lyons of gold servyng for Sondays. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 331.

1552. Shrewsbury, St. Chad.
a sute of vestmentes of sylcke, for sondayes.
ij *grene* copes, the one callyd the Sonday cope. *Arch. Jour.* xii. 271.

We thus get as Sunday colours white, black, blue, red, green, and yellow, etc., to which may be added cloth of gold.

With regard to the Ferial and Cotidian colours, I should like the opinion of others as to the days on which they were used.

It will be seen, from the following entries, that many of the early inventories give white as the ferial colour. Another common colour, also, was red. Other colours found are blue, green, yellow, and black, with various combinations of stripes, panes, etc. I shall refer later on to a possible explanation of the variety of ferial colours used.

1220. Sunning, Berks.
1 par (vestimentorum) cotidianum cum casula de fuscotinto. *Reg. S. Osmund.* R.S. i. 275.

1245. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Casula qua deservitur in feriis ad altare beatæ Mariæ est *de dyaspero* cum vili aurifrigio.
Archaeologia, l. 484.

1297. Pelham Furneaux, Herts.
Vestimentum feriale cum paruris et casula de pallo stola et manipula de *rubeo* sameto.
MS. WD 16, *penes Dec. et Cap. S. Pauli*, f. 51*b*.

1297. Aldbury, Herts.
Frontale feriale de panno *lineo*. *Ibid.* f. 53*a*.

1354?. Hulne priory, Northumberland (White Friars).
unus pannus *niger* ad cooperiendum altare cotidie.
duo vestimenta sacerdotalia cotidiana unius sectæ per totum, exceptis casulis, una est *de panno aureo* avibus minutis intexta. Altera de panno cerico *nigro* viridibus avibus intexta.
unum vestimentum sacerdotale pro retro altare pro diebus festis valde honestum de *India* samita et alterum de fustiano pro ferialibus. Item alterum vestimentum ejusdem sectæ pro alio retro altare. *Harl. MS.* 3897.

1360. York Minster. St. Katharine's chantry.
Unum vestimentum feriale antiquum cum casula *alba*. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 292.

1384. Windsor, St. George's chapel, Berks.
Unum vestimentum pro ferialibus diebus *album* de camoca cum casula, etc., etc.
Item unum vestimentum quotidianum . . . . . Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 1363.

1388. Westminster abbey.
Casella est de *blodio* velvetto cum viij tasellis rubei cerici cum panno corporale etiam cotidianum.
Trans. Lond. & Middlx. Arch. Soc. v. 433.

1396. Meaux abbey, Yorks. (Cistercian)
Casula una aurei operis pro diebus ferialibus cum tribus albis ejusdem sectæ.
Chronica de Melsa, R.S. iii. xxx.

1402. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
vij Capæ antiquæ usuales et quasi cotidianæ *albi* coloris.
xv Capæ antiquæ usuales et quasi cotidianæ *rubei* coloris. *Archaeologia*, l. 566.

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1408. Jarrow priory, Durham (A cell of Durham).
Unum *album* vestimentum pro diebus ferialibus.
Inventories, etc. of Jarrow & Monkwearmouth (Surtees Soc. 29), 80.

1409. Will of William Kyrkeby, clerk.
To St. Mary's altar in Kirkby church:
unum *rubeum* vestimentum pro ferialibus. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 128.

Temp. Henry IV. (1399-1413). St. Alban's abbey Herts.
Apparatus Altarium:
Inter alia: Item habetur cotidianus apparatus de panno serico *stragulato de auro* cum duobus ridellis et blueto corde.
Cotidianus apparatus pro minoribus altaribus:
Item, pro altari Sancti Michaelis habetur cotidianus apparatus de *blueto* panno stragulato vocatus bordalisaundre cum duobus ridellis. . . . . .
Item unus apparatus pro altaribus Sancti Edmundi et Sancti Petri de *nigro* bokeram tensellato cum stellis et floribus de auro.
Item unus apparatus pro altare Sanctæ Mariæ Quatuor Cereorum de *blueto* card tensellatus cum stellis [et] cressentis de auro . . . . . .
Item unum frontel pro eodem altari de *viridi* panno serico cum vinea intexta in eodem.
Item unus apparatus pro altari Annunciationis Sanctæ Mariæ de panno vocato carde deputatus cum coronis.
Item unus apparatus pro altari Sancti Hugonis de card consutus cum rosis de *albo* panno.
Item unus apparatus pro altari Sancti Amphibali in quo depingitur historia ejusdem Passionis.
Item quinque casulæ et septem albæ de *blueto* panno vocato worstede . . . . pro prædictis altaribus.
Item unum frontel de *nigro* panno cum ramusculis rosarum de auro pro magno altari ut supra dictum est in aliis tribus frontellis de eadem secta pro altaribus antedictis.
Amundesham's *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani*, R.S. ii. 357, 358.

1420?. York minster. Chantry of St. Mary.
Unum vestimentum cum serico *albo*, cum ij tuellis pro diebus ferialibus.
York Fabric Rolls (Surtees Soc. 35), 296.

1422-3. Will of Roger Whelpdale, bishop of Carlisle.
Vestimentum meum cotidianum de baudkyn *glauco*, cum pannis pro altari supra et ante de eadem secta. *Test. Ebor.* iii. (Surtees Soc. 45). 67.

1434. Scarborough, St. Mary, Yorks.
Unum vestimentum simplex pro diebus ferialibus. *Archaeologia*, li. 66.

1434-5. Will of John Gilby, rector of Kneesall, Notts.
Among other bequests to Kneesall church:
unum vestimentum *viride* pro æstate. *Test. Ebor.* ii. (Surtees Soc. 30), 51.

1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire.
Ex dono Sir Thomas Cumberworth.
A vestment of *white* fustian with black mertletes, etc. for ferial daies.
Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 182.

1446. Coldingham priory (a cell of Durham).
Una casula *rubea* cum alba pro ferialibus. *Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Soc. 12), lxxxiii.

1453. King's college, Cambridge.
Item vj ferial aulterclothes of *grene* tartren rayed & iij pair corteyns of grene tartren the wheche were delyvered Rosky for to be occupied in seint Johnes chirch.
(added) Item ferial vestimentes v of *grene* dymysoy with orfreyez reed. *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 313.

c. 1462. Salisbury cathedral church. Lady Hungerford's chantry.
Among gifts of the foundress:
Item Two autar clothes of *red & green* Baudekyn for Ferial days, with a Frontell of *white & blew* Baudekyn, and a vestment with all the Apparel according to the same.
Dugdale, *Baronage*, iii. 208.

Temp. Henry VI. Bridgwater, St. Katherine's aisle, Somerset.
a per of vestiments for eu'y day chekered. *Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.* vii. 102.

1466. Derby, All Saints.
A *Rede* Cope for worke dayes. Cox & Hope, *Chronicles*, 158.

1466. London, St. Stephen Coleman Street.
j vestement of *yollowe* sylke wt a grene crose for feryalle dayes wt stole etc.
a vestement for feryalle dayes old cloth of golde wt lyonis wt aube etc. *Archaeologia*, l. 38.

1470. Bristol, St. John Baptist.
ij apparels for the altar that is to say one of the ground of *white* for work dayes another of the ground of *blue* for holi days. Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol Past & Present*, ii. 151.

c. 1473. St. Catharine's hall, Cambridge.
A *green* set of vestments for week days of bustian. *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 4th Rpt. 422.

1474. Lichfield cathedral church.
Among the gifts of Thomas Heywode, dean, to the altar of Jesus and St. Anne:
Unum (vestimentum sacerdotalis) *viride* de Bawdekyn pro ferialibus diebus.
MS. 9. penes Dec. & Cap. Lich. ii. f 27.

1479. Cobham college, Kent.
Vestimenta Cotidiana:
Inprimis iiij capæ, cum integro vestimento de serico stragulato, etc.
Item vestimentum integrum de serico *viridi* cum griphinibus.

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Item vestimentum integrum de *yelow.*
Item iiij capæ de *rubeo* sago cum integro vestimento ejusdem extra j. alba.
Item vestimentum integrum *purpurei* coloris sine tunicis cum parures alterius sectæ.
Item vestimentum integrum *album* pro diebus ferialibus.

Altar of St. Mary:
Item Vestimentum de *viridi* pro cotidianis.
Item duo ridelli de *rubeo* pro cotidianis cum frontello veteri pertinente eidem.

Altar of the Holy Trinity:
Item vestimentum de bordir. alexand. pro cotidianis.
Item ij ridelli *rubei* cum frontello *rubeo* pro cotidianis. Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.* 240, 241.

1498. Bassingbourne, Cambs.
iiij vestymentes for feriall dayes the first of ye iiij of Gren Sylk w^t a blak crosse broydryd in the crosse w^t braunches of golde: the ij^de of Rede Sylk w^t a crosse of Grene: the iij^de a Gren w^t a crosse of Rede. The iiij^th of wyght fustion for lenten.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 fronta *viridis* coloris cum armis Johannis de Grandissono in medio ejusdem, pro ferialibus diebus. Oliver, 336.

Panni pendentes in choro:
Duo panni *glaucii et rubii* coloris, operati in textura ad modum Dammask, cum armis Edmundi Lacy annexis eisdem, ad tabulam sedilium longitudinem retro Canonicorum et Vicariorum dorsa estivo tempore tegendam.
Duo alii panni ex dono ejusdem, de tapstre *viridis* coloris cum floribus pro tempore hiemali. Oliver, 330.

Vestiarium quotidianum:
8 chasubles, with 8 pairs of tunicles 15 copes & 16 albes; the chasubles tunicles and copes all *red*, the apparels of the albes, etc. red, green, blue, purple, etc.

Also
1 silk cope called "le abbets cope."
1 old cope and 1 cope of *gold cloth* "pro dominicis per estatem ad matutinas." Oliver, 338, 339.

1526. Inventory of Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond.
Among the "Chapelle Stuff."
Item, iij. severall Vestimentes complete, of *blewe* damask, for the ferialle dayes wherof j. at Tonges. *Camden Miscellany* iii. pt. iv. 14.

1527. Wing, Bucks.
Thre course vestmeynts, one for evry Sonday, and too for evry worke day. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.* xliv. 53.

1527. Derby, All Saints.
To the High altar:
An olde sewte called the Warkedaye sewte / a chesable / ij tinacles / iij albes / w^t stoles & fanappes to them.
To St. Nicholas altar:
one *whyte* workedaye vestmente w^t one albe & Amysse. Cox & Hope, *Chronicles*, 171, 172.

1529. Long Melford, Suffolk.
At the High Altar, one simple Altar Cloth hanging before the said Altar, for every day. Neale & Le Keux, *Churches in Great Britain*, ii.

Temp. Henry VIII. Durham cathedral church.
At either end of the high altar "was a wande of iron fastened in the wall, wheron did hang curtaines or hanginges of *white* silk dayly."
"The dayly ornaments that were hunge both before the Altar, and above, were of *red* velvett, wrought with great flowers of gold in imbroydered worke, with many goodly pictures besides, being verye finely gilted." *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc. 15), 6.

1536. Lincoln cathedral church.
A chesable of *red* silk plain with two tunacles without albes for ferial days. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1282.

1539. Bodmin, Cornwall.
A peire of vestyments of *yelowe* sylke for feryall dayes. *Jour. Royal Instn. Cornwall*, vii. 120.

1539. Peterborough abbey, Northants.
Four albes called Ferial *White.*
Four albes called Ferial *Black.* Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 59.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A sacrament clothe of *red* sarcenet for every day.
A chezabull of *grene* dyapur bawdkyn with a crosse of gold with oon albe, etc. servyng at the Highe Awter *when the Quire dothe fery*
a payr of Curttyns of *crymsyn* tartarne for cotidyans. *Trans. Lond. & Middlx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 327, 332, 342.

Circa 1540-50. Lynn, St. Margaret, St. Leonard's chapel, Norfolk.
A vestment of *white* for every day. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 120.

1545. Hadleigh, Suffolk.
It' an old Vestm^t of *red* Velvet y^t is occupied every day. *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archæology*, iii. 265.

1536. Bileigh abbey, Essex.
An old Suyt of vestmentes of old bawdkine for everye day. P.R.O. *Exch. Q.R. Misc., Church Goods.* $\frac{12}{13}$.

1548. Mere, Wilts.
A *blewe* vestment for every daye. *Wilts Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.* xxii. 325.

1552. Guildford, Holy Trinity, Surrey.
A littell *blew* vestyment ffor every daye. Tyssen-Amherst, 28.

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1552. SOUTHWARK, ST. SAVIOUR, SURREY.
Workday Vestmentes.
Item a vestment of *red* damaske with an albe.
Item a vestment of *red* velvyt with a grene crosse.
Item a vestment of *blewe* velvyt with x. and l. and his albe.
Item a vestment of *redde* velvyt brawdered with mones and sterres.
Item a vestement of *redd* bawdekyn with a lyane of golde. Tyssen-Amherst, 82.

1552. WINDSOR, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.
Item ij peeces of *Read* baudkin for hanging of the quier in sommer. *Archaeologia*, xlii. 80.

The colour for feasts of our Lady, and of Virgins not martyrs, was universally white, according to both rules and inventories. The only exceptions are at Lichfield (1345), where a cope of red samite with two striped tunicles were used for the commemoration of St. Mary and St. Chad; at Thame, Oxon (1448), where a frontal of blue and green bawdekyn, and blue ridells, were used "for the v dayes off our lady"; at Magdalen college, Oxford (1495), where both white and black were used; and at the Cistercian abbey of Meaux (1396), which had a vestment *aerii coloris, i.e.*, blue, for virgins.

The following entries from the inventories refer to feasts of our Lady:

1222. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Pannus unus de serico *albo* diaspero cum pannis ij. super . . altaribus ejusdem generis in festivitate beatæ Mariæ. *Reg. S. Osmund.* R.S. ii. 131.

1345. LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
j capam de *rubeo* samito et duæ tunicæ de taffata palleata ex transverso pro commemoratione beatæ mariæ et sancti Ceddæ.
Tres capæ de *albo* samito pro commemoratione beatæ Mariæ virginis.
Trans. Derbyshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc. iv. 115, 116.

1384-5. WINDSOR, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, BERKS.
Item unum vestimentum *album* bonum de panno adaurato pro principalibus festis beatæ Mariæ cum casula, etc. etc.
Item unum vestimentum *album* de camoca pro commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, et tres capæ ejusdem coloris, etc. etc.
Item una casula, etc. etc. (colour not given) pro missis quotidianis beatæ Mariæ.
Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 1363.

1396. MEAUX ABBEY, YORKS (Cistercian).
Vestimentum unum *album* pro diebus sabbatorum, cum duabus tunicis.
Chronica de Melsa, R.S. iii. lxxxi.

1402. LONDON, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Item j pannus aureus *albi* coloris . . . . . deputatus pro frontali summi altaris in festis beatæ Mariæ, cum j parura longa pro eodem altari. *Archaeologia*, l. 508.

1407. WARWICK, ST. MARY'S COLLEGE.
A vestiment of *white* fustian for oure lady masse. which hathe an aube. an amyte. a chesible. a. stole. a fanon and a girdel. P.R.O. *Chartulary of Warwick college*, f. cciij.

1440. SOMERBY, LINCOLNSHIRE.
Item one vestment of *white* silke with a read orferay of cloth of gold, etc., for the feastes of o^r Ladie or for her virgins as far as for theere doble ffeastes y^t should be in white.
Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 182.

1448. THAME, OXON.
A frontell of *blew & grene* baudkyn w^t floures of white and Rede, etc., (with 2 ridles of *Blew*) to syrve for the v. dayes off our lady. Lee, *Hist. & Antiq. of St. Mary's Thame*, 30.

1458. WILL OF SIR THOMAS CHAWORTH, Knight.
Among gifts to Laund priory, Leicestershire:
An holl vestemente of *white* damask with iij copes of *white* damask . . . . . for to serve on our Lady dayes in lovyng and worshippyng of her. *Test. Ebor.* ii. (Surtees Soc. 30) 279.

1479. COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT.
Among the *vestimenta cotidiana:*
Vestimentum integrum *album* pro commemoratione sanctæ Mariæ. Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, 240.

1495. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.
Item duo vestimenta, unum de *albo*, et unum de *nigro* tewke, pro quotidianis missis Beatæ Mariæ
Harl. MS. 4240.

1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
1 casula cum 2 tuniculis de *albo* damasco pro commemoratione beatæ Mariæ.
3 albæ cum paruris *albis*, 3 amictis, 2 stolæ, et 2 fanones pro commemoratione sanctæ Mariæ.
Oliver, 337, 340.

c. 1540-50. LYNN, ST. MARGARET, St. Leonard's chapel, NORFOLK.
A vestment of *white* damask for ye ffeast of Our Lady. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 120.

Temp. Henry VIII. DURHAM CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
"The ornaments (of the High Altar) for the Principall Feast, which was the Assumption of our Lady, were all of *white* damaske, all besett with pearle and pretious stones, which made the ornaments more rich and gorgeous to behould." *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc. 15) 6.

The following entries refer to the colour for Virgins:

1396. MEAUX ABBEY, YORKS (Cistercian).
Vestimentum unum *aerii* (*i.e.*, blue) *coloris* pro virginibus. *Chronica de Melsa*, RS. iii. lxxxi.

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1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire.
Ex dono Sir Thomas Cumberworth.
Item 3 Westmentes one of *white* Worstede for lentyn & virgines.
Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 184.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 casula cum 2 tuniculis de *albo* damasco pro virginibus sine regimine chori. Oliver, 337.

According to eight English sequences the colour for Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs should be red. The entries in the inventories are not numerous under these headings; but in the main it will be seen they agree with the rules:

1245. London St. Paul's cathedral church.
Tunica *virgulata croceo et rubeo* quibus deservitur in festis Apostolorum. *Archaeologia*, l. 486.

1315. Canterbury, Christchurch monastery (Benedictine)
Pro martyris. Casulæ iij. Tunicæ iij. Dalmaticæ iij. Mantellæ ij. *rubeæ*. Dart, Appendix, viii.

1368. Will of John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter.
Lego eciam eidem Ecclesiæ (*i.e.* Exeter) vestimenta pro diebus Epiphanie, Pentecostes et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, viz. Casulam tunicam et dalmaticam cum una capa *de pannis rubeis et aureis* qui vocatur de nakta. *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* i. 85.

1388. Westminster abbey.
Albæ *rubeæ* pro Commemoratione Apostolorum viij. cum gallis aureis et floribus.
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc., v. 427.

1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire.
A vestment of *read* Woosted for Martyrs. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 182.

1448. Thame, Oxon.
A chesebyll the grond *rede* sylk w^t^ aube, etc. to syrve for Mydsomer day and other dayes of Apostles. Lee, 31.

c. 1500. York Minster.
Among the *Vestimenta Viridia:*
Una casula pro festo Reliquiarum absque albis. *York Fabric Rolls*, (Surtees Soc. 35) 234.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 casula cum duobus tuniculis et peruris pro presbitero *de viridi et rubeo velvete checky*, pro commemoratione Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.
1 casula cum duobus tuniculis de *rubio* panno aureo cum pavonibus blodiis in circulis, pro Martiribus.
1 casula per se de *purpureo* serico, propter vigiliam Apostolorum absque alio apparatu.
3 albe cum paruris *de panno aureo* cum volucribus et bestiis pro commemoratione beati Petri et Martirum, cum 1 stola, 1 fanone ejusdem panni, ac 1 stola cum signis ac M et W coronatis et 2 veteribus *rubeis* fanonibus. Oliver, 337, 340.

1538. Worcester, Black Friars.
A *red* cope for Marters. *Reliquary*, xx. 29.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys ij stollyes and iij phanams all garrnysshed with perlys which serve for the ij ffeasts of Saynte Peter.
A Cope a chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn* bawdekyn . . . . . serving for Palme Sonday, and Sherthursdaye and Seynt Andrew's Day.
iij copys of *purpille* bawdekyn with grene and whyte chevnys etc. the orpheus of blewe velvett . . . . with ij tunycles and a chezabull . . . . servyng for Seynt Laurence day.
A chezabull, etc. of bawdkyn losengyd with fflo^rs^ betwene servyng for Cathedra S^tl^ Petri.
A cope a chezabull etc. of *red and blewe* bawdekyn . . . . servyng for Seynt Albonys day.
A cope of *red* taffata a chezabull etc. . . . . ffor the Apostelles consuetts
iiij copys a chezabull ij tunycles v albys of *yellowe* servyng for the feaste of Seynt John Porte Latyn.
xxviij copes of nedyll work for Lammas Day of the whiche xxviij^d^ the grownd of v of them be all *gold* [Headed "*Red* coopes"].
An other albe of sylk with parells of *red* nedyll work etc. etc. servyng for the Chaunter at ye feasts of Seynt Peter. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 329, 330, 331, 332, 335.

1557. Lincoln cathedral church.
One cope used to be worn on St. Mark's day *paned with white red & black* silk, with a good orphrey. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1291.

It is possible that many of the parti-coloured, paned, striped, etc. vestments found in the inventories were used for feasts of apostles; cf. the entries quoted above under St. Paul's (1245), Exeter (1506), Lincoln (1557), and the bequest from Grandisson's will (1368).

The colours for Confessors, both in the rules and inventories, are yellow, blue, and green, many of the former giving a choice of two and even all three colours. The Lichfield sequence enjoins vestments, etc., *varii coloris*, whatever that may mean, the same being given for All Saints and the Nativity of St. John Baptist. A black suit for confessors was given to a Lincolnshire church (Somerby) in 1440.

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The following entries as to the colours for Confessors are found in the inventories :

1245. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Duæ tunicæ de *viridi* sameto veteres quibus deservitur in festis confessorum. *Archaeologia*, l. 486.

c. 1310. Durham cathedral church.
Capella Antonii (Bek) episcopi
(Vestimentum) de uno panno *indici coloris* (*i.e.*, blue) cum quo celebratur de Sancto Cuthberto in feriis ; et iiij capæ de eodem. *Wills & Inventories*, i. (Surtees Soc. 2) 13.

1315. Christchurch Monastery, Canterbury (Benedictine.)
Pro Confessoribus, Casulæ iij. Tunica j. Dalmatica j et Mantellæ ij de *viridi*.
Pannus *de viridi* et alius pannus *de croceo* ad magnum altare in quadragessimo pro confessoribus. Dart, Appendix, viii., xvi.

1388. Westminster Abbey.
Item una casula cum duabus tunicis *stragulatæ* quasi de una secta pro commemoratione sancti Edwardi.
Item una capa casula cum duabus tunicis de *nigro* panno de Samyt pro commemoratione sancti Benedicti assignatæ. *MS. Inventory, penes Dec. et Cap. Cantuar.*

1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire.
A vestment of *Black* wosted, etc. to sing in of requiem or of confessors. Peacock, 182.

1479. Cobham college, Kent.
Vestimentum *album* pro commemoratione sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ. Thorpe, *Reg. Roff*, 240.

1485. Southwark, St. Margaret, Surrey.
Item a chesebull of *Blew* felwett with a Red crosse of Baudekyn for synt Nicolas ys day.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 fronta etc. *glaucii et diversi* coloris pro festis Confessorum.
1 frontella ejusdem sectæ cum tuello annexo.
1 casula cum duobus tuniculis *glaucii* coloris sine albis, amictis, stolis, et fanulis, pro festis Confessorum 9 lectionum cum regimine chori.
1 casula per se *glaucii* coloris cum duabus tuniculis planis de serico ejusdem coloris pro confessoribus sine regimine chori. Oliver, 326, 337.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A cope and a chezabull, etc.. of fine *grene* bawdekyn . . . . servyng for Mary Maudeleyn's day.
ij copys a chezabull etc. of *blewe* bawdekyn . . . . whiche serve ffor som confessors in three copys.
A chezabull, etc. of *blew* satten with halfmonys and starys servyng for the Utas of Seynt Edward.
A cope a chezabull etc. *strakyd with yellowe and red* etc. servyng for seynt Edwards consuets.
On cope a chezabull etc. of darke chaungeable *grene* bawdkyn with blewe orpheus servyng for saynt Benets consuets.
Headed "*Blewe and grene Coopes.*"
iiij Copes of Turkey satten . . . . servyng for seynt Edwards translacon.
iij other copes on of them *yellow* caddas . . . ij other of *russet* satten . . . . whiche iij coopes serve at Highe Masse for the fyrst iij dayes wthin the utas of seynt Edwards translacon.
A long list of "Albys of *blewe* and other collors servyng for confessors." The apparels are of '*blew*,' '*tawny*,' '*grene*,' '*bryght grene*,' & '*crane collord*.'
viij other albys with parells of bawdekyn and nedyll worke together of dyvers collors servyng only for Saynte Dunstans daye.
A payr of Curtteyns of *grene* sarsenet for Seynt Edwards dayes.
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc., iv. 330, 331, 333, 337, 338, 342.

There are a large number of entries in the inventories giving the colours for principal, double, and other feasts. These are chiefly white and red, but green and blue also occur. Owing, however, to the great difference between the several classifications, it is by no means easy to assign the various colours, and it is, therefore, best to let the entries speak for themselves. The Sarum and Lincoln entries under date 1536 are valuable as showing that cloth of gold was used in those churches on principal feasts, and so give us the Salisbury and Lincoln colours for Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.

1222. Salisbury cathedral church.
Pannus unus lineus operatus serico ad pulpitum in festis novem lectionem. *Reg. S. Osmundi*, R.S. ii. 131.

1300 × 1320. Peterborough abbey, Northants
Vestimenta Godefridi abbatis :
De *rubeo* Samito j casulam, j capam cum iij tuniculis cum ymagine sancti Petri in dorso bene brudata ac clavibus et rosis aurifrigiatis tensalatis et unum frontale magnum cum mappa adjunctum et aliud strictum ejusdem panni et facturæ, quæ magno altari principalibus festis apponuntur.
Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores varii (London, 1727), 167.

1327. Exeter cathedral church.
3 cape chori *albe*, viz. 2 pro rectoribus et 1 pro sacerdote pro duplicibus festis. Oliver, 318.

1341. Jarrow priory (cell of Durham).
j vestimentum integrum pro festis principalibus cum dalmaticis tunicis et capis unius sectæ et coloris *Citrinæ*. *Inventories, etc., of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth* (Surtees Soc. 29), 26.

1354? Hulne priory, Northumberland (White Friars).
Pro festis totis duplicibus :
In primis unum vestimentum pro toto duplici. Casula est de uno panno aureo nodato avibus et leopardibus intexto. Dalmaticæ de uno bawdekyn alterius sectæ avibus intextæ. Stola manipulus sacerdotalis operis textrini cum scutis.
Item duæ pallæ cum uno frontello de velweto *rubio*.

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Duplicibus festis:

Casula de *rubea* samita cum duabus dalmiticis &c. duo palla cum frontello consuto armis et rosis.

Semi-duplicibus:

Casula et dalmaticæ unius sectæ de *viridi* samita stola manipulus sacerdotalis de *viridi* samita stragulata consutus gemmis. Amita sacerdotalis ornata gemmis et scutis dominorum. Item una palla sine frontello. Item pannus bonus operis Pariensis cum scutis dominorum pro frontello altaris, laneus tamen.

ix. lc. Casula cum dalmaticis de *rubeo* Syndone. *Harl. MS.*, 3897.

1360. York minster, Chantry of St. Katharine.

Unum vestimentum festivale cum casula *rubia* de samito. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 292.

1378. York minster, Chantry of SS. Paulinus & Chad.

Unum vestimentum pro festis duplicibus de *rubeo* sateyn pulverizato cum rosis albis de serico. *Ibid.*, 300.

1384-5. Windsor, St. George's chapel, Berks.

Duo costers panni magni de velvetto pro principalibus festis diebus *rubei et viridis coloris*, cum magnis imaginibus stantibus in tabernaculis, etc., etc. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1363.

1408. Jarrow priory (A cell of Durham).

una alba *rubea* pro principalibus. *Inventories, etc., of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth* (Surtees Soc. 29), 80.

1417. Exeter, St. Kerrian.

j *viride* frontellum stragulatum ad deserviendum magno altari in Duplicibus Festis.

ij penulas stregulatas viz. j *viridem* et alteram *rubiam* pro tuallis ad magnum altare pro Duplicibus Festis.

ij *virides* ridellas stragulatas ordinatas ad cornua magni altaris in Festis Principalibus.

j chalonem *de albo et blodio* mixtum cum animalibus ad deserviendum coram summo altari in diebus festivis.

j coopertarium (*sic*) *blodium mixtum cum croceo colore et albo* ad deserviendum coram summo altari in diebus festivis. Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of Edmund Stafford*, 482.

1431. London, St. Peter Cheap.

1 cope of *rede clothe of gold* for pryncypall daies wt conys. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.* xxiv. 156.

1434. Scarborough, St. Mary, Yorks.

Unum vestimentum de panno deaurato pro ix lectionibus et Commemoracionibus. *Archæologia*, li. 66.

1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire. Given by Sir Thomas Cumberworth.

For the highest feast in Holy Kyrke that should be ministered in *read* one whole vestment for Priest Deacon and Subdeacon with a cope thereto.

A whole vestment of *read* velvet with trayfoiles for priest etc. for all those feasts that are to be ministred in read next principall feastes.

One vestment *paled* of clothe of sylke for priest decon & subdecon, etc. for double feasts.

One vestment of *whole cloath of gold*, etc. for great doble feastes and principall ffeastes.

A vestment of baudekyn ye ground *black with grene Werk*, etc. for holy daies.

One vestment of *white silke* with a reade orferay of cloth of Gold for the feastes of or Ladie or for her virgins as far as for there doble ffeastes yt should be in white. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 181, 182.

1485. Southwark, St. Margaret, Surrey.

It' a steyned clothe for ye hey auter for ye hey days of ye lyff of Syn Margyt.

1495. Magdalen college, Oxford.

Item unum canopeum de *viridi* velvet pendendum super caput Domini Præsidentis in festis solennibus. *Harl. MS.* 4240.

1502. Will of dame Elizabeth Fitzwilliam.

Item lego togam meam de purpur' velvett fundam in vestimentum sacerdotale et volo ut detur illi altari quod est ante sepulchrum viri mei . . . . et lego eidem altari vestimentum sacerdotale de sercenet *blodii coloris*, quo utitur sacerdos in capella mea de Aldwark in festis principalibus. *Test. Ebor.* iv. (Surtees Soc. 53), 210.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.

1 fronta cum frontella cum tuello eidem annexo de manuali opere aureo unius sectæ cum ymagine beatæ Mariæ in medio dicti frontis ac diversis aliis ymaginibus, cum armis Johannis de Grandissono in utroque fine, pro summo altare in festis principalibus.

1 fronta de *blodio* satino operatum cum ymaginibus beatæ Katerinæ et Margaritæ cum auro et perlys et diversis stellis de auro pro festis majoribus.

1 frontella *de panno aureo* pro eadem fronta, operata cum diversis ymaginibus Agni Dei et armis prædicti Domini Johannis de Grandissono in utroque fine, cum tuello eidem annexo.

1 fronta de *rubro serico* operata cum bestiis et volucribus pro bestis cum regimine chori. Oliver, 325, 326.

1536. Lincoln cathedral church. (Also in 1557).

A costly *cloth of gold* for the high altar, for principal feasts, having in the midst images of the Trinity, of our Lady, etc., etc., having a frontlet of cloth of gold with scriptures and a linnen cloth infixed to the same, ex dono ducis Lancastriæ. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1285.

1536. Salisbury cathedral church.

A costly *cloth of gold* for the high altar for principal feasts with images of the Trinity, our Lady, the four Evangelists, the Patriarchs, and Prophets, with divers scriptures. Dodsworth, *Cath. Church of Salisbury*, 222.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.

The Vigyll ffrontal of *grene* cadas.

Another payr (of curtains) of *whyte tartayne* servyng ffor the inferior ffeasts. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 326, 342.

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Circa 1540-50. LYNN, ST. MARGARET, St Leonard's chapel, NORFOLK.
A vestment of *blue* velvitt for principall daies.
A vestment of *red* for double ffeasts. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 120.

1548. WESTMINSTER, ST. MARGARET.
A Suyte of Vestments of clothe of bawdkyn for doble feasts.
Walcott, *Hist. of St. Margaret's Westminster*, 69.

The colour for the Nativity of St. John Baptist was white at Westminster, St. Paul's, and Exeter, but blue (*indius*) at Wells, and *varius* at Lichfield. I have found no entries in the inventories.

For Michaelmas the Exeter, Lichfield, and Sarum rules give white, but at Wells, blue and white; and at Westminster, in practice, the colour was blue, as the following entries show:

c. 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
A fronte of *blewe* with angells for Mygelmas day.
iij copys of *blewe* Sarsenett a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys ij stolls and iij phanams all with Angells servyng for Myghelmas Day and one peyre of curteyns of *blewe* Sarcynett longyng to ye same.
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc. iv. 326, 330.

The All Saints' Day colours were red and white at both Exeter and Wells, white at St. Paul's, and *varius* at Lichfield. I have found no entries giving the colour for this festival in the inventories.

The colour for funerals, requiem mass, etc., is usually black, both by the rules and in the inventories. There are, however, some interesting variations according to the latter, which show that there was no such thing as uniformity. Thus, at St. Paul's, we have white. Thomas Bek, bishop of Lincoln, and John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, both bequeathed vestments of purple and violet, while a third bishop, William Wells of Rochester, left to his cathedral church a whole suit of green, *pro exequiis meis exequendis in eisdem*. Green, too, occurs at Meaux abbey in 1396. At St. Mary's, Scarborough, were two suits *pro exequiis mortuorum*, one of black, the other of blue. Blue is also found at Exeter, *propter tractus in obitubus*; at Durham; and at York "for funerall dayes." The Salisbury inventory of 1536 has also, among the *panni pro summo altari*, one of "*blue* velvet with ymages of souls coming out of purgatory on All Souls' Day," which, though it is not so stated, was doubtless for All Souls' Day or requiem mass.

The following entries are taken from the inventories, etc.:

1245. LONDON, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Capæ iiij^or *de pilo nigro*; planæ sunt, et deputantur ad obsequia mortuorum.
Vestimentum (*i.e.* a set) *de albo serico cum nigris paruris* deputatur ad mortuos.
Archaeologia, l. 477, 488.

1295. LONDON, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Item vestimentum *de albo* serico cum integris paruris deputatum ad mortuos.
Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's cath., London*, 321.

1315. CHRISTCHURCH MONASTERY, CANTERBURY (Benedictine).
Casula *nigra* solennis pro defunctis.
Pro defunctis, casulæ ij. Mantellæ ij. *nigræ*. Dart. Appendix, iv, viii.

1327. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
3 cape, et casula, tunica et dalmatica *purpurei coloris* de eadem ad utendum in Die Animarum (and on certain anniversaries). Oliver, 318.

1346. WILL OF THOMAS BEK, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.
Item do et lego ecclesiæ cathedrali Lincoln. vestimentum meum de *purpureo* velveto ad celebrandum pro mortuis in solempnibus exequiis, viz. capam, casulam cum duobus tuniculis.
Test. Ebor. i. (Surtees Soc. 4), 24.

1355. WILL OF ELIZABETH, LADY CLARE.
j vestiment de *noir* camoka *pur requiem* ove une chape et qantque au dit vestiment attient.
Reg. Islip. f. 165 *b*, and Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 31.

1368. WILL OF JOHN DE GRANDISSON, BISHOP OF EXETER.
Among his bequests to the cathedral church of Exeter:
Item casulam tunicam et dalmaticam cum capa de velveto *violacio* in exequiis meis et in obitu meo et aliorum insignium utendam. *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* i. 85.

1384-5. WINDSOR, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, BERKS.
Unum vestimentum *nigrum* pro vigiliis mortuorum, cum casula, etc. etc. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1363.

1396. MEAUX ABBEY, YORKS (Cistercian).
Vestimentum *nigrum* de serico pro mortuariis solempnibus cum tribus capis et aliis pertinentiis.
Casula una de *viridi* sindone, cum tribus albis et amitis ejusdem sectæ, pro mortuariis diebus ferialibus. *Chronica de Melsa*, R.S. iii. lxxx, lxxxi.

1407. WARWICK, COLLEGE OF ST. MARY.
An hole vestiment of *blue* for masse of requiem, etc.
Also an other vestiment *blak of cloth of gold* for requiem, etc.
P.R.O. *Chartulary of Warwick college*, f. ccij *b*.

1434. SCARBOROUGH, ST. MARY, YORKS.
Unum vestimentum integrum *de blodio* pro exequiis mortuorum cum una capa ejusdem sectæ.
Unum vestimentum integrum *de nigro*, etc., pro exequiis mortuorum *Archaeologia*, li. 66.

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1440. Somerby, Lincolnshire.
A vestment of *Black* wosted, etc., to sing in of requiem or of confessors.
Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 182.

1443. Will of William Wells, bishop of Rochester.
Item lego unum integrum apparatum vestimentum *de velveto viridi* et integrum continens unam casulam duos tuniculos duas capas cum amictubus stolis et aliis suis pertinentibus *pro exequiis meis exequendis in eisdem.* *Reg. Stafford.* f. 122 b.

1466. London, St. Stephen Coleman St.
ij hangynges for a boue and beneth of *blak* bokrame for mortuaris wt a crucifix of mary and John wt Jhus wryttyn in a wreth wt ij curtyns and j frontell of the same sute wryttyn ther uppon disce mori of the yefte of John crouton. *Archaeologia*, l. 40.

1475. Wycombe, Bucks.
A sewte of *blacke* for Requiem Mas. Parker, *History and Antiqs. of Wycombe*, 106.

1503, 1517, & 1523. Reading St. Lawrence, Berks.
Item a cope of *black* worsted for obitts. Kerry, *Hist. of St. Lawrence's Reading*, 104.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
4 capæ sericæ *blodii coloris* propter tractus in obitubus quasi unius sectæ.
5 capæ de serico *nigro* pro Exequiis et Missis Animarum.
1 casula *nigra* de Baudekyn cum tuniculis et orfreis de blodio panno aureo cum tribus albis cum toto apparatu pro omnibus obitubus ferialibus. Oliver, 336, 337.

1527. Derby, All Saints.
One *blak* vestemente for masse of requiem wt one albe & Amise to ye same. And to *blak* Rente tynacles. Cox and Hope, 171.

c. 1535. Fountains abbey, Yorks (Cistercian).
j *blak* (vestment) for defunctes. *Memorials of Fountains*, i. (Surtees Soc. 42), 291.

1536. Ouston priory, Leicestershire (Black Canons).
A coope *of variable color* wh. ys usyd sum tyme ffor the Masse of requyem.
A Requyem vestment ffor too ffests of *blak saye.* *Assoc. Societies' Reports*, x. 337.

1536. Salisbury cathedral church.
Among the *panni pro summo altari:*
Item, a *blue* velvet with ymages of souls coming out of purgatory on All Souls' Day. Dodsworth, 232.

1539. Ludlow priory, Salop (White Friars).
For requiem masse iij copys of *black* damaske. P.R.O. *Chapter House Bk.* A. 38/11

c. 1540. Westminster Abbey.
A narowe front of *black* satten of bryges with byrds for Requiem masses.
Another of *blak* satten with scoutchyns for Abbottes Dyryges.
A chezable ij tunacles of *black* ryght satten with ij stolles etc. to serve for ye cotidyan masse of Requiem at the Highe Aulter.
A pair of Curtteyns of *black* for dyrges. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv, 326, 334, 342.

c. 1541. Durham cathedral church.
j suyte of *blew* satten of requiem priest, with iiij copes, priest, deacon and subdeacon. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 248.

1552. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Two coopes of *blacke* tisshew for requiem.
On coope of *blacke* velvett for requiem.
Two tunicles of blacke clothe of tisshewe for requiem.
A faire vestment of blacke vellet for requiem wt two tunicles to the same. *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 200-202.

c. 1552. York minster.
Another vestment of *blew* with tunicles for funerall dayes. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 312.

The following miscellaneous entries are not devoid of interest:

1245. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.
Casula de panno *purpureo* rotato contexto leonibus cum minutis rotis croceis deputatur ad missam capitularem.
Casula *bendata rubeo et purpura* ponitur per annum ad Pascha super sepulchrum. *Archaeologia*, l. 484.

1316. Capella Ricardi Kellawe, episcopi Dunelm.
In die funeracionis ejus Thomas comes Lancastriæ optulit super corpus ejusdem iij pannos *rubeos* cum armis ejusdem; de quibus facta sunt vestimenta illa in quibus celebratur quando Conventus est in Albis. *Wills and Inventories*, i. (Surtees Soc. 2) 21.

1327. Exeter cathedral church.
Una capa et casula in qua idem Dominus episcopus (John de Grandieson) consecratus fuit, cum tunica et dalmatica ejusdem, coloris *albi.* Oliver, 319.

1384-5. Windsor, St. George's chapel, Berks.
Item unus pannus de panno adaurato palliatus *rubro et blodio* coloribus pro sepulchro Domini.
Item unus pannus de *blodio* serico radiato pouderato cum diversis avibus et floribus pro celetura sepulchri Domini. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1363, 1364.

1395. Bristol, All Saints.
ij steyned cloths for ye Sepulchr wt iiij Knyghtys and Mary Magdalen. Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii. 106.

1465. Derby, All Saints.
A chesable of *Rede* yt the syng Ihc masse In Cox & Hope, 156.

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1479. Cobham College, Kent.
j pannus *rubeus aureus* pro sepulchro.
j pannus *albus* de serico pro sepulchro cum frontello de nigro velvett.
j frontellus de *viridi* pro sepulchro. Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, 240.

1495. Will of Cecily, duchess of York.
A vestyment of *crymeson* satten for Jhus masse. *Wills from Doctors Commons* (Camd. Soc.) 3.

1506. Exeter cathedral church.
1 casula cum 2 tuniculis, quondam *viridis* coloris modo *glaucii* ex dono Johannis Grandissono, pro missis capitularibus.
1 casula de *blodio* serico cum 2 tuniculis pro missa *salus Populi*. Oliver, 337.

1536. March 27. Minster in Sheppey, Kent (Benedictine Nuns).
Upon Relyke Sonday there were worren vij copes, whereof one of *blewe* velvet borderyd with sterrys of gold." *Arch. Cant.*, 305.

c. 1540. Westminster, St. Stephen's chapel.
iij copis of course *blew* bawdkyn for the trinetie (Qy for Trinity Sunday or an image of the Trinity?) *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 368.

c. 1540. Westminster abbey.
A front of bawdekyn with greke letters for Relyke Sonday.
iiij copys a chezabull ij tunycles with v albys with oon stoll and iij phanams of bawdekyn haveyng in hit stripes of gold with Greke letters for Relyque Sonday.
A Cope and chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn* satten . . . . servyng for Holly Rood Day. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 326, 330.

1547. Ornaments of "The Vestry" of king Edward VI., late Henry VIII.'s.
Item oone olde clothe of *white* damaske to hange by the Sepulchre with three pilgrames enbrowdered with pellicans.
Among "Stuff late the duke of Norff':"
Item oone clothe for the sepulchre of *crimson* vellet embrodered wth Jhus & the picture of the resurreccon cont' iij peces.
Item three peces of *purple* vellet for the Sepulchre enbrodered w^t^ Rooses and flower de luces of playne clothe of golde conteyning x yardes di lyned w^t^ blewe Damaske fringed w^t^ A narrowe fringe of purple Silke. MS. Soc. Antiq. London, cxxix, ff. 466, 468*b*, 469.

I must now very briefly discuss the question of the diocesan colour-sequences.

Of the seventeen dioceses into which England was divided before 1540, the cathedral churches of nine had chapters of secular canons, seven had Benedictine chapters, and one had a chapter of canons regular.

Of the secular churches, more or less complete colour-sequences are known for Exeter, Lichfield, Lincoln, London (St. Paul's), Salisbury, and Wells. Fragments of the rules at Hereford and York may also be gathered from the service-books; but of the Chichester rule nothing has yet come to light.

The texts of the known sequences have already been given in full by Dr. Wickham Legg; I have, however, for convenience, given a translation of each, with the text as a foot-note, and also appended them in the form of a comparative table.

For six of the seven dioceses in which the cathedral churches had Benedictine chapters, viz., Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, as well as for Carlisle, where the chapter was one of canons regular, we have no sequences, and our knowledge of what colours were therein used is derived wholly from inventories. Of the case of Canterbury I shall speak further on. A fairly complete Benedictine sequence occurs in the case of Westminster abbey (1266), but this is for a church without a diocese.

So far as the inventories give any information it is difficult to say to what extent the Westminster sequence agreed with those in use in other Benedictine churches. In the main, such agreement appears to have existed, but the Sunday and ferial colours varied as widely as in the dioceses in which the cathedral churches had chapters of secular canons.

With regard to the use of Salisbury, there can, I think, be no question that whatever may be said in favour of the Sarum offices having been adopted before the Reformation throughout the province of Canterbury, the Sarum ceremonies, and of course the Sarum rule of colours, were confined to the diocese of Salisbury, the other dioceses using their own ceremonial rubrics and colour-sequences.

We have this on the very excellent authority of Clement Maydeston, who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and it is quite certain that he was more likely to know the truth than we who live in the nineteenth century, three hundred years after the cessation of Sarum and all other old English Uses. Dr. Legg has already most clearly stated the case in his paper,[1] but as it is systematically ignored by those who think that the rule of Salisbury was the only one in use throughout England, I have thought it well to recapitulate this evidence to the contrary.

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, i. 119.

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Maydeston's statement on the subject is set forth in the *Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum*, an important work of which Mr. Maskell has printed the full text of one of the earlier editions. The following is a literal translation of the passages bearing on the matter before us:[1]

It must be known that in the Sarum Ordinal are two kinds of rubrics. Some are general rubrics, which are put in the books to teach us how the antiphons and responds are to be said, and how the memorials are to be dealt with, and such rubrics as everyone in holy orders is bound to observe. Other rubrics are ceremonial, and they only bind the clerks of the church of Sarum and all those who have of choice bound themselves to keep such ceremonies; and none others, as shall be more clearly shown below.

Further on he adds:

I say positively that those things which are written in the custumal or consuetudinary of the church of Sarum concerning the dignity of feasts, the plurality of benedictions, the duration of ember days, the Lenten veil, the paschal candle, the having an (Easter) sepulchre are generally to be observed in all churches, and they cannot properly be omitted.

But the rest of the things which are written in it, viz., concerning *the diversity of vestments*, the having four rulers of the choir, making processions to altars, beginning the antiphons on the upper or lower step, singing the responds by threes or by twos, five or four ringings to evensong, pertain only to the clerks of the church of Sarum, and to all who by vow or oath have bound themselves to perform such.

This assertion is proved to be true by the case of the venerable men and fathers, the canons of the church of St. Paul, London, who observe the whole divine service in singing and reading according to the use of the church of Sarum. But caring nothing about the ceremonies and observances of the same, they keep the ancient observances used in the church of St. Paul from the very beginning.[2]

The earliest rule for the Sarum colours is that contained in the *De officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus*, or so-called Consuetudinary of St. Osmund, embodied in the Register called after him, which is still preserved at Salisbury. This rule prescribes that:

In Eastertide[3] the ministers of the altar at mass use white dalmatics and tunicles—the rulers of the choir in like manner (use) white copes—and on the Annunciation, and on the octaves of the blessed Mary, and within the octaves and on commemorations of the same, and on either feast of St. Michael, and on the feast of any virgin.

But they use red vestments on either feast of the Holy Cross, and on any feast of martyrs; and in singing the tracts on simple feasts in Lent, and on Passion Sunday, and on Palm Sunday, the rulers of the choir use red copes.[4]

The rule usually cited is, however, the somewhat fuller one found in the mass-book:

In Easter-tide, of whatever the mass is said (except on the Invention of the Holy Cross), let the ministers of the altar use *white* vestments at mass. In the same way let it be done on the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Mary, and on the Conception of the same, and in each feast of St. Michael, and in the feast of St. John the Apostle in Christmas week, and through the octaves and on the octaves of the Assumption and Nativity of the blessed Mary, and on commemorations of the same through the whole year, and through the octave and on the octave of the dedication of the church.

But let them use *red* vestments on all Sundays through the year out of Easter-tide, when the office is of the Sunday, and on Ash Wednesday and on Maundy Thursday, and on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on every feast of martyrs, apostles, and evangelists out of Easter-tide.

Moreover, on all feasts of one or more confessors, let them use vestments of *yellow* colour.[5]

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[1] Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 2nd Edition. ii. 350—365.

[2] Sciendum quod in ordinali Sarum. duæ sunt species rubricarum. Quædam sunt rubricæ generales, quæ ponuntus in libris ad instruendum qualiter antiphonæ et responsoria sunt dicenda, et quomodo memoriæ sunt habendæ, et taler rubricæ quilibet institutus infra sacros ordines tenetur observare. Sunt aliæ rubricæ cærimoniales, quæ solum obligant clericos ecclesiæ Sarum. et omnes illos qui se sponte obligaverunt ad tales cærimonias custodiendas et non alios ut inferius latius patebit.

* * * * * * * * *

Dico assertive quod illa quæ scribuntur in custumario seu consuetudinario ecclesiæ Sarum. de dignitate festorum, de pluralitate benedictionum, de termino quatuor temporum, de velo quadragesimali, de cereo paschali, de sepulchro habendo, sunt generaliter observanda in omnibus ecclesiis quæ non possunt de congrui omitti.

Cætera vero quæ in illo scribuntur, videlicet *de diversitate vestimentorum*, de iiij rectoribus chori habendis, de processionibus ad altaria faciendis, de antiphonis in superiori gradu vel inferiori incipiendis, de responsoriis a tribus vel duobus cantandis, de quinque vel quatuor pulsationibus ad vesperas solummodo pertinent ad clericos ecclesiæ Sarum. et ad omnes qui voto vel juramento se obligaverunt ad talia perficienda. Probatur ista assertio esse vera per venerabiles viros ac patres canonicos ecclesiæ sancti Pauli Londonensis, qui totum officium divinum in cantando et legendo observant secundum usum Sarum. ecclesiæ. Sed de cærimoniis vel observationibus ejusdem nihil curantes: sed custodiunt antiquas observantias in ecclesia sancti Pauli a primordio illic usitatas."—Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 2nd Edition, ii. 350, 359.

[3] Eastertide is the season from Easter Even to the first evensong of Trinity Sunday.

[4] In Paschali tempore utuntur ministri altaris ad missam dalmaticis et tunicis albis; rectores chori cappis similiter albis; et in Annunciatione Dominica, et in octabis beatæ Mariæ, et infra octabas, et in commemorationibus ejusdem, et in utroque festo Sancti Michaelis, et in festo cujuslibet Virginis. Rubeis vero utuntur indumentis in utroque festo Sanctæ Crucis, et in quolibet festo martyrum; et in tractis cantandis in festis simplicibus in Quadragesima, et in Dominica Passionis Domini, et in Dominica Palmarum, rectores chori cappis utuntur rubeis.—*Reg. S. Osmund.* (Rolls Series) i. 36.

[5] Ita tamen quod in tempore Paschali de quocunque dicitur missa (nisi in Inventione sanctæ Crucis) utantur ministri altaris vestimentis albis ad missam. Similiter fiat in festo Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ et in Conceptione

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To this a MS. in the Bodleian Library adds:

In all masses for the departed throughout the whole year they use black vestments.[1]

On comparing this sequence with the early one of Lichfield, which is clearly based upon it, it will be seen how incomplete the Sarum rule is, the colours for a considerable part of the year and for many important feasts being omitted. As the so-called Consuetudinary, from internal evidence, is not of earlier date than *circa* 1215-30, and is certainly based on an older copy, it is probable that if we had an earlier text the rule for colours might be found to be more complete than in the later versions.

Of the six principal English colour-sequences found in the ordinals and other authoritative sources, viz. Exeter, Lichfield, London, Salisbury, Wells, and Westminster, that of Sarum is the most incomplete and perplexing, and from quite early times it was certainly not consistent with actual use. The sequence names four colours only—white, red, yellow, and, in one MS., black; but the inventory of 1222 shows that several other colours were in use. Thus among the copes were two *quæ vocantur Violette*, and among the chasubles was one of purple (*purpurea*), and two pair of tunicles were *de serico indico*, or blue silk. This inventory, unfortunately, very seldom specifies the colours, or we should doubtless have found other cases.

About the year 1462, lady Hungerford gave a large number of vestments and ornaments to her newly-founded chantry in the cathedral church of Salisbury, of which a full list is given by Dugdale. Among them were altar clothes of white velvet; cloth of gold; red and crimson; blue damask; of purple, blue, and black paled; and of white and blue paled. There were chasubles of purple, blue, and black sattin; and altar cloths and vestments of black; of red and green for ferial days; and of linen cloth and black for Lent.

We have also an inventory of the cathedral church made in 1536, which contains three sections devoted to vestments and hangings. The first is headed *Casulæ et capæ*, and gives a list of 40 copes, 11 being red, and 7 white, and 16 chasubles, 6 being red and 10 white; the colours of the rest are not given. The second section contains *Panni pro summo altari* of red, purple, white, cloth of gold, and one of blue. The third section is headed *Casulæ et capæ viridis coloris*, of which there were 2 copes of green cloth of gold and one of baudekin, with 5 chasubles of green baudekin, with tunicles, albes, etc. of the suits.

The inventories of the goods of the numerous chantries in the cathedral church of Salisbury, taken in 2 Edward VI., are also preserved. These give vestments of altar cloths of white, red, blue, green, black, purple, motley, of blue black and white combined, and "braunched of dyverse colours," with white for Lent.

Like evidence is given by the Salisbury diocesan inventories, *e.g.* Wilts chantries (2 Edw. VI.), Berkshire church goods, 1552, and those of St. George's chapel, Windsor, St. Laurence's, Reading, and Poole and Bridport in Dorset.

Generally speaking, the inventories agree with the sequence, except that they do not tell us when blue and other colours were used. The 1536 inventory gives a cloth of gold frontal for the high altar on principal feasts—that is for Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the feast of the Dedication, and of the Assumption. At Windsor, in 1384-5, there were red and green costers for principal feasts. That white was used for Lent in the cathedral church I have already stated; it was also a Lent colour at Windsor (1384-5), Bridport (1400-1), St. Laurence's, Reading (1503, 1507, etc.), and probably at Poole (1545).

The ordinary Sarum Sunday colour was red; the ferial colour is not stated. At Windsor, in 1384-5, the ferial colour was white, but in 1556 we find red "for hanging of the quier in sommer." At Sarum, among lady Hungerford's gifts, (*c.* 1462) were red and green altar cloths for ferials with a white and blue frontal.

The Sarum requiem colour was black; so also at Windsor (1384-5), and St. Laurence's, Reading (1503, etc.)

The sequences for London (St. Paul's) and Westminster are fairly complete. They show some curious variations, such as the use of white for Easter at St. Paul's, and of red at St. Peter's; and of green for Sundays after Trinity at the former, and red at the latter; but are otherwise fairly uniform. The following is a translation of the London (St. Paul's) sequence, from the pontifical of bishop Clifford (1406—26), at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge:

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ejusdem et in utroque festo sancti Michaelis et in festo sancti Johannis Apostoli in hebdomada Nativitatis Domini et per octavis et in octavis Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ et in commemorationibus ejusdem per totum annum et per octavas et in octavis Dedicationis ecclesiæ.

Rubeis vero utantur vestimentis omnibus Dominicis per annum extra tempus Paschæ, quando de Dominica agitur, et in quarta feria in Capite jejunii et in Cœna Domini et in utroque festo sanctæ Crucis, in quolibet festo martyrum, apostolorum, et evangelistarum, extra tempus Paschæ.

In omnibus autem festis unius confessoris vel plurimorum confessorum, utantur vestimentis crocei coloris.

Missale ad usum Sarum, (Ed. Dickinson) cols. 582, 583.

[1] In omnibus missis pro defunctis per totum annum utuntur vestimentis nigris. *Bawl. MS.* A387. f. 14.

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Concerning the colour of vestments according to the Roman Curia, when and how often various colours must be used in the church.

Concerning *white* colour.—*White* colour amongst all colours is the first, the purest, the most simple and the most festal. Therefore it must be used on the birthday of our Lord because of the delivery of a virgin; and on the day of St. John the Evangelist and Virgin; and on the sixth day after Christmas; and on the day of the Circumcision, and on the octave of St. John; on the eve, day, and through the whole of the octave of the Epiphany; on the Purification and all feasts and commemorations and octaves of the Blessed Mary; on Maundy Thursday on account of the consecration of the chrism, the institution of the Eucharist, and the washing of feet; and on the vigil of Easter, and throughout the whole of the octave; and on all Sundays and ferial days until the Ascension, on account of those born again and the joy of the resurrection; and on the day and throughout the octave of the Ascension on account of the two men standing by in white (robes); and on the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and throughout the octave of the same, on account of his purity; and on the feast, and throughout the octave of the Eucharist, because it is the brightness of eternal light; and on the day of the Holy Trinity; also on feasts of angels and virgins; and, according to the Roman Curia, *white* must be used on feasts of All Saints; and also on the dedication of the Church, and throughout its octave, on account of the marriage of Christ and the Church.

Concerning *red* colour.—*Red* colour is like fire and blood: like the charity of the Spirit, and the effusion of blood; therefore (it must be used) on the vigil, and day, and throughout the week of Pentecost up to the feast of the Holy Trinity; and on feasts of all apostles and evangelists, and of all martyrs throughout the whole year—except the Beheading of St. John Baptist, and the feast of the Holy Innocents; when, according to the Roman custom, *violet* must be used, because they descended into hell. Nevertheless, on the octave of the Holy Innocents, because the octave signifies the resurrection, *red* vestments must be used; and likewise on either feast of the Holy Cross, and commemorations of the same, because it was sanctified by Christ's blood.

Concerning *yellow* colour.—*Yellow* colour is ripe in aspect, and intermediate between white and red, like shining gold. Therefore, on all feasts of confessors, and, according to some, on the feast of the Magdalene, *yellow* vestments must be used. Nevertheless, the Roman Church uses white on feasts of Confessors.

Concerning *violet* colour.—*Violet* or *purple*, dark and obscure of vision, is indicative of penitence and despising of the world. Therefore, on the first Sunday of our Lord's Advent, on account of the time of anxious expectation; and on all ferial days, when the office is *de tempore*, until evensong on the eve of Our Lord's Nativity; and from evensong on the Saturday of Septuagesima, when *Alleluia* is ended, until Maundy Thursday; or, according to some churches, until Passion Sunday; and on Rogations and Ember Days, outside the week of Pentecost; and on all vigils of Saints, on account of the time of penitence, *purple* or *violet* must be used.

And note, that *purple* and *violet* are reckoned the same.

Concerning *green* colour.—*Green* colour is lively, and pleasant, and comforting to the sight. Therefore, it is suitable for those times in which the faith of the Incarnation, and of the infancy of the Saviour, and the faith of the Holy Trinity is remembered; because a just man lives by faith, and in like manner, grows and rises again. Therefore, on all Sundays and ferial days, from the octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, and from the feast of the Holy Trinity until Advent, throughout the whole summer, when the office is *de tempore*, *green* vestments must be used.

And it must be known that *yellow* and *green* are reckoned the same.

Concerning *black* colour.—*Black* colour is mournful, and the last. Therefore, it must be used on that account on the commemoration of souls, and as often as the office is of the dead; and on Good Friday (*in die parasceves*), *black* (vestments) must be used. Nevertheless, it seems more convenient on Good Friday to use *red* as far as the solemn prayers, and afterwards *black*.

And it must be known, that according to some, *violet* and *black* are considered the same.

Nevertheless, in the church of Exeter, on three feasts, they use indifferently all colours at once; like as on the feast of All Saints, and of Relics, and of the dedication of the Church.[1]

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[1] De colore vestimentorum secundum Romanam Curiam quando et quotiens per annum variis coloribus in ecclesia utendum est.

De albo colore.—Albus color inter omnes colores est prior purior simplicior et festivior. Ideo utendus in die natalis Domini propter virginis partum. Et in die Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ et Virginis. Et sexta die in natale. Et in die circumcisionis; et in octava Sancti Johannis. In vigilia, die, et per totas octavas Epiphaniæ. In purificatione et omnibus festis et commemorationibus et octavis Beatæ Mariæ. In die Cœnæ Domini propter consecrationem chrismatis et institutionem eucharistiæ et lotionem pedum. Et in vigilia Paschæ et per totas octavas et in omnibus dominicis et feriis usque ad Ascensionem propter renatos et gaudium resurrectionis. Et in die et per octavas Ascensionis propter duos viros in albis assistentes. Et in festo nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et per octavas ejusdem propter ejus munditiam. Et in festo et per octavas Eucharistiæ; quia candor est lucis æternæ. Et in die Sanctæ Trinitatis. In festis etiam angelorum et virginum. Et secundum Romanam Curiam in festo omnium sanctorum albis est utendum; et etiam in dedicatione ecclesiæ et per octavas propter nuptias Christi et ecclesiæ.

De rubeo colore.—Rubeus color igneus est et sanguineus; caritati Spiritus et effusioni sanguinis consimilis. Ideo in vigilia et in die et per hebdomadam Pentecostes usque ad festum Sanctæ Trinitatis: et in festis omnium apostolorum et evangelistarum et omnium martyrum per totum annum: præter decollationem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et festum Sanctorum Innocentium, quando secundum Romanum morem violaceis utendum; quia ad limbum descenderunt. In octava tamen Sanctorum Innocentium quia octava resurrectionem significat rubeis indumentis est utendum. Et similiter in utroque festo Sanctæ Crucis et commemorationibus ejusdem quia Christi sanguine est sanctificata.

De croceo colore.—Croceus color aspectu est maturus et medius inter album et rubeum, auro similis fulgenti. Ideo in omnibus festis confessorum et secundum quosdam in festo Magdalene croceis est utendum vestimentis. Tamen ecclesia Romana albis utitur in festo confessorum.

De violaceo colore.—Violaceus vel purpureus fuscus et obscurus de visu disparens, pœnitentiæ et despectus mundi est indicativus. Ideo in dominica prima adventus Domini propter tempus auxiæ expectationis. Et omnibus

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The following is a translation of the Westminster rule of colours, from the *Liber consueludinarius* of Richard de Ware, abbot, 1258—1283, in the British Museum:

It must be known that the colour of the copes, chasubles, and dalmatics must be discerned according to the days and different feasts, for on the first Sunday in the Lord's Advent, and on other Sundays thence to the Purification of the Blessed Mary, or to Septuagesima Sunday, when it falls before the Purification, the priest at evensong, and the hebdomadary of the cope at mass, shall put on *white* copes, and the priest of either mass, whether that of the Sunday or Christmas be celebrated, shall put on a *white* chasuble. Also both the deacon and sub-deacon ought to be vested in *white* chasubles or dalmatics, according to what is fitting for the time, and the apparels of the albes, if they have them, ought to be of the same colour; which must likewise be observed at the mass of the vigil, and at the first and second mass on Christmas Day, and at either mass on the day of the Circumcision, and at the chapter mass on St. Edward's Day, and at either mass on the octave of the same, and at the chapter mass on the day, and at the high mass through the octave of the Epiphany; and as often as, until the Purification, there is a mass *in conventu* of Christmas, or the Epiphany, or even of the Sunday, unless Septuagesima Sunday intervene or (a mass) of the Blessed Mary be celebrated, the priest's chasuble, the tunic and dalmatic of the ministers, with the cope in choir, and the apparels of the albes, if they have them, ought to be of *white* colour, except when the copes at the bench in the middle of the choir, or even the chasuble or dalmatic at mass, are embroidered (?)

Moreover, by right custom it must be observed on the day and throughout the octave of the Lord's Ascension, and on the vigil and day, and throughout the octave of St. John Baptist, and the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, when the service of the same feasts is celebrated, also on the feast of the blessed (John ?) that the vestments ought to be of a *white* colour.

On Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sunday, [at] either mass, if they be of the Sunday, the priest's chasuble, and the chasubles of all the ministers at high mass, and the cope in the middle of the choir, ought to be of a *sub-red* colour (*subrubei coloris*), and likewise the chasuble at high mass on private days, within the same season; which vestments, from the first Sunday of Lent until the Sunday in our Lord's Passion, as well on Sundays as private days, shall be altogether of a *black* or *quasi-black* colour (*nigri seu quasi nigri coloris*), to which also the apparels of the albes, if they have them, shall agree in colour.

But on the day and within the octave of Pentecost, the aforesaid vestments, on the days on which they are not embroidered, shall be *sparkling* or *red* (*scintillata aut rubea*), or even of a *yellow* or *green* colour (*crocei aut glauci coloris*).

But on the Sunday in our Lord's Passion, and thence up to the Ascension, and on the rest of the Sundays throughout the year, (except only the aforesaid,) viz., when the service is of the Sunday, and on the Beheading of St. John Baptist, and on either feast of the blessed king Edmund, and of the blessed Thomas the archbishop, and of other martyrs of either sex, the vestments shall be altogether *red* or *sub-red* (*rubia aut etiam subrubia*), or something of the kind (*aut etiam hujusce modi*).

But on the feast of the blessed John before the Latin Gate, the cantors' copes at evensong shall be of a *white* colour, and the copes of the priests of a *yellow* or *green* colour.[1]

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diebus ferialibus quando de tempore agitur usque ad vesperas in vigilia nativitatis Domini: et a vesperis in Sabbato Septuagesimæ quando clauditur *alleluia* usque ad cœnam Domini; vel secundum quasdam ecclesias usque ad dominicam in Passione; et in Rogationibus et Quatuor Temporibus, extra hebdomadam Pentecostes, et in omnibus vigiliis sanctorum, propter tempus pœnitentiæ, purpureis vel violaceis est utendum. Et nota quod purpureus et violaceus color pro eodem tenetur.

De viridi colore.—Viridis color vividus est et visu jocundus atque confortaturus. Illis igitur temporibus congruit quibus fides incarnationis et infantiæ Salvatoris, necnon fides Sanctæ Trinitatis recolitur: quia justus ex fide vivit et virescit pariter et resurget. Ideo in omnibus Dominicis et feriis ab octava Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam et a festo Sanctæ Trinitatis usque ad Adventum per totam æstatem quando de tempore agitur vestimentis viridis est utendum. Et sciendum quod color croceus et viridis pro eodem reputatur.

De nigro colore.—Niger color lugubris est et novissimus. Ideo utendum est eo in commemoratione animarum et quotiens agitur de mortuis. Et in die Parasceves nigris est utendum. Tamen videtur convenientius in die parasceves usque post orationes solemnes rubeis uti et postea nigris. Et sciendum est quod secundum quosdam color violaceus et niger pro eodem habetur.

Tamen in ecclesia Exon. in tribus festis utuntur indifferenter omnibus coloribus simul, sicut in festo omnium sanctorum et reliquiarum et dedicationis ecclesiæ.—From the MS. *Pontificale* of Richard Clifford, bishop of London (1406—26), at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The same rule occurs in a MS. Pontificale of the fourteenth century, in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS. 451), which almost certainly belonged to a bishop of London.

[1] Et sciendum quod de capis et casulis atque dalmaticis secundum dies et festa diversa color est discernendus, nam in Dominica prima Adventus Domini et in aliis Dominicis ex tunc usque ad Purificationem Beatæ Mariæ vel usque ad Dominicam Septuagesimæ cum ante Purificationem evenerit, sacerdos ad vesperas et ebdomadarius capæ ad missam, *albis* capis induentur; atque Sacerdos utriusque missæ, si de Dominica aut de Natali celebrentur *alba* casula induetur necnon et diaconus et subdiaconus *albis* casulis sive dalmaticis juxta quod tempori congruit indui debent atque albarum paruræ si habeantur ejusdem debent esse coloris. quod similiter est observandum ad missam de vigilia et ad primam et secundam missam de die natalis Domini et ad utramque missam in die circumcisionis et ad missam capitalem in die S. Edwardi et ad utramque missam in octavis ejusdem et ad missam capitalem in die atque ad magnam missam per octavas Epiphaniæ et quociens usque ad Purificationem missa in conventu de Natali aut de Epiphania vel etiam de Dominica nisi Septuagesima intervenerit aut de Beata Maria celebretur: quod videlicet casula sacerdotis tunica et dalmatica ministrorum cum capa in choro et albarum si habeantur paruris *albi* debent esse coloris nisi cum fuerint capæ ad formam [in] chori medio aut etiam casula sive dalmaticæ ad missam bru [datæ] ?

Quod insuper ex recta consuetudine est observandum [in] die et per octavas Dominicæ ascensionis et in vigilia atque in die [et infra] octavas Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et assumption[is et] nativitatis beatæ Dei genetricis Mariæ quando de eisdem [fest]ivitatibus celebratur obsequium, necnon et in festo beati [Johannis ?] videlicet quod hujusmodi indumenta *albi* coloris esse debent.

Dominica quidem Septuagesimæ et Sexagesimæ ac Quinquagesimæ utramque missam si fuerint de Dominica: casula sacerdotis et casul[æ] omnium ministrorum ad magnam missam atque capa in chori [medi]o ? *subrubei* coloris esse debent. et casula similiter ad magnam missam privatis diebus infra idem tempus quæ quidem indumenta a

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The London and Westminster inventories generally follow the sequences, except that white was practically the universal Lent colour, instead of the prescribed violet and black; and there was also great variety in the Sunday and ferial colours. For Sundays we have a blue vestment and an old red cloth of gold cope at St. Peter's Cheap (1431); an old yellow cope striped with green, at St. Stephen's Coleman Street (1461); and crimson at Westminster abbey (*c.* 1540). Among the ferial colours, we find both red and white cotidian copes at St. Paul's (1402); yellow and old cloth of gold at St. Stephen's Coleman Street (1461); and blue cotidians at Westminster (1388). At this Abbey (c. 1540), there was green for the high altar, "when the quire doth fery," with crimson cotidians, and a red sacrament cloth for every day.

The diocese of Lichfield and Coventry originally included the counties of Stafford, Derby, and Chester, a large part of Warwickshire, the larger half of Shropshire, and the parts of Lancashire south of the river Ribble.

The Lichfield sequence is but little known, yet it has been printed, though not very correctly, in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* since 1830, where it occurs in the Statutes of bishop Pateshull (1239-41); it is, therefore, a very early one. The following is a translation of a corrected transcript from the MS. at Lichfield:

On Christmas Day they must use the more precious vestments. In Easter-tide, and in the week of Pentecost, the ministers use *white* dalmatics. The rulers of the choir, moreover, in like manner (use) white copes on the Annunciation, and on our Lord's Circumcision, and on all feasts of the blessed Mary, and in the octaves and commemorations of the same, and on either feast of St. Michael, and on the feast of any virgin.

They use *red* vestments on either feast of the Holy Cross, and on any feast of apostles and martyrs (except St. John in Christmas week); but on the feast of the Epiphany, and on Passion Sunday, and on Palm Sunday, the rulers of the choir use *red* copes.

The rulers of the choir and the ministers of the altar can also use copes of a diverse colour on the feasts of All Saints, and of Confessors, and St. Peter's chair, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist (but they use red on his Beheading); but on the day of St. Mary Magdalene, and on Sundays from the octave of the Epiphany until Lent, and from the octave of Easter (? of Pentecost) until our Lord's Advent, according to the will of the sacrist (*pro voluntate sacristæ*) when the office is of the Sunday.

But in Advent and Lent and offices of the dead, they must use black silk copes.

All these things must be modified according to the means of the church.[1]

So far as it goes, the Lichfield sequence much resembles that of Sarum; the Pentecost colour is also white, but the ferial colours were *pro voluntate sacristæ*.

The Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and other inventories of this diocese do not add much. For Lent we, of course, find white, viz., at Warwick (1407), and at three churches in Shrewsbury (1552); and "an old checked vestment," at Stanlaw abbey, Cheshire. For Sundays, the colour for which is optional in the rule, I find red at All Saints, Derby (1527), but green copes at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury (1552). The only ferial ornaments mentioned in the inventories are a green vestment in the cathedral church of Lichfield (1474), and a red cope for workdays and a white workday vestment at All Saints, Derby (1466). At the same church, in 1465, was "a chesable of Rede y^t^ the syng Ihc masse In."[2] Black for requiem, etc., occurs both in the rule and inventories. A Sacrist's Roll of Lichfield cathedral church, dated 1345, mentions vestments, etc., of white, red, black, green (*viridis* and *glaucus*) and blue (*indus*);

Dominica prima Quadragesimæ usque ad Dominicam in Passione Domini tam dominicis quam privatis diebus omnino *nigri* seu *quasi nigri* coloris erunt quibus eciam albarum paruræ si habeatur in colore convenient.

In die vero et infra octavas Pentecostis erunt indumenta predicta diebus quibus brudata non sunt *scintillata* aut *rubea*, vel etiam *crocei* aut *glauci* coloris.

Dominica vero in passione Domini et ex tunc usque ad Ascensionem atque in ceteris dominicis per annum exceptis tantummodo preliberatis quando scilicet de dominica agitur et in decollatione Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et in utroque festo beati Regis Edmundi et beati Thomæ archipræsulis aliorumque martirum utriusque sexus erunt omnino *rubia* aut etiam *subrubia* aut etiam hujusce modi indumenta. De colore vero caparum qui indui solent ad processionem in Dominica Palmarum atque de colore indumentorum ad divinum obsequium tribus diebus proximis ante pascha plenius specificatum est super eisdem diebus.

In festo autem beati Johannis ante portam Latinam capæ cantorum ad vesperas *albi* coloris erunt et capæ sacerdotum *crocei* sive *glauci* coloris.—Abbot Ware's *Liber Consuetudinarius* (Cott. MS., Otho. C.xi.) f. 30*b*. (Collated with the MS. May 13th, 1889. W. H. St. J. H.)

[1] In die Natalis Domini utendum est pretiosioribus indumentis. In Paschali tempore et in hebdomada Pentecostes utuntur ministri dalmaticis *albis*; Rectores autem chori similiter capis *albis* in Annunciacione dominicâ, et in circumcisione Domini, et in festis omnibus beatæ Mariæ, et in octavis et commemoracionibus ejusdem, et in utroque Sancti Michaelis festo, et in festo cujuslibet Virginis. *Rubeis* utuntur indumentis in utroque Sanctæ Crucis festo, et in quolibet festo Apostolorum et Martyrum, præterquam Sancti Johannis in Natali, sed in festo Epiphaniæ et in dominica Passionis et in dominica Palmarum Rectores chori capis utuntur *rubeis*. *Varii* etiam coloris uti capis possunt rectores chori et ministri altaris in festis Omnium Sanctorum et Confessorum, et Sancti Petri in Cathedrâ et Natali Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, (*rubeis* utuntur in decollacione ejusdem) sed in die Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalensis, et in diebus dominicis ab octavis Epiphaniæ usque Quadragesimam; et ab octavis Paschæ (*sic*, but query Pentecostes) usque ad Adventum Domini *pro voluntate Sacristæ* quum de dominica agitur: in Adventu tamen et Quadragesima et in exequiis mortuorum *nigris* capis sericis utendum est. Ista omnia temperanda sunt secundum facultates ecclesiæ.—*MS. penes Dec. et Cap. Lich.* (Collated with the original, June 17th, 1889. W. H. St. J. H.)

[1] Cp. "A vestyment of crymeson satten for Jhus masse"—Will of Cecily, duchess of York, 1495 (Camden Soc., *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 3).

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but only two entries specify the time of use, viz., three white samite-copes for commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, and a cope of red samite and two tunicles of taffata striped across for the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin and St. Chad. The Edwardian inventories for Derbyshire also show that the chief colours used in that part of the diocese were red, white, blue, green, and black, with a few instances of tawny and yellow. Parti-coloured vestments were also not unfrequently used, but, unfortunately, in no case is the occasion specified; perhaps they correspond to the *varius* of the Lichfield sequence. I have already suggested that these parti-coloured vestments, etc., were used on feasts of the apostles.

The Wells sequence, as set forth in the *Ordinale et Statuta* of 1340, is exceptionally complete, and it has, in addition, a calendar appended, giving the colours for the various festivals throughout the year. It has been printed from a transcript at Lambeth made in 1634, by both Dr. Legg and the Rev. H. E. Reynolds, and the former has pointed out its great affinity with what is known of the Sarum sequence; the only difference being that, whereas at Sarum the paschal colour was white, at Wells it was red. Through a hiatus in the MS., the colour from Septuagesima to Passiontide is unknown. The only important inventories I have seen for this diocese, those of St. Cuthbert's, Wells (1393), fortunately supply the omission, white vestments and hangings being used in Lent at the high altar, and those of St. Mary and St. Michael. The same church had, in 1403, a green suit for feasts not double feasts, a suit of red rayed for Sundays, and a black suit for ferial days, all for the high altar; while the Trinity altar had a suit of white and blue checked for ferial days, and one of red striped for Sundays.

The Wells sequence, as rendered into English, is as follows:

Calendar of the colours of vestments to be used and varied, as the feasts and seasons of the whole year require, in the church of Wells.[1]

The first Sunday of our Lord's Advent and throughout the whole of Advent, when the choir is ruled, let everything be *blue*,[2] except only that on Wednesday in the Ember Days, at Mass, let the deacon and subdeacon be vested in *white* vestments. On Christmas Day (let) everything (be) *white*, except at the second Mass; on St. Stephen's Day everything *red*; on St. John the Evangelist's Day everything *blue*[2] and *white*; on the Holy Innocents' Day all red; on St. Thomas the Martyr's Day all red; on St. Sylvester's Day everything *green* and *yellow*.

On the feast of our Lord's Circumcision let the principal rulers be in *white* vestments, and the secondaries in *red* vestments; at the Magnificat and Benedictus let one be *red* and another *white*; at Mass let the three principal rulers be in *red*, and the two secondary (rulers), one in *white* vestments, the other in *red*.

On the octaves of St. Stephen, St. John the Apostle, the Holy Innocents, and St. Thomas the Martyr, as on the day.

On our Lord's Epiphany and throughout the octave, and on the octave, as on Christmas Day, let everything be in *white*.

From the first Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, when the office is *de temporali*, everything shall be *red*.

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[1] Kalendarium de coloribus vestimentorum utendis et variandis prout festa et tempora totius anni requirunt in ecclesia Wellensi.

Dominicus primus Adventus Domini et per totum Adventum quando chorus regitur sint omnia *media*, nisi tantum feria quarta quatuor temporum ad missam Diaconus et Subdiaconus vestimentis *albis* induantur.

In die Natalis Domini omnia *alba* præter in secunda missa. Sancti Stephani Martyris omnia *rubea*. Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ omnia *media et alba*. Scantorum (*sic*) Innocentium omnia *rubea*. Sancti Thomæ martyris omnia *rubea*. Sancti Sylvestri . . . omnia *virida et crocea*.

In festo Circumcisionis Domini principales Rectores sint in vestimentis *albis*, et allii (*sic*) secundares in vestimentis *rubeis* ad Magnificat et Benedictus primum *rubeum* et aliud *album* ad missam tres Rectores principales in *rubeis* et duo secundares una in *albis* vestimentis et aliam *rubeis*. In octava Sancti Stephani sicut in die. In octava Sancti Johannis Apostoli sicut in die. In octava Sanctorum Innocentium sicut in die. In octava Sancti Thomæ Martyris sicut in die.

In Epiphania Domini et per octavam et in octava sicut in die Natalis Domini omnia in *albis*. Dominica prima prius (*sic* for *post*) Octavam Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam quando de temporali agitur omnia erunt *rubea*. Dominica in Septuagesima usque ad Passionem Domini quando de temporali agitur omnia [*verbum deest*].

Dominica in passione omnia *rubea*. Dominica in Ramis Palmarum omnia in *rubeis*, excepto una capa de *nigris* ad opus cayphæ (Caiaphæ). In die Cœnæ omnia *rubea* cum vexillo de *albo*. Feria sexta in parascuæ vestimentis *rubeis* Diaconus et Subdiaconus vestimentis . . . sive *purpura*. Sabbato in vigilia paschæ omnia *rubea*.

In die Paschæ omnia sunt *rubea*. Feria secunda, feria tertia, feria quarta, feria quinta, feria sexta, Sabbato—omnia *rubea*. Dominica in albis omnia in *albis* vestimentis. Omnibus Dominicis ab octava Paschæ usque ad Ascentionem Domini quando de temporali agitur omnia in vestimentis *rubeis*. In Vigilia Ascentionis et in die et per octavam et in octava et etiam dominica infra octavam tam in vestimentis quam in altare omnia in *albis*. Dominica post octavam Ascentionis omnia *rubea*. In Vigilia Pentecostes et in die omnia in vestimentis *rubei* coloris et per totam hebdomadam sequentem.

In die Sanctæ Trinitatis omnia *rubea*. Feria quinta post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis videlicet in festo Corporis Christi omnia *rubea*. Per totum (*sic*) octavam Corporis Christi omnia *rubea*. Dominica prima post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis et in omnibus Dominicis usque ad Adventum Domini quando de temporali agitur omnia in vestimentis *rubeis*.

In dedicatione ecclesiæ *media et alba*.

[2] The Latin word in the MS. is *media*, but this is clearly an error of the 1634 copyist for *india*. In the calendar referred to below the word *india* frequently occurs, but never *media*.

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From Septuagesima Sunday until Passion Sunday, when the office is *de temporali* let everything be . . .

On Passion Sunday let everything be *red*. On Palm Sunday let everything be in *red*, except one cope of *black*, "*ad opus Caiaphæ*."[1]

On Maundy Thursday let everything be *red*, with a banner of *white*.

On Good Friday let the deacon be in *red* vestments, and the subdeacon in (*red*?) or *purple* vestments.

On Easter Even let everything be *red*.

On Easter Day let everything be *red*.

On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday (in Easter week) let everything be *red*.

On Low Sunday (*dominica in albis*) let everything be in *white* vestments.

On all Sundays from the octave of Easter until our Lord's Ascension, when the office is *de temporali*, let everything be in *red* vestments.

On the vigil of the Ascension, and on the day and throughout the octave, and on the octave, and also on the Sunday within the octave, let everything, as well in vestments as on the altar, be in *white*.

On Sunday after the octave of the Ascension let everything be *red*.

On the vigil of Pentecost, and on the day, let everything be in vestments of a *red* colour, and throughout the whole of the week following.

On the day of the Holy Trinity let everything be *red*.

On Thursday after the feast of the Holy Trinity, viz., on the feast of Corpus Christi, let everything be *red*.

Throughout the whole of the octave of Corpus Christi let everything be *red*.

On the first Sunday after the feast of the Holy Trinity, and on all Sundays until our Lord's Advent, when the office is *de temporali*, let everything be in *red* vestments.

On the dedication of the Church (let everything be) *blue*[2] and *white*.

A little further on in the same MS. is a list of all the saints' days and other festivals with the proper colours for each day. This is succeeded by the following directions:

Be it remembered that, as a general rule, when the office is that of an apostle or martyr all things are *red*; when of a confessor everything is *blue* and *green*, blended, as it were, in a comely manner, and (so that) the more properly they can be made fit for the feast; when of a virgin not a martyr, everything shall be *white*; when of a virgin and martyr everything (shall be) *red* and *white*.

Be it remembered that when the office of the Holy Ghost is celebrated, or the commemoration of St. Andrew, all things are *red*. Also when there is a commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, or for peace, all things are *white*.

Be it remembered that whenever there is an office for the dead, all things shall be *black* and simple, even though it be for a king or bishop, and they shall so be at a funeral.[3]

The Exeter sequence, from the *Ordinale* of bishop Grandisson, *circa* 1337, is a very complete one. It, moreover, contains a considerable range of colours: white (*candidus*), red (*rubeus*), green (*viridis*) or yellow (*croceus*), violet (*violacius*), and blue (*blauus*) or black (*niger*). It differs in no material point from the Sarum sequence (so far as the latter is known), except in the use of green from Epiphany to Septuagesima and Trinity to Advent. The direction for Trinity Sunday is very interesting: "If they have beautiful green vestments with copes, tunicles, and dalmatics, in sufficient number for such a feast, they must be used; otherwise let wholly white or bright (vestments) be assumed."

The following is a translation of the full text of the sequence:

Concerning the variation of colours of the vestments.

There are four or six varieties of the colours of vestments according to the custom of the Roman Curia, viz., white (*candidus*), red (*rubeus*), green or yellow (*viridis seu croceus*), violet (*violacius*), blue or black (*blauus vel niger*); and each of these colours must be so considered if the greater part, which is called the field of the cloth, be of it, although it be mixed with gold or another colour. Hence each of these colours must be used as is herein contained, yet so that when mixed with gold and more noble let them be worn on greater feasts in their place, and the plain and more simple on lesser feasts. Nevertheless, if they have vestments very precious, and beautiful in appearance, as being embroidered with images, or singularly adorned with divers colours, they must be used on the chief greater feasts. But the rest of the colours must be used in this manner, viz.:

From the first Sunday in Advent until the vigil of Our Lord's Nativity, inclusive, *violet* vestments must be used; likewise from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, or, according to some, until Passion Sunday. On Good Friday also, until after the solemn collects have been said; and on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, only whilst the lessons and tracts are said; also on Rogation days and other fasts of the Church throughout the year; and in processions or masses for any tribulation; and on the beheading of St. John Baptist, because he went down into hell, *violet* colour, so that it be livid and tending to blackness,

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[1] *I.e.* for him who takes the part of Caiaphas in the Passion.

[2] The Latin word is *media* for *india*.

[3] Memorandum quod regulariter quando agitur de Apostolo vel Martyro omnia sunt *rubea*. Quando de Confessore omnia *india et virida* mixtum sicut honestius et magis proprie possunt adaptari festo. Quando de virgine non Martyro omnia erunt *alba*. Quando de virgine et Martyro *rubea et alba*.

Memorandum quod quando celebratur officium de Spiritu Sancto vel Com(me)moratio Sancti Andreæ omnia sunt *rubea*. Item quum fit commemoratio beatæ Virginis vel pro pace omnia sunt *alba*.

Memorandum quod quandocumque agitur pro defunctis omnia erunt *nigra* et simplicia, licet agatur pro rege vel episcopo, et ita erunt in sepultura."

(Collated with the original at Lambeth, May 28th, 1889.—W. H. St. J. H.)

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must be used. Yet if it happen that there are some mixed with gold, let them be specially put on on the first and third Sundays in Advent, and the fourth Sunday in Lent.

From the octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, as often as the office is *de tempore, green* (vestments) must be used. And in the same way must it be done from the first Sunday after Trinity until our Lord's Advent, as often as the office is of the Sunday or ferial; except on vigils of saints, and the four Ember Days in September, when they are vested in *violet*.

On Christmas Day; on the feast of St. John the Evangelist; and on the sixth day from Christmas Day; and on the day of the Circumcision, according to some; and on the octave of St. John the Evangelist; and on the vigil and feast and throughout the octave of the Epiphany; and on the Purification and all other feasts of the Blessed Mary, and on the octaves and commemorations of the same; also on Maundy Thursday, when the bishop consecrates the chrism, (let them be vested in) *white*, otherwise *red*; also on the vigil of Easter (except whilst the lessons and tracts are said, when they must be vested in *violet*); and on Easter Day; and from thence until the octave of the Ascension; also on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (and when the office is of him throughout the octave); also on the feast of St. Gabriel; and on all feasts of St. Michael; likewise, on all feasts of virgins not martyrs *white* or *bright* (*albis seu candidis*) vestments must always be used.

But on the vigil of Pentecost, after the lessons and tracts, (let) the priest (be) in a *red* cope at the blessing of the font; and from thenceforth (let) him, with his ministers, at mass, and afterwards at evensong (be in *red*); and throughout the whole week of Pentecost until evensong on the Saturday following, and on the feast of the Holy Cross, also on all feasts of apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, and throughout their octaves (when the office is of their days), and, according to some, within Passion (week), and on Maundy Thursday (if the bishop does not celebrate) *red* vestments must be used.

Nevertheless, on the Conversion of St. Paul, and on the Chair of St. Peter, and certain other double feasts of saints which fall within Advent or (from) Septuagesima until Easter, and on the feast of Mary Magdalene (according to some), they can be vested in vestments of *blue*, that is of *sky-colour* or *blue*, if they have beautiful (vestments) not unsuitable. Nevertheless, on the feast of the Magdalene some use *white*, some *yellow*.

But on the feast of the Trinity, if they have beautiful *green* vestments with copes, tunicles, and dalmatics in sufficient number for such a feast, they must be used; otherwise let wholly *white* or bright (vestments) (*alba vel candida*) be assumed.

But on the feast of Corpus Christi, and throughout the octave, on account of the similitude of bread and wine, and of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which is white and ruddy, *white mixed with red* must be used, viz., so that the two principal rulers use *white*, and two secondaries *red*. But let the priest who performs the office be vested in *white* both at mass and vespers, his companions at the censing in *red*, and at mass the deacons in *red*, and the sub-deacons in *white*, and in a way in which they can the more conveniently be divided *white* and *red* equally. In the same way let it be done for virgins (who are) martyrs.

But on the feast of All Saints, and of Relics, and of the Dedication of the church, all colours must be used at pleasure indifferently, yet so that *white* and *red* are preferred.

Generally speaking, therefore, it appears from the aforesaid that on feasts of apostles, evangelists, and martyrs *red* must be used; but on feasts of confessors *yellow* or *green* (which are considered the same); on feasts of virgins and martyrs, partly *white*, partly *red*, and the same colours mixed; on feasts of virgins not martyrs wholly *white*; in Advent and Septuagesima and Lent, also on vigils of saints, and Ember days outside Pentecost, and Rogation days, *violet* (vestments); but on Sundays between Epiphany and Septuagesima, and all Sundays through the summer, and when the office is *de tempore, green* (vestments) must be used; but *black* colour on Good Friday after the creeping to the Cross, and in all offices of the dead, and likewise, on account of a want of *violet* (vestments), it must be used in their stead. Nevertheless, in solemn offices of the dead, and also at their burial, *violet* colour may fitly enough be used.

If, however, they by chance have some vestments of a different and uncertain colour, let them be put into use according to their beauty and value, as the seniors shall decide (*juxta judicium seniorum*), to the sparing of other vestments in the meanwhile.[1]

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[1] De variacione Coloris Vestimentorum.—Colores vestimentorum sunt quatuor vel sex varietates juxta morem Curiæ Romanæ videlicet . candidus . rubeus . viridis . seu . croceus . violacius . blauus vel niger. Et quilibet horum colorum ita considerandus est . si major pars qui campus panni dicitur hujus fuerit quamvis auro vel alio colore fuerit permixtus . unde quilibet horum colorum est utendus prout infra hic continetur. Ita tamen quod auro mixta et nobiliora majoribus festis suo loco . et plana simpliciora in festis simplicioribus induantur. Tamen si valde preciosa et aspectu pulcra utpote ymaginibus debrondata vel variis coloribus singulariter adornata habeantur vestimenta . eisdem in festis præcipuis majoribus est utendum. Ceteris vero prædictis coloribus utendum est hoc modo videlicet. Dominica prima in Adventu usque ad vigiliam natalis Domini inclusive *violaciis* est utendum. Similiter a Septuagesima usque ad cenam Domini vel secundum quosdam usque ad dominicam in passione. In die eciam parasceves usque post oraciones solempnes dictas et in vigilia paschæ et pentecostes tantum dum lecciones et tractus dicuntur . necnon in rogacionibus et aliis jejuniis ecclesiæ per annum et in processionibus vel missis pro quacumque tribulacione atque in decolacione Sancti Johannis Baptistæ quia ad limbum descendit *violacio* colore eo quod sit lividus et ad nigredinem tendens est utendum. Ita tamen quod si sint aliqua auro mixta in dominica prima et tercia Adventus et dominica quarta in Quadragesima specialiter induantur. ¶ Ab octavis vero Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam quociens de tempore agitur *viridibus* est utendum. Et eodem modo a prima dominica post Trinitatem usque ad Adventum Domini quociens de dominicis vel feriis agitur est faciendum . nisi in vigiliis sanctorum et quatuor temporibus Septembris quando *violaciis* induantur. ¶ In die natalis Domini in festo Sancti Johannis Ewangelistæ et sexta die a Natale Domini et in die Circumcisionis secundum quosdam et in octavis Sancti Johannis Ewangelistæ et in vigilia ac festo et per octabas Epiphaniæ et in purificacione ac omnibus aliis festis beatæ Mariæ et ejusdem octavis et Commemoracionibus. Item in Cena Domini quando episcopus consecrat crisma *albis* alias *rubeis*. In vigilia eciam Paschæ nisi dum lecciones et Tractus dicuntur qui tunc *violaciis*. Et in die Paschæ et ab hinc usque ad octavam Ascensionis. In Nativitate eciam Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et quando de eo per octavam agitur. In festo eciam Sancti Gabrielis et in omnibus festis Sancti Michaelis. Similiter in omnibus festis virginum non

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The Exeter wills and inventories give some interesting variations. By the rule, white is the Epiphany colour, but bishop Grandisson, in 1368, bequeathed for use on that day a suit of red and gold. Inventories of the cathedral church ornaments are known for 1276, 1327, 1506, 1556. These give us blue for Sexagesima (1506); a cope *cinerei coloris*, or ash colour, for Ash Wednesday (1327); and green and red checky for SS. Peter and Paul. The inventory of 1506 also gives blue and black for requiem, in addition to the violet of the *ordinale* and Grandisson's will. For ferial days we find a green frontal at Exeter, but at Bodmin (1539) "a peire of vestments of yelowe sylke." The 1506 inventory also contains, under the heading *Vestiarum quotidianum*, 8 chasubles, 15 copes, etc., all of red. Among the frontals, apparently for the high altar, is one of blue satin for major feasts, and another of red silk for feasts *cum regimine chori*.

An inventory of St. Kerrian's, Exeter, dated 1417, has some interesting items of the ornaments of the high altar, viz.: a green frontal, striped, for double feasts; two striped *penulæ*, one green, the other red, for the high altar towels on double feasts; two green ridells, striped, for principal feasts; a stripe or carpet (*chalo*) of white and blue mixed, with animals, to serve before the high altar on festivals; and a cover of blue mixed with yellow and white, also for the high altar on festivals.

Of the Lincoln use of colours, which prevailed probably in the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford (in part), Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland, and perhaps Derby, we, unfortunately, know very little. No perfect service books of Lincoln use are known to be in existence, and our only authority for the colours is the Consuetudinary or *Liber Niger*, *temp.* bishop Gravesend (1258-79). This gives red for feasts of apostles, martyrs, and evangelists; green or *fuscus*, (*i.e.* brown or russet), for confessors; and yellow for matrons or *sponsæ*.

The fragmentary rule in the Consuetudinary is, in English, as follows:

How the copes are varied in colour according as the various feasts require.

After these things let the sacrist and his clerk cause the high altar to be made ready with ornaments befitting such an altar for a solemn feast. Afterwards he also makes ready silk copes for the rulers of the choir, and let him see that the copes are such as the feasts demand, viz., if it be a martyr of any grade, whether apostle, evangelist, or virgin, let the silk copes be *red* for the most part; if a confessor, of a *green* or *brown* colour; if a matron or a bride, of *yellow* colour; and the principals ruling the choir ought to use those copes, because everything must be determined by the principal.[1]

The Lincoln inventories, though exceedingly full in the descriptions of the ornaments, do not help us so much as we could wish. Cloth of gold is given for the high altar for principal feasts in 1536 and 1557, and a plain red silk chasuble and two tunicles for ferial days. A yellow suit for Lent occurs in 1536, with a double cloth of white and red, with a plain altar

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martirum semper vestimentis *albis* seu *candidis* est utendum. ¶ In vigilia vero Pentecostes post lecciones et tractus sacerdos *rubea* capa ad fontes benedicendos ac deinceps ipse cum suis ministris ad missam et postea ad vesperas et per totam ebdomadam Pentecostes usque ad vesperas sabbati sequentis et in festo Sanctæ Crucis necnon in omnibus festis apostolorum ewangelistarum ac martirum et per eorum octavas quando de eis agitur. Et secundum quosdam infra passionem et in Cena Domini . si Episcopus non celebrat . vestimentis *rubeis* est utendum. ¶ Tamen in conversione Sancti Pauli et in Cathedra Sancti Petri et aliis duplicibus festis quibusdam sanctorum quæ infra Adventum vel Septuagesimam usque ad Pascha contingunt. Et in festo Mariæ Magdalenæ secundum quosdam vestimentis *indici* id est *aerei coloris* vel *blaui* si pulcra habeantur non inconvenienter indui possent. In festo tamen Magdalenæ quidam *albis* quidam *croceis* utuntur. ¶ In festo autem Trinitatis si habeantur pulcra *viridia* vestimenta cum capis et tunicis et dalmaticis in numero sufficienti ad tantum festum . eis est utendum . alias *alba* totaliter vel *candida* assumantur. ¶ In festo vero corporis Christi et per octavis propter similitudinem panis et vini et corporis et sanguinis Jhesu Christi et qui candidus est et rubicundus . mixtum *candidis* simul *et rubeis* est utendum. Ita videlicet quod duo principales rectores utantur *candidis* et duo alii secundarii *rubeis*. Sacerdos vero qui exequitur officium candidis tam ad missam quam ad vesperas et collateralis suus ad thurificandum *rubea* et ad missam diaconi *rubeis* et subdiaconi *albis* et modo quo conveniencius *album* et *rubeum* equaliter dividi poterunt induantur. Eodem modo fiat de virginibus martiribus. ¶ In festo vero Omnium Sanctorum et Reliquiarum et Dedicacionis ecclesiæ omnibus coloribus indifferenter ita tamen quod candidum et rubeum præponantur ad libitum est utendum. ¶ Generaliter ergo ut ex prædictis patet in festis Apostolorum, Ewangelistarum, et martirum *rubeis* est utendum. In festis vero confessorum *croceis vel viridibus* qui pro eodem habentur. In festis autem virginum et martirum *partim albis partim rubeis* vel eisdem coloribus mixtis. In festis virginum non martirum totaliter *albis*. In Adventu et Septuagesima et Quadragesima necnon vigiliis sanctorum et quatuor temporibus extra pentecostis et rogacionibus vestimentis *violaciis*. In dominicis vero inter Epiphaniam et Septuagesimam et omnibus dominicis per æstatem et quando de tempore tunc agitur . *viridibus* est utendum. ¶ *Nigro* vero colore in die parasceves post adoratam crucem et in omnibus exequiis mortuorum et similiter propter deffectum *violaciorum* loco eorumdem est utendum. Tamen in solempnibus exequiis mortuorum et eciam sepulturis eorum satis congrue *violacio* colore est utendum.

Si autem aliqua alia vestimenta *varii* et *incerti coloris* forte habeantur . *juxta judicium seniorum secundum eorum pulcritudinem et valorem in usum ponantur* aliis vestimentis interim parcendo.

H. E. Reynolds, *Ordinale Secundum usum Exon.*, *ff.* 10. 11.

[1] Quomodo capæ variantur colore secundum quod varia festa postulant.

Post hoc faciat sacrista vel suus clericus magnum altare cum ornamentis præparari tali altari decentibus pro festo solempni. Deinde etiam capas præparat sericas pro chorum regentibus et videat quod capæ sint sicut postulant festa: scilicet si martyr sit cujuscunque fuerit gradus (sive apostolus, sive evangelista, sive virgo) capæ sericæ *rubeæ* sint pro majori parte: si confessor, *viridis* coloris *sive fusci*: si matrona, sive sponsa, *croceî* coloris; et illis capis debent principales chorum uti regentes quia a principali denominandum est unumquodque.—

H. E. Reynolds, *Consuetudinarium ecclesiæ Lincolniensis*, 3.

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cloth and frontlet of the same suit for the high altar. A red chasuble and tunicles are also given for Good Friday; and at Peterborough (1539) red albes for Passion week. Elsewhere in the diocese we get the usual white for Lent: at Somerby, Lincolnshire (1440); at Thame, Oxon (1447); at All Souls (1462) and Magdalen (1495) colleges, Oxford; at Langley priory (1485), and Ouston priory (1536), both n Leicestershire; and at Peterborough (1539), and St. Frideswide's (now Christchurch), Oxford (1544-5). Magdalen college, Oxford, had also (1495) a suit of red, and a set of hangings fort he high altar *de sangwein tewke*, for Sundays in Lent; besides two white sets of hangings for the same altar, one of silk and the other fustian. For Sundays we have a bequest of black to a Lincolnshire church, in 1409, and red and white paned at Magdalen college, Oxford. For ferial days, there were at Lincoln (1536) a plain red chasuble and two tunicles, and red is also bequeathed to Kirkby, Lincolnshire; white, however, occurs in another bequest to a Lincolnshire church, in 1440. The Peterborough inventory also has, in 1539, four albes called Ferial White, and four albes called Ferial Black.

We have two lists of vestments, etc., of churches in the diocese of Lincoln which call for special attention.

The first is the inventory of Thame church, Oxon., 1448. It begins with a gorgeous suit of blue, embroidered with gold, with 2 copes, etc., "the which by assent off the Parysh syrvyth for Witsonday"; another suit of green and black was "for holy Thorsday and Trynyte Sonday"; a frontal of blue and green baudekyn with white and red flowers, with an upper frontal, etc., and two ridels of blue were to serve "for the v dayes off our lady"; and a red chasuble, etc. "for Mydsomer day and other dayes of Apostles." The Trinity altar in the same church had a chasuble of white for Lent. Other suits, etc., named in the inventory were green, white, red, blue, green and blue, and yellow.

The second list is of goods given by Sir Thomas Cumberworth to the Trinity chapel in Somerby church, Lincolnshire, in 1440.[1] It includes a whole suit of red "for the highest feast in Holy Kyrke"; a second suit of red "for those feastes that are to be ministred in read next principall feastes; a third suit "paled of clothe of sylke" for double feastes; a fourth of whole cloth of gold for great double and principal feasts; a suit of white for feasts of Our Lady and virgins; a black suit "to sing in of requiem or of Confessours"; a red suit for martyrs; another of baudekin "y° ground black wth grene werk," "for holy daies"; a set of white fustian with black martlets for ferial days, and another of white demyt for Lent and vigils; also "all the array for Lenton for the altar both over dose and nether dose with Curtines and fronturs all of lynnen cloth." The same donor gave to the high altar in Somerby church, *inter alia*, three vestments, one of white worsted for Lent and virgins, another of bord Alexander for weekdays; also "all the array for lentyn both over dose and nether dose with curteyns and frontere and all of lynen clothe."

The first of these lists stands quite by itself in the peculiarities of its use; the second is fairly normal, except in the use of black for confessors.

Of the Hereford sequence we know very little, while of that for Worcester we know nothing. At Hereford we have black copes on Palm Sunday, and red for Good Friday, on the authority of the *ordinale*. The inventories tell us that white was used for Lent in both dioceses. Red for Good Friday occurs at St. Nicholas, Bristol, in 1432, and for martyrs at the Black Friars, Worcester (1539). We also find in 1470, at St. John Baptist, Bristol, white apparels for work days and blue apparels for holy days; and black for requiem at the White Friars, Ludlow (1539). I have already mentioned the gift of green for Pentecost by abbot Wygmore to Gloucester abbey in 1329.

For Chichester diocese I am at present without any definite information whatever.

In Winchester diocese, as usual, white for Lent was common. Red for Good Friday, and blue for St. Nicholas, occur at St. Margaret's, Southwark (1485); and in 1552 we find blue for every day at Guildford, and workday vestments of red and of blue at St. Saviour's, Southwark.

As regards Canterbury, it is to be noted that the pontifical of archbishop Chichele (1414-43), contains a rule for colours almost identical with that of London in bishop Clifford's pontifical.

This rule cannot apply to the *province* of Canterbury, since we know that considerable diversity existed therein as regards the sequences of colours, and there is, therefore, no alternative but to accept it as the Canterbury diocesan sequence.

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[1] Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 180.

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At Canterbury the inventory of 1315 gives a black cloth with white lions for Palm Sunday, red for martyrs, green for confessors, and black for requiem.

For Rochester we have no information, except that at a very early date vestments were in use of white, red, green, black, yellow, and violet; bishop Wells also bequeathed green vestments for his obit in 1443.

With regard to other churches in Kent, we have, as usual, white for Lent, but red at Wingham and Lewisham; in the latter case with a white suit also. For Sundays we have green at Cobham (1479), and St. Dunstan, Canterbury (1500). Of ferial vestments, a list of cotidians at Cobham mentions striped, green, yellow, red, purple, and white; green with red ridells at St. Mary's altar, and red ridells at the Trinity altar. The Cobham inventory also gives white for Our Lady and Mary Magdalene. In 1552, at Eastridge hospital, Canterbury, was a green vestment with red cross for Corpus Christi, and at St. Mary's, Sandwich (1473) for the same day a pall of blue bawdekin.

For the cathedral church of Norwich we have no particulars, and the diocesan inventories give us very little help. White for Lent occurs at St. Lawrence, Norwich (1368 × 1419); at Lynn (1495); and Huntingfield, Suffolk (1534). At Lynn, too, we have blue for principal and red for double feasts, white for our Lady, blue for Sundays, and white for every day.

At Ely, we know from the 1539 inventory that red, white, blue, green, black, and yellow were used; and it appears that when the inventory was taken, on November 20th (St. Edmund, king and martyr) most of the altars had a red frontal. White for Lent occurs at King's and Christ's colleges, and the White Friars, Cambridge, and at Bassingbourn. The last named church had, also, for Sundays and other double feasts, vestments of white, red, and checky. St. Catharine's hall, Cambridge (*c.* 1473), possessed green bustian vestments for workdays.

We now come to the uses in the northern province.

The York service books give white for Christmas, for the procession on Palm Sunday, for Easter, and probably for Whitsuntide, and for feasts of Our Lady, and, possibly, black for Good Friday; red was also worn on the Saturday in the Advent Ember week; for everything else we must look to the inventories. These enable us to add blue for Advent and Septuagesima, white and also blue for Lent, and blue for obits. We also find white and also blue for Sundays and ferials, green for the feast of relics, and red for double feasts.

It appears, too, from the account of the visit of Richard III. and his queen to York on the feast of the beheading of St. John Baptist, 1483, that the colour for that day was blue: "Et sic intravit in civitatem honorifice . . . usque ad Ecclesiam Metropolitanam Sancti Petri. Et ibi honorifice receptus est cum processione et domino Decano et canonicis, cum omnibus ministris dictæ Ecclesiæ in capis sericis *blodii coloris* ad hostium Ecclesiæ occidentale."[1]

The diocesan inventories of course give white for Lent, together with black and blue for obits, and at Meaux abbey green for mortuaries on ferial days. A green ferial vestment was also bequeathed to Kneesall church, Notts., in 1434-5. The Meaux inventory further gives white for Good Friday and for Saturdays, blue (*aerii color*) for virgins, and gold work for Sundays and ferials.

At York there was also a Lent cloth of black and tawny, and blue cloths for covering the images.

At Durham we have white for Lent, red for Palm Sunday, white for Our Lady, red for Sundays, and red altar cloths with white silk hangings daily in use at the high altar; blue for St. Cuthbert (*c.* 1310) may indicate the use of that colour for confessors. In the diocese we find white for Lent, cloth of gold for Sundays at Farne-island, and green striped at Jarrow. At the latter place we also have, in 1341, a suit of citron colour, and in 1408 red for principal feasts. The ferial colours are various: black and blue at Hulne (Carmelites), white at Jarrow, and red at Coldingham.

The only information I possess as to Carlisle is a bequest in 1422-3, by bishop Whelpdale, of his cotidian vestment *de baudkyn glauco*, *i. e.*, green, with altar cloths for above and below of the same suit. The Edwardian inventories for Cumberland tell us nothing.

It is now necessary to enquire if any practical results can be deduced from the foregoing facts. Despite the apparent utter confusion of sequences and colours, and want of uniformity, it is possible to reduce the matter to a very simple issue.

[1] *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 211.

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In all probability, the colour-sequence of the cathedral church was followed more or less closely throughout the diocese, according as a church was well or ill provided with the necessary ornaments. In a rich conventual or parish church no difficulty would arise, but a moderately wealthy or poor church could only do its best, and this would be by using its richer vestments for high days, and the old and simpler things for ordinary occasions, the colour not being taken into account. Moreover, an ordinary parish church could not afford to renew the vestments and altar hangings as soon as they began to look shabby; it had therefore to make the best show it could with the ornaments it possessed. This would account, not only for such apparent eccentricities as the green Whitsuntide vestments at Thame, but also for the variety of colours of the Sunday and ferial ornaments, which were probably in many cases old and faded or shabby things that had once done duty on high festivals, but which the parish could not afford either to discard or replace by others in order to conform to the diocesan usage of colours.

It seems, too, that even in the cathedral churches some such method was sometimes adopted of dealing with the old vestments. Thus at Lichfield, the colours for a considerable part of the year were *varius* or left simply to the discretion of the sacrist; and at Exeter, any vestments *varii et incerti coloris* were to be put into use, according to their beauty and value, *juxta judicium seniorum*, "as the seniors should decide."

It is quite clear, also, as the inventories testify, that very many parish churches were possessed at most of only two or three vestments and as many altar cloths. Conformity to a colour-sequence was therefore out of the question.

The diversity between the English rules of colours is by no means so great as is generally assumed. If the several sequences be arranged comparatively in tabular form, with any additions or variations found in the inventories also inserted, it is curious to note in how many points they more or less agree. Thus the colours for Christmas, St. John Evangelist, the Circumcision, Passiontide, the Ascension, feasts of our Lady and virgins, and of apostles, evangelists, martyrs and confessors, are practically universal, as is by usage that of white for Lent; the inventories also show that the same colours, white, red, blue, green, yellow, black, etc., were used throughout England.

Many of the differences, too, can be shown to be more apparent than real by a proper consideration of the classification of colours already alluded to. Thus blue, violet and black for Advent; red and violet for Septuagesima; and violet and purple for Rogations, are severally practically identical with each other, as I have already shown. Such divergences as red and white for Easter, or white and black for Advent cannot of course be reconciled on these grounds; but as uniformity never existed, and is neither necessary nor practicable, we need not try to show that it is possible.

How far the gaps in one sequence may be filled up from another, or of what authority are the proofs of actual use given by an inventory, are somewhat difficult questions. The variations are by no means so great that a meagre sequence could not be filled up for actual use, and it is also easy to make a complete general sequence, for dioceses where the old rules cannot be recovered, that would be edifying and instructive. Where the old colour-sequences are known, why should they not be used? And why, too, should we not revert to our old English custom of using white for Lent?

Some attempt has already been made by way of revival of our old rules of colours, as in the *Kalendar of the English Church*, and the *Church Kalendar*, by the adoption of the Salisbury sequence, with the gaps "supplied by reference to the French Rites, especially to those of Paris and Rouen."

This, however, is clearly a wrong principle. In the first place it assumes that the Salisbury sequence was the one in use throughout England; but this, as we have seen, was certainly not the case at any time. In the second place, the gaps ought, in my humble opinion, to be supplied by a comparison of the old English rules for colours; the appeal to foreign sources being undesirable.

As a practical proof of the possibility of such a course, I may state that, while preparing this paper, it occurred to me to see how far a general sequence could be constructed by putting down as the colours to be used those which were most generally enjoined. Curiously enough, the general table thus formed corresponds very closely not only with the Salisbury sequence—so far as that goes—but with the modern Roman rule as well. (See the last column in the annexed table.)

I am afraid, however, that so long as people continue blindly to assert the universality of the imperfect Salisbury sequence, we shall never arrive at any practical settlement; but it is to be hoped that, with the growing regard for actual fact, those interested in the question of our English rules for colours will study the subject carefully for themselves, regardless of the "correct" and misleading rules laid down in the so-called ritual directories and other disseminators of error.

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I have endeavoured, in the foregoing pages, to set forth the results of my researches as to the old English liturgical colours.

In order to indicate the range of my enquiry, I append a chronological list of the inventories from which I have chiefly drawn my facts, with a reference to where they may be found, either in print or in manuscript. As I am not aware that any such list of inventories has hitherto been printed, it may be found useful in many ways both to ecclesiologists and antiquaries.

There is still a great deal to be done, and further search amongst the many unpublished inventories and other records will certainly bring to light much new and important matter, and, it is to be hoped, make clear much that is still obscure. It is, in fact, almost impossible to spend a day in the Public Record Office without adding to our store of knowledge, but much also may and ought to be done among the buried documents in muniment rooms and parish chests throughout the country.

LIST OF INVENTORIES.

1220	Certain Berkshire and Wiltshire churches.[1] *Reg. S. Osmund.* (R.S.) i. 275 *et seq.*
1222	Salisbury cathedral church. Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, iv. 99; and *Reg. S. Osmund.* (R.S.) ii. 127.
1224	Swallowcliffe, and Horningham, Wilts. *Reg. S. Osmund.* (R.S.) i. 311, 313.
1226	Knook, Wilts. *Ibid.* i. 295.
1245	London, St. Paul's cathedral church. *Archaeologia*, l. 464—500.
?1277[2]	Exeter cathedral church. Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter*, 297—301.
1295	London, St. Paul's cathedral church. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's cathedral, London*, 310; also *Archaeologia*, l. 460.
1307	The Temple church, London. *Norfolk Archaeology*, v. 90.
1315	Canterbury cathedral church. Dart, *History and Antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury*, Appx. iv.
1327	Exeter cathedral church. Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter*, 301, etc.
1341	Jarrow priory, Durham. Surtees Soc. xxix. 26.
1345	Lichfield cathedral church. *Trans. Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* iv. 107.
1350	London, chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life*, 263.
?1354	Hulne priory, Northumberland. Royal Arch. Inst. *Newcastle vol.* ii. cviii.; and *Harl. MS.* 3897.
1368-1419	Various Norwich churches. *Norfolk Archaeology*, v. 89.
1384-5	Windsor, St. George's chapel. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi. 1362.
c. 1386	Bridport, chapels of SS. John and Katherine. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Report, Appx. 476.
1388	Westminster abbey. *Trans. London and Middx. Arch. Soc.* v. 425.
1393	Wells, St. Cuthbert. Serel, *Historical Notes on St. Cuthberts, Wells.*
1395	Bristol, All Saints. Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol past and present*, ii. 105.
1396	Meaux abbey, Yorks. *Chronica de Melsa*, (R.S.) iii. lxxvii.
Temp. Henry IV.	St. Alban's abbey, Herts. Amundesham, *Annales Mon. S. Albani* (R.S.) ii. 322.
1400-1	Bridport, St. Andrew's chapel. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Report, Appx. 476.
1402	London, St. Paul's cathedral church. *Archaeologia*, l. 500.
1407	Warwick, St. Mary's college. P.R.O. *Chartulary of Warwick college*, ff. ccib. *et seq.*
1408	Jarrow priory, Durham. Surtees Soc. xxix. 80.
1412	Sele priory, Sussex. Dallaway and Cartwright, *Hist. of West Sussex*, ii. part ii. 227.
?1425	Doncaster, St. Edmund's hospital. *Archaeologia*, xlii. 403.
Temp. Henry VI.	Selborne priory, Hants. White, *History of Selborne*, 463.
Temp. Henry VI.	Bridgewater, St. Katharine's chapel. *Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.* vii. 102.
1431	London, St. Peter Cheap. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assocn.* xxiv. 150.
1432	Bristol, St. Nicholas. Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol past and present*, ii. 160.
1434	Scarborough, St. Mary. *Archaeologia*, li. 65.
1440	Somerby, Lincolnshire. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 180.
1446	Durham cathedral church and priory. *Wills & Inventories*, i. (Surtees Soc. 2), 90.
1446	Coldingham priory. *Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Soc. 12), lxxxii.
1447-8	Thame, Oxon. Lee, *History and antiquities of Thame church*, 30.
1450-1	Bridport, St. Andrew's chapel. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Report, Appx. 477.
1452-3	Cambridge, King's college. *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 304; xxi. 1.
1453	Bridport, St. John Baptist's priory. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Report, Appx. 493.
1454	Bristol, St. Ewen. Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol past and present*, ii. 250.

[1] Sunning, Ruscomb, Wokingham, Sandhurst, and Arborfield, in Berks; and Hurst, Mere, Heytesbury, and Hill Deverill, in Wilts.

[2] With additions of 1327.

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c. 1460 Oxford, All Souls' college. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii.
c. 1462 Salisbury cathedral church, Lady Hungerford's chapel. Dugdale, *Baronage*, iii. 207.
1466 Derby, All Saints. Cox and Hope, *Chronicles*, 157.
1466 London, St. Stephen Coleman St. *Archaeologia*, l. 34.
1470 London, St. Margaret Pattens. *Archaeological Journal*, xlii. 313.
1470 Bristol, St. John Baptist. Nicholls & Taylor, *Bristol past and present*, ii. 150.
1473 Sandwich. St. Mary. Boys, *History of Sandwich* (Part ii.), 374.
1474 Bridport, St. Katharine's chapel. *Hist. MSS. Commn.* 6th Report, Appx. 488.
1475 Wycombe, Bucks. Parker, *History and antiquities of Wycombe*, 106.
1479 Cobham college, Kent. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 239.
1479-86 London, St. Margaret Pattens. *Archaeological Journal*, xlii. 320.
1480 Hadleigh, Suffolk. *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Archaeology*, iii. 257.
1480 Jarrow priory, Durham. *Inventories of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth* (Surtees Soc. 29) 121.
1483 London, St. Christopher le Stocks. Freshfield, *Vestry Minutes*, 66.
1485 Langley priory, Leicestershire. *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. pt. i. 201.
1485 Southwark, St. Margaret.
1491 Jarrow priory, Durham. Surtees Soc. xxix. 125.
1495 Lynn, St. Nicholas' chapel. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 122.
1495 Oxford, Magdalen college. *Harleian MS.* 4240.
1498 Bassingbourn, Cambs. *East Anglian*, iv. 61.
c 1500[1] York minster. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1202; *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 212.
1500 Canterbury, St. Dunstan. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837. pt. ii. 569.
1503 Reading, St. Laurence. Kerry, *History of St. Laurence's, Reading*, 99.
1506 Exeter cathedral church. Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter*, 320.
1510 Burscough priory, Lancashire. *Reliquary*, xvi. 206.
1517 Reading, St Laurence. Kerry, *History of St. Laurence's, Reading*, 100.
1527 Derby, All Saints. Cox and Hope, *Chronicles*, 170.
1529 Long Melford, Suffolk. Neale and Le Keux, *Churches in Great Britain*, ii.
1533 Lindisfarne priory, Holy Island. Raine, *Hist. and antiqs. of North Durham.*
1533 Lynn, St. James—Gild of SS. Giles and Julian. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 131.
1534 Huntingfield, Suffolk.
1534 Boston, gild of St. Mary. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 185.
1534 Dunmow priory, Essex. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* N.S. i. 139.
c. 1535 Worcester cathedral church and priory. *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. 303.
c. 1535 Fountains abbey, Yorks. *Memorials of Fountains* (Surtees Soc. 42), i. 288.
1536 Minster, Isle of Sheppey, Kent. P.R.O. *Chapter House Book*, $A\frac{3}{12}$; *Archæologia Cantiana.*
1536 Lincoln cathedral church. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1278.
1536 Sawtre abbey, Hunts. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 238.
1536 Kilburn priory, Middlesex. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii. 425.
1536 Salisbury cathedral church. *Antiquitates Sarisburienses*, 187; Dodsworth, *Historical Account of the see & cathedral church of Salisbury*, 229.
1536 Waburn priory, Norfolk. P.R.O. *Exch. Q.R. Misc., Ch. Gds.* $\frac{19}{12}$.
1536 Ouston priory, Leicestershire. Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, I. cxxxvii.; *Associated Societies' Reports*, x. 337.
1537 Stanlaw abbey, Cheshire. P.R.O. *Exch. Q.R. Misc., Ch. Gds.* $\frac{19}{18}$.
1538 Marlborough, White Friars. *Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.* xii. 359.
1538 Salisbury, Black Friars. *Ibid.* xii. 360.
1538 Salisbury, Grey Friars. *Ibid.* xii. 361.
1538 Gloucester, Grey Friars. *Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, xiii. 184.
1538 Newcastle-under-Lyne, Black Friars. *Reliquary*, xvii 132.
1538 Plymouth, White Friars. *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* 2nd S. ii. 267.
1538 Cambridge, White Friars. Searle, *History of Queen's College, Cambridge*, 226.
1538 Exeter, Grey Friars. *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* 2nd S. ii. 268.
1538 Exeter, Black Friars. *Ibid.*
1538 Worcester, Black Friars. *Reliquary*, xx. 29; *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. 306.
1538 Worcester, Grey Friars. *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. 307.
1538 Newcastle-on-Tyne, White Friars. *Archaeologia*, li. 71.
1538 Truro, Black Friars. *Jour. Royal Inst. Cornwall*, viii. 23.
1538 Bodmin, Grey Friars. *Ibid.* viii. 24.
1538 Lilleshull abbey, Salop. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 207.
1538 St. Thomas-nigh-Stafford priory. *Ibid.* xliii. 211.
1538 Dieulacres abbey, Staffs. *Ibid.* xliii. 214.
1538 Darley abbey, Derbyshire. *Ibid.* xliii. 218.
1538 Dale abbey, Derbyshire. *Ibid.* xliii. 221.
1538 Barnwell priory, Cambs. *Ibid.* xliii. 225.
1538 Repton priory, Derbyshire. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assocn.* vii. 278; *Arch. Jour.* xli. 364

[1] Also of Chantries in the Minster for 1339, 1360 (?), 1364, 1366, 1378, 1420 (?), 1424, 1436, 1477, 1483, 1520-1, 1526, 1543, see *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35), 274, *et seq.*

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1539 Ely cathedral church. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1783, pt. i. 482.
1539 Peterborough abbey, Northants. Gunton, *History of the church of Peterburgh*, 58.
1539 St. Alban's abbey, Herts. *Reliquary*, xiv. 22.
1539 Ludlow, White Friars. P.R.O. *Chapter House Book*, $A\frac{3}{11}$.
1539 St. Osyth's priory, Essex. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 53.
1539 Bodmin, Cornwall. *Jour. Royal Inst. Cornwall*, vii. 119.
1540 Waltham abbey, Essex. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 257.
c. 1540 Westminster, St. Stephen's chapel. *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv.
c. 1540 Westminster abbey, *Ibid.*
c. 1541 Durham cathedral church. *Surtees Soc.* 22, xli.; *Archaeologia*, xliii. 247.
c. 1540-50 Lynn, St. Margaret—St. Leonard's chapel. Taylor, *Antiquities of King's Lynn*, 120.
1545 Burton abbey, Staffs. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 230.
1545 Oxford, St. Frideswide's priory. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii. 166.
1545 Poole, St. James. Sydenham, *History of Poole*, 311.
1546 Durham city churches. *Surtees Soc.* 22. xlv.
1547 Suffolk and Essex Churches. *East Anglian.* N.S. i. and ii.
1548 Westminster, St. Margaret. Walcott, *Hist. of St. Margaret's, Westminster*, 68.
1548 St. Alban's abbey, Herts. *Reliquary*, xiv. 27.
1548 Salisbury cathedral church. (Chantries.) *Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.* xxii. 318.
1548 Wiltshire chantries. *Ibid.*
1548 Northumberland chantries. *Surtees Soc.* 22. xc.
1549 Cornish churches. *Jour. Royal Inst. Cornwall*, vii. 92, 126.
1549 Stratton, Cornwall. *Archaeologia*, xlvi. 231.
1549 London, Hatherley's chantry, Queenhithe. P.R.O. Exch. Q.R. Misc., Ch. Gds. $\frac{5}{1-47}$.
1549 Four York churches. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 243.
1550 Chapel stuff in the Royal Wardrobe. *MS. Soc. Antiq. London.*
c. 1550 Wingham, Kent. *Sacristy*, i. 375.
c. 1550 York minster. *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc. 35) 306.
1552 Shrewsbury churches. *Arch. Jour.* xii. 269; *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.* x. 399.
1552 Boston, Lincolnshire. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 219.
1552 London, St. Paul's cathedral church. *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 197.
1552 Winchester cathedral church. *Archaeologia*, xliii. 235.
1552 London, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 124.
1552 Berkshire churches. Money, *Church Goods in Berks.*
1552 Cheshire churches. *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire & Cheshire*, N.S. xi. 173.
1552 Cumberland churches. *Trans. Cumb. & Westm. Arch. Soc.* viii. 186.
1552 Derbyshire churches. *Reliquary*, xi. 3.
1552 Essex churches. *Trans. Essex. Arch. Soc.* iv., v., & N.S. i.
1552 Hertfordshire churches. Cussans, *Church Goods in Herts.*
1552 Kent churches. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, viii.—xi. and xiv.
1552 Leicestershire churches (part). *Associated Societies' Reports*, xii. 133.
1552 Norfolk and Norwich churches (various). *Norfolk Archaeology*, i. 73; v. 116; vii. 20, 45.
1552 Northumberland churches. *Surtees Soc.* 22. xlviii.
1552 Suffolk churches. *East Anglian*, N.S. i. 5, etc.
1552 Surrey churches. *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iv. 1.
1552 Warwickshire churches. *Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine*, i. 154, etc.
1552 Worcestershire churches. *Associated Societies' Reports*, xi. 308.
1552 Yorkshire (E.R.) churches. *Reliquary*, xii. 196; xiii. 41, etc.
1553 Devonshire churches. *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.*, 2nd S. ii. 270.
1553 Lincoln cathedral church. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1287.
1556 Norwich, St. Gregory. *East Anglian*, N.S. i. 289.
1557 Lincoln cathedral church. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 1289.
1560-1 Derby, All Saints. Cox & Hope, *Chronicles*, 173.
1566 Lincolnshire churches. Peacock, *English Church Furniture.*
1566 Bodmin, Cornwall. Maclean, *Hist. of Trigg Minor*, i. 341; *Jour. Royal Inst. Cornwall*, vii. 121.

⁂ The inventories of the church goods of most of the English counties (except Bedfordshire, Rutland, Somerset, Sussex, Westmoreland, and Yorks, W.R.) are preserved in the Public Record Office. See the 7th and 9th Reports of the Deputy Keeper.

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THE DIVINE SERVICE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

ILLUSTRATED BY

THE REFORM OF THE BREVIARY OF THE HUMILIATI IN 1548.

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG, M.D., F.S.A.

Before beginning to speak of the reform of the Breviary, I may very well be asked to say what it is that I mean by the word. I think the best definition of a breviary is the psalter, the 150 psalms of David, distributed in parts so that the whole may be said once during the week. To the psalter, indeed, other things have been added, lessons from the Bible, hymns, collects from the Eucharistic Office of the preceding Sunday, and other liturgical *formulæ;* but the backbone of all is the whole Psalter said once a week. As it stands on the first page of the Roman Breviary of to-day: Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam. And by Divine Service I mean the recitation of this Psalter or Breviary. I am aware that of late years some have tried to limit the expression, Divine Service, to the Eucharistic Liturgy. But it was not so limited in the middle ages, as we may see in the *Myroure of oure Ladye*[1] where divine service, God's service, holy service, are all applied to the recitation of the Breviary; and it would be exceedingly inconvenient so to limit it now, while we all of us have in our hands the preface to the Prayer Book which distinctly speaks of the psalter as the Divine Service.

But how was the Psalter divided so that the whole could be recited during the week? We must remember that when the Breviary services were first constructed, they were far more numerous than the two for every day in our Prayer Book. A service was said, on the average, every three hours during the day, and some have thought during the night also, though very early these night services began to be said together; and now we speak of only one night office, or at the most of two. Reckoning eight services during the twenty-four hours, there would be in the week, then, something like fifty-six services, and this would give less than three psalms to each service, supposing no psalm to be recited more than once in the week.

But the simple distribution of three Psalms to each service was not the arrangement of the Gregorian Psalter, which, to us, is the most important of the various distributions of the psalter, because in England the Gregorian distribution was adopted in all the dioceses that we know of, and in Western Christendom it was very widely spread, being used in a large majority of the dioceses, and also by the Regular Canons, Praemonstratensian and Austin, and by the friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others. Now, roughly speaking and with large exceptions, so as to give only a general idea, we may say that the Gregorian distribution divides the psalter into two unequal halves: all the psalms, after the cixth *Dixit Dominus*, were said in the day offices; while all before the cixth were said in the night.[2] The psalms said during the day, with the exception of those at Evensong (a term much to be preferred to the Latin *Vespers*) were the same every day; but those said during the night, and most of

[1] Early English Text Society, 1873, p. 9. See the Sarum and York Breviaries, *passim*, for the word *servicium* applied to the choir services.

[2] I owe this idea to the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, who would often enforce it in conversation.

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those said at Lauds, the office at break of day, changed with each day in the week. They began with the first psalm on Sunday morning, and ended on Saturday with the cviiith, *Deus laudem.*[1] On Sundays eighteen psalms were said in the night office; on week-days twelve; on festivals only nine.

There are also two other distributions of the Psalter that concern us; one, the Benedictine, used by all the children of St. Benedict, including the Cistercians, and by the monks of the Charterhouse: the other, the Ambrosian, used only in the diocese of Milan. We shall have to speak of both of these distributions in dealing with the psalter of the *Humiliati.*

Then, in all these distributions, there were set, before the psalms of the hour, *formulæ* of preparation, such as the Lord's Prayer, *O Lord, open thou our lips,* and the like; and, after them, the *Kyrie eleison,* the Lord's Prayer, versicles with responds, and a collect. But the kernel of all continued to be the Psalms. Probably the first additions to be made, if they were not originally said with the psalms, were the canticles: *Magnificat* at Evensong, *Nunc Dimittis* at Compline, *Benedictus* and the Canticles from the Old Testament at Lauds, of which last we have an instance in *Benedicite* which was said on Sunday. Hymns of human composition were added, such as *Te Deum* at the end of Mattins; and metrical hymns, called *Ambrosianum,* because many of them are attributed to St. Ambrose. Metrical hymns are, in all likelihood, a late addition. There is a tradition that the Church of Lyons, which "knew no novelties," had no metrical hymns in its earlier breviaries.

To the night offices a very important addition was made in the shape of readings from the Holy Scriptures, or approved authors agreeable to the same. These are called Lessons; they varied in number according as the day was Sunday or week day. On week days, three lessons only were read; on Sundays and feast days, nine lessons. In the distribution of these, the aim was to read over the whole Bible once during the year. Isaiah was begun in Advent, Genesis in Septuagesima.

There are traces in the other hours that some scripture reading may have followed the recitation of the psalms. For example, a verse or two called the little chapter is still said after the psalms at Lauds, Evensong, and the Little Hours; and this may once upon a time have been much longer. At Besançon, we know, a lesson was read before Evensong. In the Lebrun papers (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds latin: 16,802. Notes probably written about 1715), we read: Après que le dernier coup de vêpres en achève de sonner on fait au choeur une lecture de la même homélie des leçons du matin c'est un chanoine qui fait cette lecture devant le lutrin de la même maniere et aux mêmes inflexions de voix qu'aux leçons de matins.

As an instance of the amount of Holy Scripture read in the tenth century in a Benedictine monastery during the winter, we may take the following account from the Abbot of St. Arnulph of Metz.

In the night offices of the winter, the prophets were begun on November 1, and were finished in two weeks, so much being read in one service that all Daniel was gone through in one reading. After Christmas they read the Pauline Epistles. At Septuagesima they began the Pentateuch, and this, including Joshua and Judges, they had finished a fortnight before Easter. During this last fortnight of Lent, they read the whole of Jeremiah.[2]

This order of reading the books of Holy Scripture in the winter is that even now observed in the Roman Breviary, and in the rest of the Christian year there are read the Apocalypse and the Catholic Epistles in the paschal season; the four books of the Kings, the sapiential books, Job, Tobit, Esther, and the Maccabees, after Pentecost up to November. It will be seen that, if this scheme were fully carried out, the greater part of the Bible would be gone through in the year.

At first there seems to have been no regular portion set apart for the day, such as we are accustomed to see both in the modern Roman Breviary and in the Prayer Book. Charles the Great is said to have pointed out to the reader the place at which to begin, and the reader continued until the Emperor stopped him by making some sound, a hissing or grunting noise. And even a strict order like the Cistercians seems to have shortened the lessons when they were in a hurry.[3]

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[1] In the Sealed Book it is *Deus laudum;* but I do not know of any authority in the Vulgate, Itala, or English Breviaries for this. It is *Deus laudem* in four editions of the Prayer Book before Charles II., viz., 1580, 1603, 1605, and 1625. In the version used by the *Humiliati* it is, however, *laudis,* which would be a close rendering of the English *God of my praise.* At the Restoration did some busybody in the printer's office, seeing *God of my praise,* think that the Latin must be altered to fit the English, and change *laudem* into *laudum?* But I do not wish to think this.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum,* Feb. 27. Vita B. Joannis Abbat. Gorziensis, cap. xix. § 81. Paris, 1865. t. vj. p. 710 E.

[3] Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne,* Dijon 1878. pp. 234 and 236. Consuetudines capp. cxiv. and cxv.

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I think the service in the Prayer Book that shows the office in its simplest form, without anything set before it or after it, is that part of the burial service which is said in the Church. It consists only of two psalms and a lesson. It is now undergoing expansion, however; a hymn is often sung in the Church, while the anthems said going into Church and at the grave, with the Kyrie, the Lord's Prayer, and the Collect, remind one of the *formulæ* which have been added to the ordinary daily offices. We may compare this expansion going on before our eyes with that which went on in the early ages of the Church.

This short sketch may give us some idea of what the Divine Service was intended to be in early times. The Preface to the Prayer Book, praises it as the "godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers," and tells us "that the same was not ordained, but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness." And it may be useful to take and comment on the several paragraphs of this preface to the Prayer Book, written at the same moment as this Breviary of the *Humiliati*, for the preface seems to give a very accurate account of the spirit of the breviary, and of the corruptions which had overtaken it in the sixteenth century. The Preface further explains that the ancient fathers "so ordered the matter that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once every year," and that they had "divided the psalms into seven portions, whereof everyone was called a Nocturn." This is an allusion to the twelve psalms said on week days during the night.

But if the Breviary were so excellent a thing, why was it in need of reform? Because it had been corrupted in detail: instead of the psalms being all recited once a week, "now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted." Now this serious corruption came about mainly by the multitude of festivals. On each festival, the regular order of the psalms was departed from, and proper psalms said, proper to the festival, whether of a martyr, a virgin, or a confessor. If we had a Good Friday, Easter Day and Holy Thursday every week in our Prayer Book, there would be a similar but not so great a disturbance of the recitation of the Psalter with us. In this way the orderly recitation of the psalms was destroyed, nearly every day being a festival. If not a festival, the week day might be assigned to some patron saint, or Christian doctrine: as Saturday to the Blessed Virgin, and Thursday to the Holy Eucharist. It may be noticed that on these two days the longest psalms of all were said: to Thursday belong *Salvum me fac* (lxviii.) and *Attendite popule* (lxxvii.) To Saturday the long psalms from cii. to cix. It is thus possible that the indolence of ecclesiastics may have suggested this means of evading the recitation of these longer psalms. Festival psalms were also only nine in number, instead of the twelve of week days and eighteen of Sunday. Practically it came to this: that those bound to recite the psalter were only acquainted with the psalms proper for festivals and the rest were unknown to them.

Attempts to justify this have often been made. It is said that the Breviary is a book of prayer, not of study; and the daily recitation of certain short, well-known psalms, will make prayer and meditation easier than will the recitation of long, unknown psalms. I do not think that this argument can gain many converts. It seems to me to be the argument of an advocate driven to despair; for psalms, regularly recited every week, would soon cease to be unknown; and I would ask any intelligent layman, whose knowledge of the psalms has been gained by a recitation of the psalter once a month, whether he finds his knowledge of the whole psalter a hindrance to his powers of meditation during the English Church service?

Another result of the multitude of festivals was this complication; when they fell together, as they often did, it had then to be decided which festival should have the precedence; and so a body of rules had to be drawn up, called the Pie. Of which the Prayer-Book speaks thus: "Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out." This is a fault from which the modern Roman Breviary does not appear to be free; for a Roman Catholic priest writing to the *Tablet* of May 18, 1888, says, "I have been saying Office now these forty years, and yet it often takes me longer to find my Vespers than to say them when found."

We have seen that, though the ancient Fathers aimed at reading the whole Bible once a year, yet there was no such fixed Lectionary as we have. We have noted the long lessons read by the monks. But as zeal waxed cold, the lessons became short; and a great shortening probably took place about the time that the Roman Court moved from the neighbourhood of the mother church of Rome, St. John Lateran, to the Vatican, hard by St. Peter's. The Pope and the Cardinals, we know, then shortened the old service, and the new was called the breviary according to the use of the Roman Court; and by little and little this use of the Roman Court got the upper hand even in the parish churches of Rome, and thence spread over Western Christendom. It was also adopted by the Franciscan Friars. As we know that the service was very much shortened at this time, it was most likely in the lessons that the service

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was so much shortened. We may remember that the Prayer Book tells us that the books of Holy Scripture were merely begun and never read through. For a lesson only a few verses were read, and then a system of versicles and responds interrupted the reading. Take, for example, the sixteenth century lessons on Advent Sunday: the first four verses only of the book of the prophet Isaiah being said, they broke in upon the reading with a number of responds and versicles, quite as long, if not longer, than the lesson itself; then the lesson was resumed at the fifth verse, and another four verses were read, at the end of which the reading was again interrupted by further responds and versicles. We have been reminded lately from an unexpected quarter of the disadvantage of the interruptions caused by these responds. In the correspondence of a Roman Catholic newspaper (*Tablet*, June 9, 1888, p. 932), we find a wish expressed for "consecutive readings of Holy Scripture, instead of fractional portions interrupted by incongruous responds: as, for example, this very day, we read a bit of history of the idol Dagon, and after the words 'only the stump of Dagon remained in his place,' we add: 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord' by way of respond fetched from the other end of the breviary." This must have been the respond of St. Francis Caracciolo (June 4) following on the Lesson of the Monday in the Octave of Corpus Christi.

The Prayer Book speaks of this interruption of the Lessons caused by the Responds when it says that the old order of the ancient Fathers "hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals": in order, therefore, to ensure the unbroken reading of Scripture it "cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture."

The Legends and other uncertain stories were indeed the least defensible parts of the mediæval breviary. By Legend is no doubt here meant the life of the saint appointed to be read upon his festival; and its historical accuracy may be appraised by the meaning that the word *legend* now has in modern England, and even by the Prayer Book we see legends classed with uncertain stories. Further, they were written in dreadful Latin; Quignon says they were offensive to grave and learned ears, and his phrases were caught up, and echoed over Western Europe. The Council of Colen in 1536 endorses what he says, and the Orleans Breviary of 1542 repeats it. In the conservative reform of the Breviary by Pius V. in 1568 the old legends were for the most part laid aside. It was impossible to defend them.

Further, the legends were a great cause of the interruption of Scripture reading: where a saint's day fell, the course of scripture reading was set aside for that day.

Like the Legends, the Responds were cut off because they broke the continuous course of the reading of scripture; but what were the anthems and invitatories? The invitatory was an invitation to worship interspersed between the verses of *Venite* at the beginning of Mattins, and it thus broke the continuous recitation of the psalm. An anthem or antiphon was a liturgical form said before and after a psalm or canticle. Many of these latter are very beautiful, and it may, I think, be allowed to one perfectly loyal to the Prayer Book to regret the loss of all these anthems. In his work on the Collects, Dr. Goulburn, the late Dean of Norwich, hopes that we may see a return of some of the best. I would refer especially to the anthems for the seven days before Christmas, the Great O's of Advent, as they are called, because all begin with O, of which we retain a trace in our Calendar on December 16 in the words *O Sapientia*, which is the beginning of the first of these anthems. It would be hard to imagine anything more beautiful than the prayers to Our Lord to come among us and save us, which these seven Gregorian anthems afford.[1] To these seven the *Humiliati* add *O Virgo* and *O Gabriel*, and they begin on December 15.

I have gone over in rapid review the Preface to the Prayer Book, because without some idea of the practical corruptions of the Breviary, as well as of its general structure, it would not be possible to understand the plans for reform. In the sixteenth century all within the Church of Rome were agreed that some reform of the Breviary must be undertaken. This was felt even at Rome itself, a Court which not unjustly has the reputation of extreme Conservatism. Popes like Leo X., Clement VII. and Paul III. gave their approval to various schemes of reform. The Cardinals, it is said, asked for leave to recite their office in Greek, because the Latin of the Breviary corrupted their classical style. Paul III. allowed Cardinal Quignon to publish his Breviary; a very important contribution to the efforts at Reform, and the first Text marks the extreme limit that the Reforming party attained in the Church of Rome. However, except to throw light upon the breviary of the *Humiliati* I shall not refer again to Cardinal Quignon's book: and I regret this the less because it has been discussed at some length in the January number of the *Church Quarterly Review* for 1889.

Besides the attempts at reform in the two texts of Cardinal Quignon there was an attempt

[1] See a valuable paper by Mr. Everard Green, in *Archæologia*, 1886. Vol. xlix. p. 212.

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at reform in the Breviary of Orleans published in 1542. The *pars hyemalis* is in the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, Paris, and it is there that I have examined it. Beyond the adoption of some Quignonian lessons for saints, the changes do not seem so very noteworthy. The Gregorian psalter has been retained, with responds and anthems. It must have been the title-page and introduction which stirred up the wrath of the Sorbonne, the doctors of which smote this Breviary with a censure in 1548, just as in 1529, before the days of Quignon, they had smitten an attempt at reform in the new breviary of the church of Soissons.[1] If, however, they could have seen the brief of Paul III. prefixed to the Breviary of the *Humiliati*, they would have found in it much the same expressions which they blame in the title-page and introduction of the Orleans Breviary. We are told, on Papal authority, that the new books of the *Humiliati* are "purged from all the blunders with which the old books abounded." (See the Papal Brief printed below.)

Another attempt at reform I would try to consider more fully in this paper. It is, so far as I know, an almost unworked field. Among the seventy or eighty breviaries which Mr. Blew lent to Dr. Neale for the construction of his well-known paper on the Breviary, there appears to have been a copy of the edition of the Breviary of the *Humiliati* published in 1548. But it is only named here and there in the paper, and Dr. Neale seems to have looked upon them as a French order, calling them *Frères Humiliés*. He does not seem to have made a special or accurate study of the book[2]; and, as yet, I have not found any one else in recent times who speaks of the *Humiliati* from a Liturgical point of view.

I am still doubtful whether I am to describe these religious as monks, canons, or friars, though I incline to think their proper name is canons. They accepted the rule of St. Benedict in 1436,[3] and with this it might be thought they would adopt the Benedictine Breviary in which the Psalter is begun on Monday at prime; but the earliest manuscript of their breviary that I have been able to examine was written between 1457 and 1483, and in this the distribution of the psalter is Gregorian. In short, as far as a few hours' work among the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Humiliati* in the Ambrosian Library at Milan can enable me to judge (aided as ever by the unfailing courtesy of Dr. Ceriani) I should say that there appears no evidence that after 1436 their psalter was ever Benedictine. The breviary appears to have more kindred with that of the Dominican Friars. I thought at one time that, as St. John of Meda[4] came from a town near Como, something might be found in the Como Breviary which was common to both. I have looked through the Como Breviary of 1523 without noticing any of the special features of the early *Humiliati* books. But in 1548 appeared the text which we are about to examine. Let us take first the most important feature of a breviary, the distribution of the psalter. For Evensong, Compline, and the Little Hours, except prime, the old Gregorian distribution has been left almost untouched; but the psalms for Mattins have been reduced to three for week-days and nine for Sundays; and this has been attained by redividing the Gregorian arrangement, which gave 12 for week-days and 18 for Sundays, into shorter portions. The 18 psalms of Sunday are divided into two equal portions which are recited on alternate Sundays; the 12 psalms assigned to each day of the week are divided by four, and the resulting three psalms are recited on the corresponding week-days of the month. Thus, for instance, in the old order on Thursday the twelve psalms from the 68th to the 79th, both inclusive, were said: the *Humiliati* divided them again into 68, 69, 70, for the first Thursday in the month; 71, 72, 73, for the second; 74, 75, 76, for the third; and 77, 78, 79, for the fourth and fifth Thursdays in the month. The repetition of the Psalms when there fall any days in the fifth week at the end of the month may be compared with the repetition in the Book of Common Prayer of the Psalms for the 30th day whenever a 31st day may fall.

In the following table I have throughout spoken of the psalms by their numbers in the Vulgate, adding the first one or two words of the Latin which agree in the great number with the Latin headings of the Prayer Book. By this means the English reader may readily recognize the psalm; for when there is a difference between the numbers of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew (which last the Prayer Book follows) it is only a difference of one figure, and the psalm may be easily found next to the number given.

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[1] C. Duplessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Iudiciorum*, Lut. Paris, 1728, t. i. Index p. xvii. t. ii. pp. 77 and 160 (wrongly paged 260). See some interesting papers by H. A. W. on the French Breviaries in the *Guardian*, beginning Dec. 5, 1888, p. 1843.

[2] J. M. Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology*, Lond. 1863. At p. 11, he says: "the Breviary of the *Frères Humiliés* (1548.) has only nine lections." At p. 26, he says: "the Breviary of the *Fratres Humiliati* (Rome [*sic*] 1548.) agrees with the arrangement of that of Rheims" of which he has just said that there are twelve lessons, eight of the saint, four of the Gospel or Homily. It is to be feared that Dr. Neale sometimes adopted the treacherous practice of trusting to memory rather than to notes.

[3] Hieronymus Tiraboschius, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, Mediolani, 1766. Vol. I. p. 87.

[4] For the history of the *Humiliati*, there is an important life of St. John of Meda in the Bollandist *Acta SS.* Sept. 26. t. xlvii. p. 320 of the Paris edition of 1867.

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TABLE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PSALMS IN THE BREVIARY OF THE *HUMILIATI.*

Mattins.

Dominica Beatus Vir.		Dominica Usquequo.
1 Beatus Vir 2 Quare fremuerunt 3 Domine quid	First Nocturn	12 Usquequo 13 Dixit insipiens 14 Domine quis
6 Domine ne 7 Domine Deus meus 8 Domine Deus noster	Second Nocturn	15 Conserva me 16 Exaudi Domine 17 Diligam te Domine
9 Confitebor 10 In Domino confido 11 Salvum me fac	Third Nocturn	18 Cœli enarrant 19 Exaudiat te 20 Domine in virtute

Here are printed pss. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, but without directions as to use. At end is *Te Deum.*

I Monday in the Month
26 Dominus illuminatio
27 Ad te Domine
28 Afferte Domino

II Monday in the Month
29 Exaltabo te
30 In te Domine speravi
31 Beati quorum

III Monday in the Month
32 Exultate iusti
33 Benedicam Dominum
34 Iudica Domine

IV & V Monday in the Month.
35 Dixit de iniusto
36 Noli æmulari
37 Domine ne in furore

I Tuesday in the Month
38 Dixi custodiam
39 Expectans expectavi
40 Beatus qui

II Tuesday in the Month
41 Quemadmodum
43 Deus auribus
44 Eructavit cor

III Tuesday in the Month
45 Deus noster
46 Omnes gentes
47 Magnus Dominus

IV & V Tuesday in the Month
48 Audite hæc
49 Deus Deorum
51 Quid gloriaris

I Wednesday in the Month
52 Dixit insipiens
54 Exaudi Deus
55 Miserere mei

II Wednesday in the Month
56 Miserere mei
57 Si vere utique
58 Eripe me

III Wednesday in the Month
59 Deus repulisti nos
60 Exaudi Deus
61 Nonne Deo

IV & V Wednesday in the Month
63 Exaudi Deus
65 Iubilate Deo
67 Exurgat Deus

I Thursday in the Month
68 Salvum me fac
69 Deus in adiutorium
70 In te Domine

II Thursday in the Month
71 Deus iudicium
72 Quam bonus Israel
73 Ut quid Deus

III Thursday in the Month
74 Confitebimur tibi
75 Notus in Iudæa
76 Voce mea ad Dominum

IV & V Thursday in the Month
77 Attendite popule
78 Deus venerunt
79 Qui regis Israel

I Friday in the Month
80 Exultate Deo
81 Deus stetit
82 Deus qui similis

II Friday in the Month
83 Quam dilecta
84 Benedixisti Domine
85 Inclina Domine

III Friday in the Month
86 Fundamenta
87 Domine Deus
88 Misericordias Domini

IV & V Friday in the Month
93 Deus ultionum
95 Cantate Domino
96 Dominus regnavit

I Saturday in the Month
97 Cantate Domino
98 Dominus regnavit
99 Iubilate Deo

II Saturday in the Month
100 Misericordiam
101 Domine exaudi
102 Benedic anima

III Saturday in the Month
103 Benedic anima
104 Confitemini Domino
105 Confitemini Domino

IV & V Saturday in the Month
106 Confitemini Domino
107 Paratum cor meum
108 Deus laudis

Lauds.

Sunday—92 Dominus regnavit, 99 Iubilate, 62 Deus Deus meus, 66 Deus misereatur, Benedicite, and pss. 148, 149, 150. Hymn and Benedictus. (Instead of *Iubilate* there is said from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday inclusive Ps. 117 Confitemini Domino.)

Monday—50 Miserere. 5 Verba mea. 62 Deus Deus meus 66 Deus misereatur, Canticum Esaiæ (cap. xii.) and pss. 148, 149, 150. Hymn and Benedictus.

Tuesday—As on Monday, but 2nd psalm is 42 Iudica me Deus and Canticum Ezechiæ (Esai. cap. 38).

Wednesday—As on Monday, but 2nd Ps. is 64 Te decet and Canticum Annæ (1 Sam. 2).

Thursday—As on Monday, but 2nd Ps. is 89 Domine refugium and Canticum Moisi (Exod. xv.).

Friday—As on Monday, but 2nd Ps. 142 Domine exaudi and Canticum Habac. (cap. iii.)

Saturday—As on Monday except 2nd Ps. 91 Bonum est and Canticum Moisi (Deuter. xxxii.).

Prime.

Hymn Iam lucis, Ps. 53 Deus in nomine, 118 Beati immaculati, Retribue, Quicunque.

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This is indeed a very noteworthy variety of the Gregorian distribution. And if the distributions had hitherto arranged the psalter on the week, it may be asked how came about the idea of arranging it on the month? I do not think the answer is very far to seek. The *Humiliati* had always been closely connected with Milan; they were at all events Lombard; and the Ambrosian Breviary has a distribution of the psalter, which it seems very likely may have suggested to the *Humiliati* their new arrangement. In this Ambrosian distribution, the mattin psalms (1—108. Deus laudem) are divided into ten portions, each called a *decuria*, and one of these is recited at Mattins daily except on Saturdays and Sundays, when hymns and psalms from other sources are recited; fourteen portions are thus made up for the daily mattins for a fortnight. The distribution of the psalms at Evensong and the little hours follows very closely the Gregorian arrangement.

Here, then, we have an arrangement not unlike that of the *Humiliati*. Evensong and the little hours with psalms like the Gregorian; the Mattin psalms (1—108) divided into portions which the Ambrosian extend (not exclusively) over a fortnight, the *Humiliati* over a month.

At this moment I do not know of any other breviary in which all the psalms are recited only once a month. There is indeed a liturgical book familiar to most of us which takes the place in England of the older breviaries, and in this the psalms are recited only once a month: I mean the Book of Common Prayer. The first Edition of this book appeared almost simultaneously with the reformed breviary of the *Humiliati*. The letter of Vicecomes is dated July 16th, the Papal Brief Nov. 21st 1548: while one House of Parliament passed the bill sanctioning the Book of Common Prayer on January 15, the other on January 21, 1548–49. From the scant notice of Agenda in Convocation[1] it may be inferred that the Common Prayer was drawn up after Nov. 5, 1547. It is thus within the bounds of a bare possibility that the English saw the *Humiliati* book before the Prayer Book was finally published: but how unlikely I need not say.

The *Humiliati* clearly knew of the evils caused by the state of the breviary at the beginning of the sixteenth century: one of the general rubrics, *de psalmorum mutatione et recitatione*, says that the length of the Sunday and week day psalms had caused many to betake themselves to the festival service on account of its shortness; and thus the greater part both of the psalms and of the Old and New Testament was not recited. But it must be owned that they did not propose any effectual cure. The redistribution of the psalter without any diminution of the number of the Saints' days left the old evil untouched. The *Humiliati* still continued proper psalms for the Saints' days; the Mattins of which had nine psalms and nine lessons; so that the indolent might complain that they had made the festival service longer than the week days, which had only three psalms. One remedy would have been to have retained the week day service, and commemorated the Saints by a place in the calendar, like the Book of Common Prayer, or by a collect and a lesson, as Quignon had done. In the new *Humiliati* Breviary the recitation of the psalter and reading of the Holy Scripture must have been continually interrupted; only the ferial service when it was said must have been a little shorter. As a restoration of a regular recitation of the whole of the psalter and of the reading of Holy Scripture, the main points for reform, the *Humiliati* breviary must be considered a failure; the number of Saints' days, not counting octaves and moveable feasts, amounting to one hundred and ten.

The lessons themselves are not longer than the mediæval ones, rarely more than five or six verses for each lesson, the reading being then interrupted by the responds. The readings from the fathers are about the same length.

The lessons from Holy Scripture follow the traditional distribution of Isaiah for Advent, the Pauline Epistles for the season after the Epiphany, the Pentateuch for Septuagesima, the Apocalypse and the Catholic Epistles for Eastertide, etc. But the version in which these lessons and the psalter are presented is very remarkable. We all know that the Vulgate is the authorised version in the Church of Rome, replacing the older Itala, of which traces are still to be found in the Breviary and Mass-book; for example, in *Venite* before Mattins and the Introits before Mass. Now in this new Breviary of the *Humiliati*, they have taken a version by Isidore Clarius, a monk of Monte Cassino, afterwards Bishop of Foligno, printed in folio at Venice by Peter Schœffer in 1542, a copy of which I have seen in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.[2] The adoption of any other version than the Vulgate or Itala is a great curiosity in a liturgical book, appearing with papal sanction. The *Venite* before Mattins, in the *Humiliati* Breviary, it is almost superfluous to notice, is in neither Itala nor Vulgate, but in the version of Isidore. As far as I have collated it, this version was used also in the edition of

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. t. iv. p. 15.

[2] I have again to thank Dr. Ceriani for the trouble which he took in helping me to identify this version. There is also a copy in the British Museum, press mark 3021. f. 5; of the second edition in 1555 press mark is 3021. f. 9.

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1751. The Legends of the Saints appear to have been borrowed freely from the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon, sometimes even verbatim, though, of course, they are much broken up, sometimes into three, sometimes into six, lessons. The same borrowing of the legends from Quignon may be seen in late editions, just before 1568, of the old Roman Breviary, and in the Orleans Breviary of 1542.

Two such radical changes in a breviary as a new distribution of the psalter and a new version of the Bible prepare our minds for any surprise that may follow. In the matter of hymns, however, the *Humiliati* seem to have been content with following the old lines; for the hymns in the edition of 1548 correspond generally with the hymns in the Dominican Breviary. For this purpose of comparison I have used a Black Friars' breviary, printed, no doubt, after 1505, and, I think, before 1540, and also a modern edition in two volumes printed at Mechlin in 1865. Some of the hymns which I have noticed as not common to both are these: the *Humiliati* hymn for Evensong on Trinity Sunday is *Adsumus et nos cernui*, the two last stanzas of *Adesto Sancta Trinitas:* For Evensong and Mattins of the Epiphany *Illuminans Altissime;* which appears to be a genuine *Ambrosian:*[1] for Evensong and Mattins on St. Mary Magdalen's day the first three stanzas of *Lauda mater ecclesia;* for Lauds the two last, beginning with *Aegra currit ad medicum.*[2] For lauds at Michaelmas day *Christi sanctorum*, the Roman hymn; and for St. Martin, *Martine par Apostolis* for Evensong and Mattins, and *Rex Christi Martine decus* for Lauds, portions of the same hymn.[3] *Rex gloriose martyrum* is the hymn at Lauds for the common of Martyrs; and another hymn for the Lauds of Confessors, *Laudemus Christi gratiam*, which I can find nowhere else, though I must own I have looked only in ordinary books, such as Daniel and Mone. It has been reprinted from this Breviary by Dr. Neale.[4]

It will be seen that Vicecomes has adopted the old mediæval hymns for the new breviary, notwithstanding all the contempt which he pours upon them (see his letter to Hieronymus Torgius below). Every reformer, on both sides of the Alps, despised at this time the mediæval hymns; they were considered the weak part of the breviary, and it may be remembered that it was with the hymns that Leo X. began his reform, by giving authority to Ferreri to write an entirely new collection, a collection which appears never to have come into liturgical use, although accompanied by a papal recommendation. To us now the early and mediæval hymns appear to be some of the most precious treasures enshrined in the breviary, and they share a place with the collects and the anthems in the hearts of Christians. To be just, let us remember that Cranmer appreciated the hymns, and wished to translate them; and one of his versions, that of *Veni Creator*, is still preserved in our English Ordinal. But what shall we say of the fate of the mediæval hymns in the house of their friends? No operation known to surgery is, I believe, half so cruel or so heartrending as the process which these noble and glorious hymns underwent at the hands of two Jesuits in the time of Urban VIII., a Barbarini Pope. In many of the finest not a single line remains untinkered. *Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barbarini.*

In making a further study of the parts of this reformed Breviary, I have been under the great disadvantage of having no earlier copy at hand with which I could compare the edition of 1548. I can only give the results of a few hours' search in the Ambrosian Library, where I was able to make a hurried comparison of the breviary of 1483 with that of 1548. But of all the breviaries that I have been able to examine at my leisure this reformed *Humiliati* has most in common with the early Dominican in the anthems, responds, etc.

Some of the changes which have struck me in looking over the pages of the *Humiliati* breviary are the following:

There is a new Confiteor: MS. I. 197 in the Ambrosian Library is a breviary of the *Humiliati* written between 1450 and 1483. On fol. 38 verso is the Confiteor at Compline as follows: Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et nobis [? vobis] quia multum peccavi cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa ideo precor vos orare pro me. The same is to be found in the printed Breviary of 1483. It is a form not unfrequently met with about this time. But in 1548 it runs: Ego peccator confiteor Deo omnipotenti patri, et filio, et spiritui sancto, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et omissione, mea culpa. Ideo precor vos orare pro me. *Chorus nunc respondeat* R. Deo gratias. The saints are to be left out except in private recitation. I think that this idea of confession to the Holy Trinity rather than to the Saints has been taken up by the editors of a little book called *Pardon*

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[1] Luigi Biraghi, *Inni Sinceri e carmi di Sant' Ambrogio*, Milano, 1862. p. 55.

[2] According to Mone (*Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1855. Bd. iii. S. 423.) these are attributed to Odo of Clugny.

[3] Mone (*op. cit.* p. 431.) attributes this to the 7th or 8th Century.

[4] Joannes M. Neale, *Hymni Ecclesiae*, Oxon. 1851. p. 213.

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through the precious Blood, published more than five-and-twenty years ago by Messrs. Palmer. Dr. Neale, we know, was acquainted with the Breviary of the *Humiliati:* he may have suggested to the editors this form for use in private confessions.

Another change is a singular one. In the manuscript (H. 267.) the Sundays in the summer are called the Sundays after Pentecost as they are in the Gregorian Sacramentary: and I fancy that in the early books the feast of the Trinity may have been kept on the Sunday next before Advent as it was at Como and not a few other churches, though in the printed Breviary of 1483, Trinity Sunday is the first after Pentecost. In the new Breviary, the Sundays after Pentecost become the Sundays after Trinity. We know that the custom of counting the Sundays from Trinity was very widespread in the middle ages, for we find it in the liturgy of the monks of the Charterhouse, of the Dominican Friars, and many diocesan uses, as well as in our own Sarum. But when a Church or Order had once adopted either custom it seems needless to make a change.

The blessing at the end of Compline is also curious, though I do not suspect that it is an innovation. After the Collect *Visita quaesumus*, comes this rubric: *Hinc praepositus, vel hebdomadarius det benedictionem omnibus in choro stantibus capite inclinato, dicendo.* Pax, et benedictio Dei patris omnipotentis, et filii, et spiritus sancti descendat super vos, et maneat semper vobiscum. R. Amen. *Mox incipiatur Salutatio ad Virginem.* Salve, regina misericordiae, etc. A blessing at the end of Compline is very ancient; but I do not yet know of any with this precise form, beginning with *Pax*, unless there be an allusion to it in Sicardus.[1]

Another custom of the *Humiliati*, common to them with many other breviaries, is their way of saying the *preces* after *Benedictus* at Lauds the last three days of Holy Week. A very similar form will be found in the Dominican Breviary.

Also before the Mattins of Easter Day the Resurrection is announced as follows: In die sancto Pasche, congregatis cunctis fratribus in choro prepositus stans ante altare in gradu, et tenens crucem manibus conversus ad chorum ter dicat, *Christus Dominus resurrexit.* Voce primum mediocri, secundo autem, et tertio altiori, choro toties respondente, *Deo gratias.* Quo dicto mox fiat osculum pacis mutuo, a primoribus ad ultimum suo ordine, ac devote, postea inchoetur matutinum solemni more in nomine, Domini.

This salutation at the announcement of the Resurrection is very ancient and wide-spread; it might almost be called a Catholic custom. It is to be found in the first *Ordo Romanus*,[2] and must have lasted near to the reform of Pius V., for it is spoken of in a Roman *Sacerdotale* of 1537.[3] It is practised by the Greeks;[4] and continued in many churches of France, until the time of Lebrun Desmarettes,[5] and in Germany at Saltzburg in 1518.[6] But it is little spoken of in the modern Dictionaries, though the Macri in their *Hierolexicon* name it.

Having ended our notes on the text, there yet remain two letters prefixed to the editions of this breviary which are of great importance. One is a letter of Paul III. dated Nov. 21, 1548, the other is a letter of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo prefixed first to the edition of 1630, but dated the 10th April, 1631. The papal brief tells us that Hieronymus Torgius had prepared the breviary; by apostolic authority, the pope approves and confirms it, and exhorts the *Humiliati* of both sexes to follow and observe its rubrics and rules of recitation, whether for the day or the night offices.

In thus approving the new breviary, Paul III. approves of the fresh distribution of the psalter on the month for the night offices, and of the use of a version different from that of the Vulgate or Itala, two circumstances well worthy of being remembered.

The letter of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo is singularly different in tone from that which is prevalent at the present day. A French prelate of our time would have clutched at the chance of abolishing a local breviary that had passed through the crucible of a reform in the preceding century. The Italian Cardinal, on the other hand, begins at once to rebuke the nuns for having discontinued the use of their Order, on certain vain and false pretences, contrary to his wishes. He shows them that they have possessed a particular breviary for far more than the 200 years prescribed by the Bull *Quod a nobis* as necessary for its retention; that editions had been printed in 1483, 1504, 1535, and that in 1548 it was corrected very thoroughly, and the correction confirmed by an apostolic brief. The Cardinal considers that the nuns are bound in conscience to recite their own breviary; and this because they have the right by the bull *Quod a nobis*. He does not seem to lay so much stress on the apostolic brief.

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[1] Sicardus, *Mitrale*, Lib. iv. cap. ix. ed. Migne, p. 185.

[2] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724, t. ii. p. 28.

[3] *Sacerdotale . . . secundum ritum S. Romane et Apostolice Ecclesie*, Venetiis, 1537. fol. 263

[4] Tho. Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, Lond. 1680. p. 32. Keyser, *Kurzer Abriss der russischen Kirche*, Erfurt, 1788. p. 198.

[5] *Voyages liturgiques de France* par le Sieur de Moleon, Paris, 1718, p. 198.

[6] *Brev. Saltzb.* Venetiis, 1518.

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One may be allowed to point out the difference in tone between this letter of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo and of certain letters addressed to the French prelates in the middle of this century. The Cardinal evidently knows nothing of those strange dicta which contemplate the opinion that the mere correction of printers' errors, not to speak of a redistribution of the psalter, in a particular breviary, may destroy the right of that Church to a breviary of its own given by the prescription of two hundred years.[1] Here, the breviary of the *Humiliati* had undergone a complete revolution, quite as great, say, as that of Lyons or Paris in the eighteenth century; and yet it is the prescription of two hundred years under the Bull *Quod a nobis* to which the Cardinal mainly appeals, though he does mention incidentally the papal brief of Paul III. which approves and confirms the revolution. Nowadays it would be the papal brief that would be everything; and it may be noticed that the title page of the *Humiliati* claims this approbation as a new and unheard of privilege: Confirmatio eiusdem, quod nunquam alias, per breve apostolicum.

The letter of Vicecomes, which follows the papal brief, is certainly an extraordinary composition. The jingling Latin, the profane invocation of the Almighty, the coarse expressions (*lac gallinae*), are all most unsuitable as an introduction to a book of devotion; and we no longer wonder that the *Humiliati* were dissolved within a few years for their complicity in the attempt upon the life of St. Charles. The nuns of the Order, however, were suffered to remain; and it became interesting to enquire whether the nuns for whom the Breviary of 1751 was reprinted still existed: and if they existed, whether they still continued to use their own proper breviary. During the April of 1889 I was so fortunate, in passing through Milan, as to make the acquaintance of the Rev. F. van Ortroy, a Bollandist, to whom the life of St. Charles Borromeo has been entrusted. The biographer of St. Charles was likely to have all the details of the history of the *Humiliati* at his fingers' ends, and he has with great courtesy placed the following facts at my disposal:

"Aucun auteur, à ma connaissance, ne parle de l'extinction des *Humiliées*, *Humiliatae*. Il est certain que ces religieuses ont cessé d'exister. Mais *quand* disparurent-elles?

"A l'apparition du tom. vii. de Septembre des *Acta SS.* c'est-à-dire en 1760, il y avait encore 13 couvents d'Humiliées en Italie. C'est donc pour elles que fut réimprimé le bréviaire en 1751.

"Pour savoir quand ces religieuses disparurent complètement, j'ai parcouru, année par année, depuis 1762, le *Milano sacro*, sorte d'almanach catholique, où se trouvent consignées toutes les paroisses, maisons d'éducation, monastères de l'archidiocèse de Milan. D'après cet examen, pendant une vingtaine d'années, c'est-à-dire jusque vers 1784, les Humiliées ont conservé trois maisons à Milan; peu à peu deux disparurent, et la dernière *S. Maria Maddalena al Cerchio* est encore renseignée avec son personnel de priora, vicaria, cancelliera, confessore dans le *Milano sacro* de 1810; mais plus dans celui de 1811. Alors j'ai consulté le *Bolletino delle legge del Regno d' Italia;* et j'ai trouvé un décret du 29 avril 1810 (n. 77.) intitulé: 'Suppressione delle corporazioni religiose.' Donc il est légitime de conclure que le restant des Humiliées disparut en vertu de ce décret."

Thanks, then, to the research of Father F. van Ortroy we know that the *Humiliatae* lasted through the first decade of the present century: and it seems likely enough that they continued to use their own breviary until the time of their extinction. It is certainly noteworthy that the last trace of the lessons of the breviary of Quignon, as they stood in his breviary, should have disappeared only in our century.

As the edition of 1548 is certainly the most important of the editions of the Breviary of the *Humiliati*, it may be well to give some further account of it, with a reprint of Paul III.'s Brief, the strange letter of Vicecomes to Torgius, an abstract of the Calendar, and the general rubrics in full.

The following are the Breviaries of the *Humiliati* which I have seen, or heard of.

[1] This may seem an extravagant thing to say, but it appears to be the doctrine now most in vogue at Rome. The Breviary at Beauvais underwent certain "variationes et additamenta" particularly in 1741 and 1848, and the Sacred Congregation declares "propterea a iure cessasse," and further we read: Quelle chiese le quali hanno legittimamente un breviario diverso dal romano, non possono portarvi, di propria autorità, le più leggiere riforme, neanche accidentali. (Aloys. Marchesi, *de legitimitate Breviarii et Missalis O. Cisterciensis*, Romae, 1868. pp. 38 and 39.) Guéranger, whose zeal for the reformed Roman books is known to all, had thought that the Bishops might make slight changes in their breviaries, for example, correct gross blunders of fact as to the authors of homilies, without losing their right to a breviary of their own (*Inst. lit.* 1841. t. ii. p. 78.); but he was reproved for this opinion by the Roman authorities. (*Questioni proposte e discusse nell' Accademia liturgica eretta nella pia casa della Missione presso Monte Citorio*, Roma, anno XVI. 1855-56. p. 32. not. 2.) Bouix had also agreed with Guéranger, and had to retract in his next edition. (*Tractatus de Iure liturgico*, 1860. Atrebati, ed. 2da. p. 270.)

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MANUSCRIPTS.

H. 267 and I. 197, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Both are about the same age, written between 1457 and 1483. In H. 267 an early instance of *numerari* in *Te Deum* occurs, both in Mattins, and in the Bonaventuran *Te Deum.*

PRINTED.

1483. *Colophon.*

Breviarium hoc sacre humiliatorum societatis, per Stephanum de Notti Sacrar. litterarum magistrum eximium . . . castigatum, Philippus de Sanctis . . . imprimi curavit per Ioannem Antonium de Bonate, Mediolani anno a Dominica nativitate 1483 quarto cal. Septembris, regnante Ioanne Galeacro Sforcia Vicecomite duce sexto invictissimo.

[Manuscript on last page of imperfect copy in the Ambrosian Library said to be taken from colophon of perfect copy.]

Gothic, red and black, double columns, 33 lines, 16°. I am indebted to M. Léopol Delisle for the information that the National Library at Paris, possesses three copies of this edition, one on paper, and two on vellum.

1504.

Breviarium Humiliatorum. [See below, Cardinal Borromeo's letter prefixed to edition of 1620.]

1535.

Breviarium Humiliatorum. [See below, Cardinal Borromeo's letter prefixed to edition of 1620.]

1548.

Breviarium cum psalmis etc. [as below.] Colophon : Mediolani ex officina Io. Antonij Castillionei. decimo septimo Calendas Augusti Anno MD xlviij ab orbe redempto.

Gothic, red and black, double columns, 36 lines, ff. 466, 8°.

1620. *Title.*

Breviarium | Romanum. | ad usum, et secundum Ritum | Fratr. Ord. Humiliatorum. | sub D. Patris Benedicti foelici ductu | Christo pie militantium. | Pauli Tertii Pont. Max. | auctoritate Confirmatum.

A wood cut of the Crucifixion.

Papiae | apud Io. Baptistam Rubeum. MDCXX | superiorum permissu.

Roman, red and black. 33 lines, pp. 1328, 8°.

1751. *Title.*

Breviarium | ad usum | Monialium | Ordinis | Humiliatorum | olim | Pauli III. Pont. Max. | auctoritate probatum | et ad hanc usque diem ab eis retentum, | iterum editum emendatum, | et auctum. |

An engraving of the Holy Lamb with "Humilitas" below it.

Mediolani MDCCLI. | ex typographia Bibliothecae Ambrosianae | apud Ioseph Marcellum. |

Roman, black : double columns, 45 lines, pp. xxxv. 712, 72. 4°.

The title page of the edition of 1548 is taken up by a representation of three Saints. St. Benedict, in his monk's gown, and bearing a pastoral staff, is in the middle; on his right, is a bishop, also in monk's gown, and bearing a mitre on his head, and a pastoral staff in his hand; on his left is a monk. Underneath St. Benedict are the letters S. BN. In the border by the side of the bishop are the letters S. BAVDOL [INVS] enclosed in a circle; by the side of the monk S. IOA [NNES] PBR. [of Meda] likewise in a circle. The border is 10 millimetres wide in the vertical, 18 millimetres in the upper horizontal, and 15 mm. in the lower horizontal, sides: the whole engraving 117 by 77 mm. The two vertical borders are adorned with books and vestments, the circles containing the names of saints being in the middle. The upper horizontal border contains four cherubs, and in the middle the sacred monogram I. H. S., with a cross standing on the transverse bar of the H. The lower border shows ten monks adoring the vernicle in the middle.

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On the verso are these lines in Italics :—

Ad Divos obversos | Deprecatio.

Salvete Heroes Christi, divina propago,
Et tutelares nobis estote (precamur)
Iugitur ante Deum, lemurum ne praeda malorum
Simus, et immitis barathri trudamur ad umbras
Obtentu vestro foelici pace fruatur
Candida Religio, priscumque resumat honorem
Ac tandem aetherea vobiscum regnet in aula.

M. V. P.

S.

On the second folio recto is the real title as follows in Gothic type, red and black :

Breviarium cum psalmis, hymnis, ac aliis pluribus summa | diligentia nuper recognitum, et emendatum, *novisque* | insuper, atque iis eruditissimis lectionibus miri | fice refertum, *ad usum* et secundum ritum | fratrum ordinis humiliatorum, sub | divi patris *Benedicti* faelici | ductu *Christo* pie | militantium. |

Here is an oval woodcut of a Child bearing a scroll with the legend: Et Exaltavit Humiles.

Under the woodcut follows the brief of Paul III as follows :—

Confirmatio eiusdem, quod nunquam alias per breve apostolicum tenoris ut infra, videlicet.

Paulus Papa iij.

Ad futuram rei memoriam, Decet romanum pontificem ea, quæ ad divini cultus augmentum sacra esse noscuntur, probare, et confirmare, ac alias religiosorum commoditati, et utilitati consulere prout in Domino conspicit [conspicitur : 1751.] salubriter expedire, Exponi siquidem nobis fecit dilectus filius Hieronymus Torgius præpositus domus beatæ Mariæ de la Canonica prope, et extra muros mediolanenses ordinis humiliatorum, et totius ipsius ordinis generalis Magister, ac utriusque iuris doctor, quod cum ipse ordo humiliatorum ob calamitatem temporum, et penuriam librorum ad recitationem divini officii iuxta ritum ipsius ordinis compositorum breviariorum nuncupatorum diutius laborasset, et propterea dictus Hieronymus libros huiusmodi opera, et impensa suis de novo imprimi facere cogeretur, ipse præcipuam curam adhibuit ut libri huiusmodi bene compositi, et correcti, ac mendis omnibus, quibus antiqui abundabant purgati, in lucem ederentur, et demum in eam formam redigerentur, quæ animarum saluti magis expedire, et orantibus, ac recte intelligentibus summe placere posset, et ut exinde uberior fructus laborantibus in vinea Domini proveniret, quædam pauca in libris huiusmodi non tamen a recto textu sacræ scripturæ, vel ordinibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ recedendo mutari, et ad commodiorem usum reduci, et nonnulla superflua resecari, et illa aliis magis utilibus repleri mandavit. Quare ne religiosi dicti ordinis super recitando prædicto sic per eum reformato divino officio trepident, nobis humiliter supplicari fecit, ut reformationi officii huiusmodi sic per ipsum Hieronymum (ut præfertur) factæ robur apostolicæ confirmationis adiicere, aliasque in præmissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui bonæ memoriæ Gregorii tunc sancti Ciriaci in thermis Cortesii, et dilecti filii nostri Joannis sancti Vitalis titulorum presbyterorum Cardinalium Moroni nuncupatorum eiusdem ordinis apud nos successive protectorum dignis relationibus percepimus pauca, reducta, resecata, et repleta huiusmodi non minus necessaria quam utilia fuisse, et qui animarum salutem, et dicti ordinis salubrem directionem sinceris desyderamus affectibus, huiusmodi, ac dicti Joannis Cardinalis, et protectoris in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, reformationem officii huiusmodi per dictum Hieronymum sic (ut præfertur) factam, apostolica autoritate tenore præsentium ex certa scientia approbamus, et confirmamus, concedentes omnibus, et singulis dicti ordinis Prælatis, Præpositis, Prioribus, et fratribus, necnon Abbatissis, ministris, Monialibus, et sororibus, eosque in Domino ut id faciant hortantes, ut de cætero in recitatione divini officii, et illius tam nocturnarum quam diurnarum horarum libris, opera, et impensa dicti Hieronymi (ut præfertur) impressis, seu de proximo imprimendis, omnes, et singulas illorum rubricas, et annotationes sequendo, et observando, uti possint, et debeant. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac dicti ordinis, et illius domorum quaruncunque, etiam Iuramento confirmatione apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque indultis, et literis apostolicis sub quibuscunque tenoribus, et formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus, et insolitis clausulis, irritantibusque, et aliis decretis quomodolibet etiam motu proprio concessis, ac etiam iteratis vicibus approbatis, et innovatis. Quibus omnibus, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa, et individua, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem

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importantes mentio, seu quævis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, tenores huiusmodi, acsi de verbo ad verbum insererentur, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat specialiter, et expresse derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die xxi. Novembris M.D.XXXXviij. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quintodecimo.

Glo. el. Fulgiñ.

Here follows the letter of Maximus Vicecomes.

Reverendissimo patri, ac praestantissimo Iuris utriusque Doctori D. D. Hieronymo Torgio Mediolanensis congregationis humiliatorum nuncupatae generali ministro, Frater Maximus vicecomes eius classis praepositus. S. D.

Non semel impressioni (ut scis) iamolim mandata fuerunt nostri ordinis breviaria, quae dicunt, Reverendissime praesul, sed secundo et tertio. Et ex hoc plane nescio, unde tot in illis eruperint mendae, quot legentibus occurrunt quotidie ita, ut neque sensus ullus quoquo modo inde elici possit, Bone Deus, ut reliqua omittam, quae ibi plurima insunt obelo digna, quis non rideat lectionum praecipue inconcinnam concinnitudinem? ebulientemque subinde errorum ubique prope innumerabilium scatebras scaturiginem? quorum quis fuerit in caussa typographus ne, an rudis autor, indicet alius, De hymnis vero quid loquar? adeo depravata est in pluribus eorum lectio, ut plerunque nec mensuram pedum servet, nec ordinem, minusque syllabarum quantitatem. Et tamen haec nonnullis eatenus arrident, et placent, ut maxima illis religio sit, si conetur quis eos ab huiusmodi male imbibitis, bene avertere, de quibus forte, nec illepide dici posset. Dignum patella operculum. Caeterum qualia qualia fuerint ea breviaria, iam ad id exitus devenere, ut ne unum quidem alicubi, acsi lac gallinae esset, venale habeatur. Tempus enim omnia destruit, et saepe necessitate contingit, ut malorum iuxta, ac bonorum idem usus sit. Proinde, Pater amplissime, ne congregatio nostra humiliatorum, cui tu nunc merito praesides, amplius his, quos diximus laboret morbis, habeatque et ipsa (sicut par est) unde Deo commode laudes referat, ac debitas gratiarum actiones, neve careat spirituali animarum cibo (quod summae impietatis, summique dedecoris foret argumentum maximum) consyderansque insuper quantum alioqui noxæ afferat religiosis viris huiuscemodi librorum defectus, cum Reverendis patribus ordinis definitoribus super hac re crebro, et diutius collocutus, tandem inter vos convenit, ut nova breviaria omnino cudantur, eaque cumprimis emuncta, correcta, ac probe concinnata, quo et saluti proficiant animarum, et legentium simul piae devotioni satisfaciant, res sane digna, ac nullo unquam temporis interstitio peritura. At cum matura quadam celeritate hic opus esset ob indigentiam, et multorum inopportunam efflagitationem, tuae, eorumque patrum definitorum dignationi visum fuit, isthuc negocii mihi tunc continuo demandandum, quatenus illius compilationi, ac correctioni sedulo insisterem, adhibita pro modulo ingenii mei lima, qua superflua resecando, necessaria tantum, utiliave apponerem. Hanc provinciam, etsi scirem arduam, et periculosam, longeque meis imparem viribus, haud tamen gravatus subii, nec deprecatus sum, tum propter sanctae obedientiae iugum, quae a sacris initiatis maxime, et sine mora praestanda est, tum propter talentum a Deo optimo maximo nobis datum (si quod forte datum est) ne illud impudenter scilicet, atque infructuose absconditum servaremus, tum quoque, ut et nos homunciones aliquid in communem reipublicae nostrae utilitatem aliquando attulisse videremur, verumenimvero toto mentis affectu confidens in Domino, a quo omne datum optimum, et donum perfectum proficiscitur, et qui linguas infantium facit disertas, illi strenue me, ac propere accinxi, nihil veritus, seu molis magnitudinem, seu malignorum insultus, auspice Christo redemptore. Quare, antistes optime, en, opus mihi creditum, in hac quam cernis, formam, longis lucrubrationibus redegimus, redactumque tuo iussu subito typographis imprimendum tradidimus ob necessitatem, nec nonum pressimus in annum iuxta Horatii dictum, quo contigisse levissime potuit, ut pleraque in eo desyderentur, quae si maturum ad partum usque perducta fuissent, non utique mutila, aut informia, si quae apparebunt membra, ita prodiissent, nihilosecius illud ad lucem ducere nixi sumus, quo melius potuimus, modo, curantes summopere, ut ex ipsis lectionibus tam veteris instrumenti, quam novi, simul et ex ipsis sanctorum historiis, in quibus compilandis gravissimos, ac probatissimos autores tantummodo sequuti sumus, devitatis penitus anilibus fabellis, merisque puerorum cantilenis, seu mavis naeniis, quae etsi a vulgo recepta, sancta tamen detestatur ecclesia tanquam apocrypha, et nullo freta certo, vel fide digno autore, quae magis ipse spuria dixerim verus, germanusve eliciatur sensus, et sic fructum aliquem adferant salutarem. Non enim chimeras finximus propria autoritate, ut multi saepe solent, aut humano capiti equinam addidimus cervicem. Non inquam de nostro paupere penuariolo quicquam omnino deprompsimus praeter laborem, prohibeant superi, ut profana per nos sacris misceantur Verum haud nescius sum, quot iaculis ex hoc me impetent nonnullorum linguae praesertim ignorantium, et sororcularum nostratium, quarum plurima sunt honoranda collegia, cum

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viderint fere mutata omnia, atque eousque emendata, ut nil, aut parum prioris imaginis habere videatur, maxime in ipsis lectionibus matutinalium officiorum, dicentque denuo esse discendum, immo dediscendum, et novum laborem assumendum, quod quidem difficillimum fuerit ex inveterata iam consuetudine, clamabuntque elatis in me vocibus, et maledicent forsan, atque ita Camerinam (ut est in proverbiis) non frustra moverim, quibus tamen omnibus facile calumnias, et iniurias condonabo, si me id consulto fecisse sciant, noverintque eorum me praecipue saluti pie prospexisse, et e tenebris, longeque confusa barbarie illos eripuisse. Fatebor ingenue, nescio si quae crassa ignorantia effutit, libenter audiat omnipotens, etiam si ex intimo cordis proveniant, cum is dederit doctores, et leges ad instituendos populos, rudemque plebeculam, praesertim in mediis urbibus, et frequentibus locis, ubi eorum copia nullisnon horis obviam haberi potest. Viderint, quorum interfuit, vel interest, modo nostri instituti non exigit ratio de huiusmodi disserere, quae convenientius a theologis pertractantur. Quamobrem, ut benignius a Domino deinceps audiantur, et lubentius, utque in preculis horariis, quas ipsi eidem quotidie de more fundunt, interim pro voto exaudiantur, haud quaquam eos pigeat (quaeso) quantuli laboris, videlicet prae manibus quoties orant, novum hoc breviarium habere, quousque assuetudine in eo profecerint, quod brevi futurum est, sicut et in veteri minuet molestias ipsa utilitatis evidentia, necnon iucunda prorsus, et delectabilis rerum facies, dum ibi cuncta sibi recte constare, ac singula passim suo ordine procedere, erudite, affabre, pure, lucide, breviter denique, et emuncte deprehendentur. Nec plane errare poterunt etiam tyrunculi, et neophiti scientes legere, si in rubricario, quod sese illis offeret in primo operis limine statim post calendarium, ubi ordinem cunctorum officiorum videre fas est, accurate intuebuntur. Adde iis additas diphthongos, accentus prope infinitos, puncta, virgulas, atque id genus alia compluscula apposite posita, adeo quæ per se pulchre quivis citra barbarismum, pronunciare valeat quaslibet dictiones, et syllabas, modo non graventur attente et patienter scripta transcurrere manibus libro (uti supradictum est) paulisper retento, ad quod omnes utriusque sexus per Christum adhortatos velim suo magno commodo, cuius quoque gratia, insuper, et pro vigiliis his meis, ac tot exantlatis laboribus, moneo rogoque in visceribus charitatis, ne me innoxium, et nec quicquam tale merentem suggillare, et sine caussa carpere, eorum quisquam delectetur, Censoria quippe animadversione dignum existimamus, benefacta maledictis incessere, et de benemerente, beneficium qui recepit, malesentire. Tu autem, quodcunque est, boniconsule. Pater colendissime, et Maximum tuum maxime ama. Benevale.

Mediolani, in aedibus canonicae decimoseptimo Calendas Augusti. M.D. xlviij. a Christi crepundiis.

Eiusdem ad lectorem Carmen.

Opplerant tenebris confusa diaria mendae.
  Et nisi barbaries quid locus omnis erat ?
Iam non scripta magis caperes, quam enigmata Sphingis.
  Cum bardis visus, cum Scythicisque loqui.
Ipse David crebro erubuit sua carmina, et aures
  Offensae horrebant absona verba Deum,
Quid facere orantum poterant pia murmurat caecus
  Quid facit a caeco ductus, et a baculo ?
Viderit ista Deus cunctorum interpres, et autor.
  Virginibus fatuis ianua clausa fuit,
At non hic oleum, non hic sua lumina desunt,
  Purgatum tenebris omne renidet opus,
Clara, et aperta liquent modo citra aenignata quaeque.
  Cessit et e sacro codice barbaries,
En bene quam nitidis respondent carmina nervis.
  Quam bene nunc superos pensa soluta iuvant,
Praestitit hoc summi pietas invicta Tonantis.
  Huic omnes grates (sat mihi) lector, habe.

These lines are followed by the *Festorum mobilium canon*, and its table, the *Tabula literarum Dominicalium* with the *Aureus numerus* and *Noviluniorum Canon*, the Calendar, of which an abstract is given below, and the *Rubricarium*. In the edition of 1751, the *rubricarium* has been much altered, and many additions to the Calendar made.

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Frigidus, et languens fovet ocia Ianus ad ignem.

Ianuarius habet dies .xxxi. Luna .xxx. Nox habet horas .xvi. dies vero .viii.

1. *Circuncisio Domini principale festum.*
2. Oct. s. Stephani, novem lec.
3. Oct. s. Ioannis novem lec.
4. Oct. sanctorum Innocentium, novem lec.
5. Vig. Epiph. non est sub precep.
6. *Epiphania Domini principale festum.*
7. Infra oct. Epiphanie trium lec.
9. Dominica infra oct. Epipha.
10. *Ingressus Solis in Aquarium.*
13. Oct. Epiph. Dominicale festum.
14. Fælix in pincis, novem lec.
15. Basilius episcopus, et confessor. novem lec. fuit prima huius.
16. Marcellus papa et martyr, novem lec.
17. Antonius abbas novem lec.
18. Prisca virgo et martyr novem lec.
20. Fabianus et Sebastianus martyres novem lec.
21. Agnes virgo et martyr dominicale festum.
22. Vincentius et Anastasius martyres novem lec.
24. Timotheus episcopus et martyr novem lec.
25. *Conversio Pauli Apostoli duplex festum.*
27. Ioannes Chrisostomus episcopus et confessor novem lec.

Lustrando immundum purgat Februarius annum.

Februarius habet dies .xxviij. Luna, vero .xxix. et quando est bisextus habet dies .xxix. et Luna .xxx. Nox horas .xiiij. dies .x.

2. *Purificatio beatae Mariae virginis principale festum.*
3. Blasius episcopus et martyr novem lec.
5. Agatha virgo et martyr dominicale festum.
9. Apollonia virgo et martyr. novem lec.
10. Scholastica virgo. novem lec. *et ingressus Solis in pisces.*
12. Constantius confessor ordinis humiliatorum. novem lec.
14. Valentinus martyr novem lec.
15. Faustinus, et Iovita martyres novem lectiones.
22. Cathedra Petri apostoli, Dominicale festum.
23. Vigilia Mathiae apostoli sub praecept.
24. *Mathias apostolus. duplex festum.*

Martius ad vites, et poscit ad arva colonos.

Martius habet dies .xxxi. Luna xxx. Nox horas xij Dies xij.

11. *Ingressus Solis in Arietem.*
12. *Gregorius papa confessor et doctor duplex festum.*
19. Ioseph confessor. novem lect.
21. *Benedictus abbas confessor principale festum.*
25. *Annunciatio beatae Mariae Virginis principale festum.*

Terram aperit, florensque Aprilis suscitat herbas.

Aprilis habet dies .xxx. Luna .xxix. Nox horas .x. Dies .xiiij.

10. *Ingressus Solis in Taurum.*
14. Valerianus, Tiburtius, et Maximus. novem lec.
24. Georgius martyr. novem lec.
25. *Marcus evangelista duplex festum.*
28. Vitalis martyr. novem lec.
30. Vigilia Philippi, et Iacobi apostolorum non est sub precepto.

It laetus Maius redimitus tempora fronde.

Maius habet dies .xxxi. Luna .xxx. Nox habet horas .viij. Dies .xvi.

1. *Philippus et Iacobus apostoli duplex festum.*
3. Inventio Sanctae Crucis dominicale festum et Alexander, Eventius, et Theodorus martyres. novem lec.
6. Ioannes ante portam latinam, novem lectio.
11. *Ingressus Solis in Geminos.*
14. Victor et Corona martyres novem lec.
25. Urbanus papa et martyr, novem lec.
30. Faelix papa, et martyr. novem lec.

Iunius et pratis, et falcem immittit aristis.

Iunius habet dies .xxx. Luna .xxix. Nox horas viij. dies .xvi.

2. Marcellinus, Petrus, atque Herasmus martyres novem lect.
9. Primus, et Felicianus martyres novem lec.
11. Barnabas apostolus dominicale festum.
12. *Ingressus Solis in Cancrum.*
18. Marcus, et Marcelianus martyres novem lec.
19. Gervasius, et Prothasius martyres. novem lectionum.
23. Vigilia sancti Ioannis Baptistae. sub precept.
24. *Nativitas Sancti Ioannis Baptistae. principale festum.*
25. Infra oct. s. Ioannis. trium lec.
26. Ioannes, et Paulus. novem lec.
28. Vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli sub precepto.
29. *Petrus, et Paulus apostoli principale festum.*

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Iulius ardenti segetes sub sole flagellat.

Iulius habet dies .xxxj. Luna .xxx. Nox horas .viij. Dies .xvj.

1. Oct. s. Ioannis Bap. novem lec.
2. *Visitatio beatae Mariae ad Elizabeth principale festum.*
4. Infra octavam Visitationis trium lectionum.
6. Octava apostolorum Petri et Pauli, novem lectionum.
9. Oct. Visitatio. dominicale festum.
10. Septem fratres martyres novem lec.
11. Processus, et Martinianus martyres novem lec. fuerunt .ij. huius.
13. *Ingressus Solis in Leonem.*
15. Quiricus, et Iulita martyres, novem lectionum.
20. Margarita virgo, et martyr, novem lectionum.
22. *Maria Magdalene duplex festum.*
23. Apollinaris episcopus, et martyr. novem lec.
24. Vigilia Iacobi apostoli sub precept.
25. *Iacobus apostolus, duplex festum. et* Christoforus martyr novem lec.
27. *Dies caniculares incipiunt.*
28. Nazarius, et Celsus, martyres, novem lectionum.
29. Martha virgo, novem lec.

Augustus sitiens vasa, et cellaria versat.

Augustus habet dies .xxxi. Luna xxix. Nox horas .x. Dies .xiiij.

1. *Petrus ad vincula, duplex festum.* et s. Machabeorum martyrum com.
3. Inventio. s. Stephani protomartyris, novem lectio.
5. *S. Maria ad nives duplex festum.*
6. *Transfiguratio Domini principale festum.*
7. Dominicus confessor novem lec. fuit quinta huius.
9. Xistus .ij. papa, et martyr novem lec. fuit sexta huius, et vigilia s. Lau. sub precept.
10. *Laurentius martyr duplex festum.*
11. Infra octavam sancti Laurentii trium lectionum.
13. Hyppolytus et socii eius martyres .ix. lec.
14. Vig. Assumptionis sub precept.
15. *Assumptio beatae Marie Virginis principale festum.*
16. Rochus confessor novem lec.
17. Octava. s. Laurentii novem lec.
18. Infra octa. Assumptionis trium lectionum.
20. Bernardus abbas, Dominicale festum.
21. *Ingressus Solis in Virginem fuit.* 14. *huius.*
22. Octava Assumptionis. novem lec.
23. Vig. Barth. apostoli sub precept.
24. *Bartholomaeus apostolus duplex festum.*
28. *Augustinus episcopus confessor et doctor duplex festum.*
29. Decollatio Ioannis Baptistae Dominicale festum.

Dulcia musta bibens, September conterit uvas.

September habet dies .xxx. Luna .xxix. Nox horas .xij. Dies xij.

4. *Dies caniculares terminantur.*
8. *Nativitas Mariae virginis principale festum.*
9. Infra octavam nativitatis trium lectionum.
13. *Ingressus Solis in Libram.*
14. Exalt. s. Crucis dominicale festum.
15. Octa. nat. beatae virginis novem lec.
16. Lucia Geminianus, et Euphemia martyres. novem lec.
17. Cornelius papa, et Ciprianus episcopus martyres ix lec. fuerunt. 14. huius.
19. Eustachius, et socii martyres commem.
20. Vig. s. Matthaei sub precept.
21. *Matthaeus apostolus et evangelista duplex festum.*
22. Mauritius, et euis socii martyres ix.
23. Linus papa martyr novem lect.
26. [*Ioannes presbyter ordinis huius duplex festum:* written in red ink in 16th cent. hand].
27. Cosmas, et Damianus martyres novem lectionum.
29. *Dedicatio Michaelis archangeli duplex festum.*
30. *Hieronymus presbyter confessor et doctor, duplex festum.*

Seminat October venturi providus anni.

October habet dies .xxxj. Luna .xxx. Nox horas .xiiij. Dies .x.

4. Franciscus confessor novem lec.
9. Dionysius, Rusticus, et Eleuthaerius martyres. novem lectiones.
14. Calistus papa martyr. novem lec. *et ingressus Solis in Scorpionem.*
18. *Lucas evangelista duplex festum.*
21. Ursula, et sociae virgines et martyres ix. lec. et Hilarion abbas confessor.
27. Vigilia apostolorum Simonis, et Iudae, sub precepto.
28. *Simon et Iudas apostoli duplex festum.*
31. Vig. omnium sanctorum sub precept.

Proximus in brumam succidit ligna November.

November habet dies .xxx. Luna .xxx. Nox horas .xvj. Dies .viij.

1. *Festivitas omnium sanctorum, principale festum.*
2. Commem. omnium defunctorum.
3. Infra octavam omnium sanctorum trium lectionum.
8. Oct. omnium sanctorum. dominicale festum.
9. Theodori martyris commemoratio.
10. *Baudolinus episcopus, et confessor. ordinis humiliatorum. duplex festum.*
11. *Martinus episcopus confessor duplex festum*
12. *Ingressus Solis in Sagittarium.*
13. Bricius episcopus confessor. novem lec.
18. Octava s. Martini. ix. lec.
21. Columbanus abbas eius oratio.
22. Cæcilia virgo, et martyr. dominicale festum
23. Clemens papa martyr novem lec.
24. Chrisogonus martyr novem lec.
25. Catherina virgo, et martyr dominicale festum
26. *Dedicatio templi principale festum.*
29. Vig. Andree apostoli. sub precept.
30. *Andreas apostolus duplex festum.*

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Dat sue mactato convivis lauta December.

December habet dies .xxxj. Luna .xxix. Nox horas .xvi. Dies .viij.

4. Barbara virgo et martyr commemoratio.
5. *Hic fiat de octava s. Andreae. ix lec. erit vii huius, et si sit dominica anticipetur.*
6. Nicolaus episcopus et confessor. novem lec.
7. *Ordinatio Ambrosii episcopi et confessoris atque Doctoris duplex festum.*
8. *Conceptio beatae Mariae Virginis principale festum.*
9. Syrus episcopus, et confessor novem lec.
10. Zeno episcopus, et confessor novem lec. fuit octava huius.
11. Damasus papa et confessor .ix. lec.
12. *Ingressus Solis in Capricornum.*
13. Lucia virgo, et martyr .ix. lec.
15. *Hic incipiunt antiphonae* O. O sapientia.
16. O Adonai.
17. O radix Iesse.
18. O, clavis David.
19. O, Oriens.
20. Vigilia Thomae apostoli sub precept. O, rex gentium.
21. *Thomas apostolus. duplex festum.* O, Hemanuel.
22. O, virgo virginum.
23. O, Gabriel.
24. Vigilia nativitatis Domini, sub precept.
25. *Nativitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi. principale festum.*
26. *Stephanus protomartyr principale festum.*
27. *Ioannes apostolus, et evangelista, principale festum.*
28. *Sancti Innocentes duplex festum.*
29. Thomas episcopus et martyr dominicale festum.
30. Officium Dominicae.
31. *Sylvester papa confessor duplex festum.*

¶ *Annus habet menses .xij. hebdomadas quinquagintaduas et diem unum, et habet dies tercentum sexagintaquinque, et horas sex.*

Rubricarium huius breviarii.
Ad lectorem Distichon.
Rubra docent nigrum, rubris insiste, videre
Qui cupis in tenebris, lector amice, diem.

¶ *De conditionibus habendis in celebrando officio, et quomodo bifariam dividatur ipsum officium.*

Principio quilibet religiosus sacrum dicturus officium sciat, ac prius cogitet se tunc cum Deo immediate loquuturum, et propterea devote attente, et reverenter oret, ut queat misericorditer exaudiri. Praevideat itaque sedulus precedenti die, et videat in breviario, quid in crastinum sibi faciendum sit, utrum officium dicendum fuerit de tempore, an de aliquo sanctorum festo. Nam omne officium, quo Deum omnipotentem laudamus, bipartitum esse sciat, unum de tempore, alterum de sanctis dicimus. De tempore, quum Redemptoris nostri adventum, quadragesimam, passionem, eiusque gloriosam resurrectionem, aut denique Dominicas, aut ferias celebramus. De sanctis autem, cum eorum natalitia festa colimus. Et notet semper agendum de feria, quum sancti in calendario deerunt.

¶ *De caeremoniis in officio servandis.*

Item caeremonias servare studeat iuxta veterum ordinis instituta. *Pater noster.* Orationes et preces cum dicuntur, caput profunde inclinet, Idem agat ubicunque audierit dulce nomen. *Jesu.* praecipue intra missarum solemnia, et quum dicitur. *Dominus vobiscum*, ac, *Gloria patri*, etc. Quum petitur aut datur benedictio, eundo, et redeundo ad altare, cum accesserit aliquid facturus. Item quoties salutatur beata virgo quamvis. *Salve regina*, et *Regina coeli.* dicantur genibus flexis, nisi ubi cantantur ad legile, quod dicunt. Tum demum ubi res, et devotio istud exigat, consyderans in cunctis testem se habere Deum, quem nil latet.

¶ *De Pater noster, et Gloria patri.*

Item admonitus sit. *Pater noster.* dicendum esse semper in principio omnium horarum, et. *Gloria Patri* in fine cuiuslibet psalmi, et cantici praeterquam in triduo ante pascha, et in cantico trium puerorum, et in his, qui duo aut tres simul pro uno psalmo ex usu leguntur.

¶ *De festis mobilibus inquirendis.*

Item diligenter advertat omni anno, ne illum omnino fugiant festa mobilia, sic dicta ex eo, quod nullo certo tempore recurrant, ut septuagesima, Resurrectio Domini, et huiusmodi. Quae omnia facillime deprehendet in tabula supra ante calendarium graphice descripta, quam studiose legat, ut intelligat.

¶ *De quatuor temporibus.*

Sacra quatuor tempora, quater in annum redeuntia, quarta qualibet feria post festum sanctae Lucie, Cineres, Pentecosten, ac festum exaltationis sanctae crucis, semper celebrentur.

[1] In reprinting the rest of this *Rubricarium*, the paragraphs printed in red in the original have been reproduced in Roman type; while the paragraphs printed in black have been reproduced in Italic type. I would add that the part printed in red in my copy is indistinct, and that the letters often run into one another. It is thus quite possible that I may have mistaken the type here and there, though I think the reprint is generally trustworthy.

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¶ *De Adventu.*

Dominica propinquior festo sancti Andreae, sive ante, sive post, sive in ipso eius festo veniat, ea sit prima Adventus.

¶ *De Dominicis adventus, et de festis sanctorum occurrentibus in illis, et per earum ferias.*

In quavis Dominica adventus non fiat de aliquo sanctorum festo, nisi de conceptione beatae Mariae virginis, si tali die contingat, et tunc ultima lectio ad matutinum legatur de evangelio, et homilia Dominicali, et de eadem Dominica fiat memoria per antiphonas ad Benedictus, et Magnificat cum sua oratione. Sanctorum autem officia in huiusmodi Dominicis contingentium transferantur in secundam, vel aliam feriam proxime sequentis hebdomadae, in qua sine impedimento alterius festi commode celebrari queant. Et quoties in feriis per totum adventum fiat de sanctis, non omittatur memoria adventus in eo die per antiphonas, atque orationes ut supra.

¶ *De Dominica, quae aliquando contingit in octava sancti Stephani, vel sancti Joannis evangelistae, aut sanctorum Innocentum, quod tunc fieri debeat, et quomodo videatur* fo. 299 *post octavam dictorum Innocentum.*

¶ *De Dominicis ab octava Epiphaniae usque ad Septuagesimam.*

Officia Dominicalia ab octava Epiphaniae usque ad Septuagesimam dicantur in suis Dominicis. Sed si supervenerit in illis aliquod sanctorum festum, si principale, omittatur tunc in totum officium Dominicae, et fiat de tali festo, veruntamen in aliqua feriarum sequentis hebdomadae legatur postmodum evangelium, et homilia omissæ Dominicae, et memoria fiat de eadem Dominica, per antiphonas et orationes, ut dictum est in praecedenti rubrica. Si duplex, aut Dominicale, fiat similiter de festo, ultima tamen lectio ad matutinum, sit de evangelio, et homilia eius Dominicae, et commemoratio per antiphonas et orationes, ut supra. Si autem novem tantum lectionum festum fuerit, transferatur penitus in sequentem hebdomadam, praesertim is paucae sint Dominicae, propter quod usus veniat Dominicalis officia per ferias consummari.

¶ *De Dominicis, a, Septuagesima usque ad Pascha, et de festis contingentibus in feriis intermediis.*

Festa sanctorum, quicunque fuerint, venientia in Dominicis a Septuagesima usque ad Pascha, transferantur in proximam sequentem feriam, praeter festum Purificationis, ac Sancti Benedicti, item et Annunciationis virginis, dummodo in ramis palmarum non veniant, quia et ipsa tunc transferenda sunt. De festis autem sanctorum, qui veniant in feriis per id temporis usque ad caenam Domini, fiat, et ea celebrentur suo die. At ubi quoquomodo de sanctis fiat per totam quadragesimam agatur semper memoria de ipsa quadragesima per antiphonas, et orationes ut supra, ultima quoque lectio in eorum matutino legatur de homilia occurrentis feriae.

¶ *De Dominicis, ab octava Paschae usque ad Pentecosten.*

Festum novem tantum lectionum contingens in quacunque Dominica ab octava Paschae usque ad Pentecosten, in secundam feriam transferatur. Festum vero duplex, aut Dominicale celebretur in ea Dominica, sed legatur nihilominus evangelium Dominicale cum sua homilia ad matutinum diei festi pro ultima lectione, et memoria insuper habeatur de Dominica ipsa per antiphonas, ac orationem, ut supra.

¶ *De Dominicis post Trinitatem usque ad Adventum.*

Si festum principale, aut duplex, aut Dominicale, sive ix lectionum contingat in aliqua Dominicarum post Trinitatem, usque ad Adventum, celebretur eo die, et fiat memoria de ipsa Dominica per antiphonas, et orationes, ut iam dictum est, supra ultima quoque lectio in matutino sit de evangelio, et homilia Dominicali. In festis tamen principalibus omittantur in totum commemorationes huiusmodi, maxime si plures numerentur Dominicae quam sint eorum officia super qua re videatur rubrica posita in breviario inter predictas Dominicas, fo. 221 ubi ista pulchre tractantur.

¶ *De dedicatione templi.*

Officium Dedicationis templi celebretur suo die, ubi is scitur, caeterum quando ignoratur dies proprius, ut in pluribus locis, ne tantum officium maneat indictum, statuitur celebrandum omni anno immediate post festum sanctae Catherinae virginis, et martyris hoc est sexto calendas Decembris, etiam quando ea dies Dominica fuerit.

¶ *De psalmorum mutatione, et recitatione.*

Multiplicitas, et prolixitas psalmorum in officiis Dominicalibus, et ferialibus uno, atque eo continuo tempore recitandorum, animos orantum defatigabant, ac propterea in hunc modum territabant, ut plerumque ab illis dicendis, vel minima caussa, bona pars averteretur, et semper

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ad sanctorum festa, ut pote breviora, recurrebatur, omissis, et intactis pro maiori parte psalmis ipsis alioquin tam sanctis, ac salubribus, cumque iis lectionibus veteris simul, et novi Instrumenti, Proinde optime consultum omnium saluti extitit Reverendorum (?) patrum definitorio, ut non amplius sicut antea legantur simul, et semel tot psalmi, sed divisim, et per partes ut in psalterio breviarii distincti habentur in novem scilicet, et novem per singulas Dominicas totius anni, unde notandum ipsas Dominicas exinde nuncupari Dominica. *Beatus vir*, et Dominica. *Usquequo*, quia una Incipit a psalmo. *Beatus vir*. et altera a psalmo. *Usquequo*. quod probe testantur lemmata i. tituli in superiori margine breviarii. Psalmi feriales et ipsi quoque divisi sunt, terni, et terni suo ordine in singulas suas ferias per totum annum, ut in dicto breviario clare, et congrue videre licet, atque ita concinnate, ut nec cæcus quidem errare valeat, nedum oculatus, in triduo tamen illo ante pascha a solito omnino non recedatur.

¶ *De vigiliis, quae habent evangelium, et orationem de proprio.*

Si in vigiliis fiat de feria, aut de aliqua octava, lectiones ad matutinum sint de evangelio, et homilia eius vigiliae, similiter et oratio in matutinis (*sic*). Si vero Dominica dies fuerit, aut aliud quodlibet festum de Dominica tali (?), aut festo fiat totum officium, nihilominus ultima lectio matutinalis legatur de vigilia cum illius oratione quandoquidem orationibus vigiliarum cedunt orationes de occurenti quum non habeant vigiliae antiphonas ad Benedictus. Et notandum anticipari Ieiunum sabbato, quoties vigilia aliqua die Dominico veniat.

¶ *De festis totius anni, quomodo scilicet eorum officia solennizanda sint.*

Festorum celebrandorum ordo talis sit. Principale festum totas habeat vesperas antecedentis diei cum commemoratione tamen de occurrente in illo. Antiphonae ad Laudes, et ad Benedictus, item et ad psalmos omnes in vesperis, et ad Magnificat legantur totae ante, et totae post ipsos psalmos, Versiculis horarum, ac Responsoriis socientur Duo. *Alleluia*. nisi a lxx. ad pascha, festum autem duplex, et Dominicale a capitulo inchoetur. Sed in duplici iterentur antiphonæ ad Benedictus, et ad Magnificat, tantum, At in festo ix. lectionum sola sufficiat commemoratio de eo in primis vesperis. Cum vero concurrerint (quod saepe solet) duo festa aequalia, ut puta duplicia heri, et hodie, aut principalia, subsequens festum hoc casu memoriam sui tantummodo habeat in ipsis primis vesperis. Et hoc perpetuo servetur ut paria omnia pari passu ambulent, minora autem festa maioribus cedant.

¶ *De octavis festorum.*

Octavæ festorum ita celebrentur per totum anni circulum, nisi ubi in breviario aliter notatum appareat, Feria secunda, et quinta, legantur psalmi tres primi nocturni diei festi sub prima eius antiphona, et versiculi lectiones quoque nisi propriae assignantur sint eiusdem nocturni cum suis Responsoriis. Ad laudes prima antiphona ipsarum laudum super psalmos consuetos. Ad Benedictus secunda antiphona praedicti nocturni, et ad Magnificat, tertia capitula. Hymni, versiculi, oratio de festo, atque alia omnia ad omnes horas praeter quam in vesperis psalmi dicantur sub quarta antiphona de laudibus. Et praemissus modus servetur in caeteris subsequentibus feriis earundem octavarum, dando tamen feriae tertiae, et sextae, quae sunt secundi nocturni de festo, et feriae quartae, ac sabbato, quae sunt tertii, scilicet antiphona, psalmus, versiculi, lectiones, etc., ut dictum est, scilicet de secunda feria, octava vero die, et in Dominicis intermediis repetatur totum officium diei festi. Et non omittatur, quin fiat de festis occurrentibus infra ipsas octavas cum earum tamen commemoratione ad Benedictus et Magnificat per antiphonas et orationem, ut iam dictum est supra. Quod si octava octavam superveniat, agatur semper de superveniente, salva memoria praecedentis per antiphonas, etc. ut supra.

¶ *De festis particularibus nostrae congregationis, et de his, quae solennia alibi sunt, vel habentur.*

Festa particularia nostrae congregationis, celebrentur secundum consuetudinem locorum, licet aliter signentur in calendario, Festa vero solennia, vel quae solennia fieri solent ab incolis in aliquibus urbibus, et locis, etiam quae in nostro calendario non habeantur, a nostris fratribus in eisdem urbibus, et locis existentibus solennizentur, ne a ceteris in hoc differre videantur, quandoquidem curia romana illudidem facere de talibus festis consuevit.

¶ *De festis, de quibus fit tantum commemoratio.*

Quandocunque in calendario signatur festum, cuius solum commemoratio habeatur, illa commemoratio fiat in primis vesperis, et matutino, tantum per antiphonas, et orationem eidem festo congruas, de proprio si habeat, sin minus de communi.

¶ *De festis, que transferuntur.*

Festa cum dicuntur transferri, non transferantur solennizanda a suo die in alium, sed eorum officia tantum.

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¶ *De quotidianis sanctorum suffragiis.*

Quotidiana sanctorum suffragia omittantur a vigilia nativitatis Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniae, et a Dominica de passione usque ad Dominicam de Trinitate, necnon in omnibus festis principalibus, et duplicibus, ac per eorum octavas. Caeterum ab octava Epiphaniae usque ad Dominicam de passione, et a Dominica de Trinitate exclusive, usque ad Adventum, praedicta sanctorum suffragia, salvis semper praemissis, hoc ordine dicenda sunt, Dicta nanque in vesperis oratione de occurrenti, si in crastinum dies festus veniat fiat primum de eo commemoratio, post subsequantur suffragia sanctorum. Et primo de beata virgine, secundo de patre nostro sancto Benedicto, per antiphonas, atque alia de utroque ut hic infra in calce Rubricarii, ultimo loco de titulo ecclesiae, per suas congruas antiphonas, versiculos, et orationes, quibus dictis addatur deinde *V. Dominus vobiscum.* R. *Et cum spiritu tuo. V. Benedicamus Domino.* etc. Et in choro non plures istis dicantur. Si autem titulus ecclesiae ad Deum pertineat, ut sanctae Trinitatis, sancti Salvatoris, sancti Spiritus, et huiusmodi, tunc talis tituli commemoratio caeteras praecedat commemorationes.

¶ *De quotidiano officio beatae Mariae virginis.*

Officium quotidianum beatae Mariae virginis intermittatur dicendum in omnibus festis principalibus, in festis .xij. apostolorum et in quibusvis festis eiusdem virginis, ac per eorum octavas omnes, necnon a vigilia nativitatis Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniae inclusive, et a triduo ante pascha, usque ad octavam pentecostes, quae ex novo instituto, nunc sit Dominica de Trinitate, etiam inclusive.

¶ *De officio mortuorum.*

Officium mortuorum, sive pro defunctis, quando, et quomodo dicendum, quaeratur in breviario circa finem. folio. 445.

¶ *De Antiphonis laudum ad horas.*

Antiphonae de laudibus ad horas diei cum dicuntur, omittatur semper quarta.

¶ *De Antiphonis concordantibus cum principio psalmi.*

Antiphona, quando concordat, et idem est cum principio psalmi, qui immediate tunc dicendus veniat sub illa, non incipiatur psalmus a principio, sed hebdomadarius prosequatur eundum cum incepta antiphona.

¶ *De Te Deum laudamus.*

Te Deum laudamus dicatur quotidie in matutinalibus officiis statim post ultimum Responsorium tertii nocturni, dicatur etiam in diebus octavarum, infra octavas autem, et per ferias quoties fiat de eis non dicatur, neque in Dominicis Adventus neque in Dominicis a lxx. ad Pascha.

¶ *De Quicunque.*

Quicunque ad primam non dicatur a prima Dominica Adventus usque ad octavam Epiphaniae inclusive, et a pascha usque ad secundam Dominicam post Trinitatem inclusive. In aliis autem Dominicis omnibus si de illis agatur, semper dicitur.

¶ *De precibus dicendis ad horas.*

Preces ad primam, et completorium dicantur sicut scriptae habentur in breviario suis locis. Et dicantur tantum in ferialibus diebus, cum agitur de feria, ac in festis novem lectionum, et per octavas festorum, quae tamen non sint Dominicales, Ad alias autem horas non dicantur preces, etiam si fiat de feria, nisi in Adventu, et quadragesima, quo tempore ad has, et quaslibet alias preces sciat pius orator genuflectendum esse a cunctis, praeterquam ab hebdomadario, cui semper stare convenit dum legit, vel cantat sive preces sive alia. Et notandum quoties omittuntur preces in prima, et completorio, omittendam simul et confessionem, et terminandas eas horas sicut terminantur aliae horae per *Dominus vobiscum* cum caeteris solitis. Forma precum dicendarum ad horas in ferialibus sit, ut est in brevario post matutinum fo. 52 quaeratur ibi.

¶ *De Oremus, et de terminatione orationum.*

Oremus ante unamquamque orationem, etiam quando plures fieri contingat commemorationes, dicatur, praeterquam in officio mortuorum, in quo ante primam tantum orationem dicitur. *Oremus.* et similiter in orationibus post litaneas. In celebratione autem missarum secus fiat, nam si plures legantur orationes ad primam duntaxat, et secundam praemittatur *Oremus.* Et notandum hic, quod in commemorationibus faciendis prima, et ultima oratio terminatur. *Per Dominum nostrum.* vel. *Per eundem Dominum* etc. autem *Qui vivis.* vel. *Qui vivit. et regnat.* etc.

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¶ *De accentibus.*

Accentus passim positi in breviario super vocalibus dictionum. scilicet *a. e. i. o.* et *u.* sunt quaedam signa parva tanquam puncta, et virgulae, ut videre fas est, quibus potissimum ostenditur, quomodo latine, ac citra barbarismum pronunciandae veniant dictiones, quae ibi leguntur, ponuntur etiam plerumque differentiae caussa, vel significationis, et ut una Dictio ab alia dignoscatur, ut puta Adverbium a nomine. Et hoc pro rudibus instruendis. Propterea advertat diligens lector ut syllaba illa supra quam viderit stantes dictos accentus, proferatur longa, hoc est ut longiori voce aliquatenus suspendatur, ita fiet, ut recte pronuncietur, nec barbarismis amplius tam crebris, et ineptis offendet aures audientium quod sane plurimum dedecet viros religiosos. Et ubicunque duae syllabae sequantur accentum in eadem dictione, propinquior accentui syllaba semper brevis legatur, et proferatur.

¶ *De rubricis specialibus.*

Rubricae speciales in particularibus locis breviarii, serventur secundum quod ibi illic sunt positae, etiam si aliter contineretur in his rubricis generalibus. Finis.

¶ *Commemoratio de quibus in rubrica de quotidianis suffragiis sanctorum.*

Pro beata virgine, in vesperis antiphona.

Sancta Maria, succurre etc fo. 381. *V.* Ora pro nobis. *Oratio.* Famulorum tuorum *etc. fo* 441. *In matutinis Antiphona.* Beata mater. *etc. cum versiculo ut ibi, Oratio.* Deus, qui de beatae Mariae virginis *etc. fo.* 435.

Pro sancto Benedicto, In vesperis Antiphona.

Glorioiosus (*sic*) confessor Domini Benedictus *etc. ut in eius festo. fo.* 327. *V.* Fuit vir vitae venerabilis. R. Gratia Benedictus, et nomine *Oratio* Excita quaesumus, Domine, in ecclesia tua spiritum, cui beatus Benedictus abbas servivit, ut eodem nos replente (*sic*), studeamus amare quod amavit, et opere exercere, quod docuit. Per eiusdem *etc. In matutinis Antiphona* Vir Domini Benedictus *etc. folio ubi supra cum predictis versiculis et oratione.*

Per patentes Reverendissimi, ac Illustrissimi .D.D. Cardinalis Moroni protectoris, de quibus plene constat, admonentur omnes, et singuli utriusque sexus nostri ordinis, quatenus hoc novo breviario utantur loco antiquorum, et in choris, et privatim iuxta formam brevis apostolici.

Then follow indices of the psalter and metric hymns. These are followed by the psalter in full and the body of the breviary, which begins thus :

¶ *Incipit Psalterium in septem horas canonicas, quas dicunt, suo ordine digestum.*

¶ *In Dominicis diebus, ad Matutinum, dicta sub secreto oratione Dominicali, scilicet Pater noster.*

There is no *Ave Maria.* Then follows the *Domine labia mea* with the other versicles and *Gloria Patri* and Invitatory. Then come the hymn and the psalms in order, as given above in the Table ; followed by the *officium de tempore* and *Proprium Sanctorum*, as in other breviaries.

I trust that this outline of a most curious and hitherto unstudied breviary may be enough to awaken some interest in its composition. It seemed also worth while to go into some detail, as the edition has become so rare that only a very few copies are known to me after some years' search.

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In conclusion, I add the letter of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo prefixed to the edition of the Breviary of the Humiliatae bearing the date 1630.

FEDERICUS

Miseratione Divina Tit. S. Mariae Angelorum S. R. E. Presbyter Cardinalis Borromeus S. Mediolanensis Eccl. Archiepiscopus

RR. Priorissae, et Monialibus Monasterii S. Mariae Magdalenae ad Circulum Mediolani, &c.

Dilette figlie in Cristo. Avendo Noi inteso, che voi per altrui suggestione fattavi con alcuni vani, e falsi pretesti, e fra questi con affermarvi che tal ancora fosse la nostra volontà, avevate lasciato l'uso del Breviario solito, e proprio del vostro Ordine; sì come non fu giammai tal il sentimento nostro; così anco stimassimo esser il dovere, che ve lo facessimo ampiamente sapere, con persuadervi di più il ripigliar esso vostro Breviario. Per conto della vostra Religione ci spiacquero bensì sempre i perversi costumi, ed abusi delle persone, che da ella degenerassero; ma non già gli antichi, santi, ed approvati riti di ella medesima; fra li quali computiamo quello del proprio vostro Officio Divino. Dopo lette diligentemente diverse Croniche manuscritte dell' Ordine: dopo revisti ancora diversi suoi Breviarj, anch' essi gran tempo fà manuscritti, oltre tant' altre Copie in diversi tempi stampate: certamente sappiamo, ch' egli è perseverato sino alli nostri tempi già da molti anni avanti all' Anno del Signore 1200., ed a segno tale, che ragionevolmente si crede introdotto da S. Giovanni (Oldrati da) Meda, per enfansi detto il Prete, per esser lui stato il primo Sacerdote dell' Ordine; si come ancora fu l'autore del terzo, e del più principale membro di esso; il qual Santo morse nell' anno 1159., e fiorì l'anno 1119. in circa. Più oltre ci consta, che nella Regola propria dell' Ordine, di cui appunto n'abbiamo veduto una Copia manuscritta, e ben antica, il medesimo rito vi sta espressamente prescritto sotto nome di Officio de i Canonici; che tali pure s'addimandavano in essa gli Umiliati. Onde ne siegue, ch' egli già anticamente fu approvato al pari della stessa Regola: la quale senza dubbio con Brevi Apostolici fu approvata da diversi Sommi Pontefici. L' approvò primieramente Innocenzo Terzo nell' anno 1201., mutandola in qualche parte ancora; ma con riguardo tale dell' Officio, che non lo volle mutar in alcuna cosa, anzi che volle si adoprasse ancora dalli Frati del secondo Membro; si come già innanzi era stato usato da quelli del terzo, sino da quando questo Membro ebbe principio dal sodetto S. Giovanni: la confermò dappoi Onorio Terzo nell' anno 1219., e 1226., dopo lui Gregorio Nono nell' anno 1227., ed Innocenzo Quarto nel 1246. Nicolo Quarto 1288., e seguentemente diversi altri Pontefici, sì come consta dalle sodette Croniche; oltre che nella libraria, che San Carlo nostro Antecessore, e parente donò al Capitolo della nostra Chiesa Metropolitana, si veggono raccolte, e ben scritte le stesse copie di essi Privilegi, e Brevi Apostolici in campagnia di molti altri dell' Ordine. Anzi, che Alessandro Papa Quarto informato, che gli Umiliati entro la Diocesi nostra di Milano tuttavia diversamente da gl' altri, e contro il prescritto della Regola, perseverano nell' uso del nostro Breviario Ambrosiano, gli comandò con una sua Bolla nell' anno 1257., che ancor loro si servissero del suo proprio Umiliato, e si conformassero con gli altri altrove. Questo medesimo Breviario poi nuovamente corretto fu stampato la prima volta nell' anno 1483. dappoi nel 1504., e poscia nel 1535., ma più in particolare nell' anno 1548, con diligenza maggiore fu corretto, e ristampato: ed in confermazione di essa correzione non vi mancò un Brieve Apostolico di Paolo Terzo, con alcune lettere del Cardinale Giovanni Morono all' ora Protettore dell' Ordine. Nell' anno poi 1568. Papa Pio Quinto in favore del Breviario Romano, all' ora nuovamente riformato, pubblico una Bolla, nella quale proibiva tutte le altre sorte de' Breviarj, se pure non fossero anteriori a quel tempo per il spazio di ducento anni: e per entro alli Monti, entro alli quali è compresa la nostra Italia, dichiarava, che dopo scorsi tre mesi dalla pubblicazione di tal Bolla essi Breviarj sì fattamente proibiti, tutte fossero nulli, ed insofficienti all' adempimento dell' obbligo, che altresì s'avesse di recitare l'Officio Divino. Alli Prelati poi anco Ordinarj de i luoghi comandò, che onninamente facessero osservare detta Bolla, e glielo comandò can tanto rigore, che quando in ciò avessero trascurato, certamente anche loro averebbero peccato mortalmente, come cooperatori al peccato mortale di quelle persone, le quali essendo obbligate all' Officio Divino, tuttavia dopo quel tempo prefisso dal Papa non soddisfacevano al debito suo con prevalersi di tali Breviarj, da lui stesso vietate. Così dunque dispose Pio Quinto. Ma non per questo cessarono dall' uso del suo Breviario li Fratri Umiliati: li quali però durarono nelli suoi Conventi sin' all' anno 1570.

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Similmente non perciò cessarono le Monache; ancorchè già sino dallo stesso anno 1568. fossero state dal medemo Pio V. sottratte al governo delli suoi Frati, e sottoposte a quello delli Prelati Ordinarj de i luoghi. San Carlo poi (per non star moi a parlar quivi d'altri Vescovi) il quale all' ora non solamente era l'Ordinario di questa nostra Provincia, e Diocesi con autorità Apostolica altresì tanto ampia; mà di più era Protettore, anzi che specialmente deputato per Riformatore dell' Ordine degli Umiliati, e perciò tanto più era obbligato provedere alli loro disordini: lui ad ogni modo, benchè informatissimo (sì come senza fallo si deve supporre) di sì fatta Bolla, dell' uso continuato di tal Breviario Umiliato, e dell' obbligo della sua coscienza; per tutto il tempo, che visse (e visse sin' all' anno 1584.) nulla giammai s'oppose in ciò ad essi Frati, o Monache; quandochè, opponendosegli lui, che cosa poteva ostare, che almeno dalle Monache a lui soggette non fosse stato ubbidito? e quando che, se non fosse stato ubbidito dalli Frati, ci constarebbe almeno di tale loro disubbidienza in cosa tanto grave, e rilevante, sì come anco notoria; del che però non se ne trova mai, nè pure una minima menzione. Quindi dunque si deve riconoscere per cosa in quei tempi evidentemente manifesta, e certa, che il Breviario Umiliato non fosse stato proibito, mà sì bene permesso dal Pontefice ancora Pio Quinto in quella sua Bolla; mercè dell' antichità tanto celebre, e tanto approvata dello stesso Breviario sì come abbiamo di copra raccontato. Per simili cause dunque Noi ancora non abbiamo giammai sentimento, che alcun Monastero delle nostre Monache Umiliate, e nominatemente, che il vostro si privasse di sì fatta, e cotanto privilegiata sua credità, testimonio anch' essa, ed indicio certissimo dell' antica nobiltà dell' Ordine Umiliato. Certo, che tanto più pare opportuno, e lodevole il ritenerla voi Monache (oltre le cause comuni con tante altre Religioni, che hanno il proprio Officio), quanto più miserabilmente li Frati per colpa della lor inosservanza contro la Regola professata, ne sono alla fine con ruina totale dicaduti, ad esempio perpetuo, ed a chiarissimo documento, che tutte quante le Religioni, per grandi, e fiorite, che siano, devono però con la continua osservanza delli santi, e primieri suoi Instituti guardarsi bene, acciò per disgrazia similmente anche loro non cadano, e forsi anco peggiormente; quandochè l' Ordine vostro Umiliato, benchè già estinto nelli Frati, vive però, e fiorisce permanentemente ancor adesso in voi Monache sue con tanti altri Monasteri uniformi. Attesochè poi dopo di esser voi rimaste pienamente consapevoli, qual per verità fosse la nostra volontà, ripigliato avete il medemo vostro Breviario; certamente Noi approviamo il fatto; e per fine vi benediciamo.

Dal Palazzo nostro Archiepiscopale alli 10. Aprile 1631.

Federicus Card. Borromeus.

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A STUDY OF PRECEDENTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LITURGY.

BY REV. H. HAMILTON KELLY, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

I. The Principles of Development.

Such introductory remarks as it seems necessary to make, will fall into two parts: (1) Something must be said on the principle of Liturgical formation in general—perhaps I may give the keynote of this section by saying that it will be by way of distinction between the words "development," and "re-formation." (2) The question must be answered, "how far do these principles apply to our own Liturgy?"

The consideration of general principles must take us into very deep questions, which it will be impossible for me fully to discuss here. If I lay it down that the existence of a Church is a consequence of the indwelling of a universal Spirit in individual men, I shall have what we need for present purposes, and what will be allowed on all hands. The great practical difficulty in this, as in other ecclesiastical questions of the day, is to define the nature and also the limit of authority. That the voice of the Church, as a whole, is to be heard and obeyed as being the voice of the Holy Spirit, we willingly grant, although here the difficulty commences. The voice of the Church is not the same thing as the voice of the ruling power over the Church, which may be Pope, King, Parliament, or Curia. Is it identical with the voice of a Committee of Bishops, of Convocation, or of a National Synod? Even in questions of faith, which concern an exact science, the acceptance at last by the general sense of the Church has been acknowledged to be the final test of Œcumenicity for Concilian Canons: much more must this be the case in Liturgies. A Liturgy must be in accordance with the science of Theology, and must be founded upon it, but it cannot be formed by it: that is, it is of art, not of science. As a "serving" of human minds and consciences, to be honest, it must needs be the expression, not of some conscience, nor of the consciences of the best, but precisely of those consciences which are to render it. Thus on *à priori* grounds we infer, that while the Church can determine questions of faith unalterably and for ever, in accordance with the perception she gains of that which the Holy Spirit, acting from without, reveals to her of what is: a Liturgy, representing the work of the Holy Spirit within, never can be so rigidly determined as not to vary according to the form, or according to the perfection of that indwelling. This is, I think, the Theological meaning of the general distinction between a science and an art.

Two results follow. In the first place, the special application of these principles to the question of National Churches is an article by which the Catholicity of the English Church must stand or fall. She has believed that God's Spirit has been given in different forms to different peoples, that out of diversity, the harmonies of a perfected chord may be formed for the spiritual praise of God.[1] Secondly, we draw the general inference that the Church, without any formal act, through the mere usage and instinct of her members can, and indeed will, with or without our assent, modify her forms; and that the modern rigid and legal limitation to written and formal authority is opposed to the very nature of worship. This process of modification is what I mean by "development."

From my contention, then, that while the Church judges of absolute truth by authorised acts, yet cannot in the same way decide what particular view or side of the truth, upon which Liturgical peculiarities depend, God may be manifesting to some particular branch of His Church, the real province of authority may be deduced. Three inferences I can draw immediately

[1] Is it not remarkable that the age in which this truth was manifested, was the same that saw also the great development of harmonised music?

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First, the Church will be bound to limit unauthorised change to cases not affecting validity: thus, certain changes in the baptismal formula or in the words of Institution would be absolutely forbidden. Secondly, individual freedom must be limited to the development of what the Church already teaches. Alterations so extensive or so deep as to amount to re-formation of the whole, or even part of the Liturgy, bring us distinctly within the province of authority. Thirdly, when some habit has been accepted by practically the whole Church, convenience would suggest the intervention of authority to secure a certain uniformity and order. But the right of veto by authority, which will mean the right of judging whether an innovation be a development, or a departure, though it cannot wholly be denied, is most dangerous to exercise. Nor is the matter much mended by substitution of specialists for authorities, of lawyers for high priests. Even if that comparison is unfair, with the utmost honesty, generosity, and sympathy, the specialist is too learned, too cosmopolitan—to quote what I have said already—he knows too well what "the consciences of the best" have felt, to be always successful in catching the thoughts of the hearts of the men around him. Specialists really know too much, have too many prepossessions ever to form a good jury. It is theirs to collect, to classify, to comment—not only on materials, but even more to draw out laws. The final and decisive test whereby we shall find whether some proposal be of God's moving or of man's fancy, will be not whether specialists or authorities approve, but whether at last—after they have given their help—it does or does not come to nought among the living, working members of the Church.

In this abstract argument, which I close with a feeling of relief, I must remind you, that I have been not so much arguing that this liberty of development ought to exist, as I have been examining the principles whereby it has, does, and will exist. This practical view we must consider firstly in regard to Liturgies called "primitive," or "ancient," secondly in regard to our own. The method of the first formation of Liturgies is an obscure, and difficult point; but it seems to have been the case, that each bishop was allowed to direct the worship of his own diocese.[1] If we consider, first, that the Church has never recognised a single Bishop as possessing any inherent legislative power, and consider, secondly, the small size and importance of a single diocese,[2] we shall see a process of development at work, practically such as I have sketched above. The resulting phenomena, at least, are just what we should look for. Mr. Neale gives the names of 42 extant Syriac Liturgies, all local variants of S. James; 16 Coptic variants of S. Basil. There are signs of a similar state of things elsewhere. At the beginning of the sixth century Councils[3] are trying to impose the metropolitan model throughout each province by the same process which, at a later date in England, reduced the local variations to three main types. Even when this process was accomplished, was all freedom at an end? How the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom was formed from S. Basil, and S. Basil from S. James by a process of re-formation, which I admit belongs to high authority, we already knew; but in a recent most valuable edition of texts Mr. Swainson has supplied us with some five stages in S. Chrysostom's development. The earliest, a ninth century MS., has the same character as our own Prayer Book: broad, simple prayers, absence of responses, the fewest conceivable rubrics. "Prayer of Entrance" is the only hint of the modern magnificent function. The whole of what is now the most complex of rites is given in a MS. of the sixteenth century, and an intermediate form in one of the eleventh.[4] But besides, we have on the one hand a translation by a traveller, one Leo Thuscus in the twelfth century, in some respects much more advanced than the MS. of the eleventh; on the other hand, a MS. of the thirteenth almost identical with that of the ninth. What does this show, but that, while the ritualists of Constantinople, where Leo would naturally go, were tentatively developing their service, a liberty of variation was being left both to them, and to others, which the modern vaunters of authority would never tolerate?

In studying the application of these principles and precedents to our own Prayer Book, I think it should be remembered that while our Church, confessedly under protest, accepted the result of a Puritan revision, she never accepted the principles upon which it was based; and that the resultant arrangement has been abandoned by the two Catholic out of the three revisions, which free branches of the English Church have made. I think, therefore, one may exercise a certain freedom, both in criticism and in proposal, greater than would have been otherwise permissible. I would also remark that it does not seem an honest habit—

[1] Bingham, *Antiquities*, xiii., v., § 1.

[2] Cyprus, as an average instance, has thirteen bishops in an area equal to Norfolk and Suffolk. See Bingham, ix. ii. § 8, vi. § 11 for other instances.

[3] Bingham, *Antiquities*, xiii., v., § 2.

[4] Let me suggest to anyone who feels interested to mark distinctively, say in coloured pencils, on the margin of his Neale or Hammond, those prayers found in the ninth century, then those added in the eleventh.

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we do not count it so in a Romanist—to be always maintaining the perfection of our own ways. How far did the Reformers consider their work final? What intentions or views did they hold towards development? To those who hold every movement, which is not based on some written authorisation, to be an act of private judgment, and therefore wrong, these are important questions. If absolute authority insists that they shall not look for absolute authorisation, and if they will obey, there is no further controversy. The re-formation of a Liturgy is generally an effort for simplicity. Development has a tendency to complexity and enrichment. In a re-formation there are three possible attitudes. (1) The Puritan, which would reduce everything to, or beyond its simplest form, and would keep it there. (2) The *via media*, which would fix just enough ritual, and not too much, in which equally the future was to be bound. (3) At the end of all the long and dreary struggle, is it too much to believe that the Divines recognised that there was not merely a winding up of the past, but the beginning of a new "Post-Reformation" Life—which would have forms and developments in many directions, which they could not bind or anticipate? No one, except in a Law Court—no one in Church ever dreams of guiding his whole ritual and movement by explicit rubric. Yet ritual and liturgical development stand on exactly the same footing. To take an instance, granting that use, and use alone may fix the duties of the implied assistant ministers, or of the prescribed thurible, is a habit of inserting responds from the Psalms, or Gospels, or Prayer Book, to be reckoned a transgression? Or if that be passed, is it reasonable to suppose a Reformer would have welcomed some hymn on the authority of Toplady, or Dr. Watts, but have sternly forbidden a new collect from the Mozarabic? The Bishops' Injunctions supply us with more direct evidence of the view of ecclesiastical "authority" taken in the Church. Rubrics are over-ridden, pared down, and emphasised far beyond, I confess, anything which in quieter times I should have dared to suggest as legitimate. Against this the Protestant appeal lies to the strict wording of the Acts of Uniformity of Elizabeth and Charles II., a wording far less strict than that of the Act of 1549, which contains the words "none other or otherwise." Yet in the last, not only is a large discretion avowedly[1] permitted in ritual, but, as an instance, the deacon and sub-deacon, after being distinctly ordered and duly apparelled, are left standing—apparently in the vestry—without any directions. Nor is the Catholic appeal more reasonable, that the ancient canons and traditions were intended to be of force, where not actually superseded: for (1) the continuance of the ancient canon law was not intentional, and (2) consequently no rule was provided for its application. I venture to say no one has ever attempted to apply it as a whole. I should like also to add that there are two traditions—one the tradition of regulations, known to the scribes; the other the tradition of a reverential mind and habit, which has drunk of the *spirit* of the past.

I sum up my principles and resultant purposes thus. I believe that a Church, not solely upon the initiative of authorities, but by a quasi-spontaneous movement beginning with the suggestive acts of individual members, will, and therefore may, within certain limits, shape and develop her Liturgical system. My function in this paper will be, first, to give hints for the determination of those limits, and for the criticism of those tentative acts. Secondly, to draw together those materials upon which development may be based. As regards the first, the limitations will be found inherent in the nature and order of the subject. We must discover *that*. I insist, again, my province is not to decide, but to suggest: I may not judge, though I may deprecate. Final judgment is in God, and will be pronounced by the final action to which He will guide His Church. On the second head, most writers of altar books and directories appear to me to have erred by excessive confinement to Western use. Can we not accept the Reformation honestly as an act of God's will in bidding us form a type of Catholicism none the less true because not exclusively either Eastern or Western? If so, shall we not be wise in seeking suggestion somewhat more widely? This is what I have aimed at. May I suggest that the hope has been present to me that I might perhaps induce someone with greater wisdom and learning than I can show to make the attempt in the more practical form of a really English, because really Catholic, altar book or directory? Yet, while using all known liturgies, let them be used with discretion. Many Anglican writers are over-ready to clutch at any precedent in however confused and barbaric a source. There is hardly any fancy which cannot find a parallel somewhere between Malabar and Ireland. Let me also hold out a warning against the fiction of "the Primitive." To an art the primitive cannot be final; development from primitively existing principles is a necessary step towards perfection. No doubt one may find an over-development, which is death; but because one is a pre-Raphaelite, one is not supposed to confine one's self to imitating the frescoes of S. Clemente or the mosaics of Ravenna.

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[1] See the third of "Certain Notes for etc," at end of occasional offices before the ordinal.

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II.—Liturgies and Editions.

It will be convenient if I say a few words now about the Liturgies and Editions I shall have to refer to. The main groups of Liturgies are generally reckoned at five:—The Palestinian, Alexandrian, Edessan, Roman, and Ephesine. The Anglican, perhaps, deserves to be counted as a sixth. The only comprehensive manual is Mr. Hammond's, and this gives only the most modern forms. I think it a pity he does not intimate to us more freely, by foot-notes or otherwise, when the form is ancient, and where it is known to be interpolated. Mr. Neale's Editions give only the Eastern liturgies, again in modern form. The kind of correction which I have referred to, can be got, as far as the Greek liturgies are concerned, from Mr. Swainson.

The chief members of the Palestinian group, which is at once the largest and, historically the most important, are the Clementine, S. James, Greek and Syriac, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and the Armenian. The Clementine I still consider—following Hammond rather than Neale—as the oldest liturgy we know, the real type of Justin Martyr. I do not say it was ever itself used. It seems to me the type of the liturgy in a day when there was great fluidity, and variation of use—when, perhaps, a good deal was even extempore. Of S. James Greek Mr. Swainson gives us four MSS., from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The variations are considerable, especially in the Proanaphora, but only occasionally important. The Textus Receptus, given by Neale and Hammond, is a transcript of one of these made by a sixteenth century copyist named Palæocappa, who occasionally wilfully altered, and invented, that by fictitious antiquity it might be a more effective anti-Lutheran weapon. The Syriac form is important only in its bearing on the Greek, from the inference that common elements may be assumed to be older than the Monophysite schism. It seems to me to have received some Latin elements. Of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom I have already said something. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries S. Chrysostom borrowed the Proanaphora of S. Basil as far as the end of the lections, dropping its own.

The Alexandrian group is represented by S. Mark in Greek, by S. Cyril and S. Basil in Coptic, in Ethiopic by the Canon Universalis, and by a short liturgy of which the anaphora, printed by Renaudot, awoke by some questionable theology the admiration of Bunsen. The S. Mark is, of course, of great value, and would be of still more if it had kept itself clear of Constantinopolitan influence. A Coptic or Ethiopic Liturgy, owing to the isolation of those Churches, can never have quite the authority of a Greek.

Of the Edessan I know only the liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, which I refer to as the Nestorian, and the Malabar. The latter has received much Roman influence. Neither can be considered good authority.

In the West we have the Roman, and of its school the four English Liturgies of Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford, for which I have relied on Maskell. The Ambrosian, Neale considers an Ephesine rite with Roman emendations; but the latter influence is so extensive I prefer to follow Hammond in taking it as an independent Roman development, with some modern Roman and some ancient Ephesine approximations.

The true Ephesine can be seen *in extenso* only in the Mozarabic. Neale's "Essays on Liturgiology" add much to the information in Hammond. The Missale itself I have not seen. My knowledge of what survives of the Gallican I draw only from Hammond. The Irish, but with the Roman Canon which was adopted in the ninth century, remains in the Stowe Missal, given in Mr. Warren's *Celtic Church*.

For brevity I have always spoken of the Liturgy by its shortest title. Thus, "S. Chrysostom" denotes the Liturgy; "S. John Chrysostom," the Bishop. By "Edward VI" I always mean the First Prayer Book, which has received the authoritative approval of our Church. The "Second" need not greatly concern us. In lists of precedents it may be necessary for some, to ask you to bear carefully in mind that the word "group" means, therefore, the concurrence of several liturgies.[1]

THE SERVICE.

I.—The Preparation.

There appear really to be two offices of preparation, the private and the liturgical, although the bounds are not always clear. It was doubtless the last part of the service to take a fixed

[1] Other references are to Bingham's *Antiquities* by book, chapter and section. Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, ed. 1876; Neale's *Essays on Liturgiology*, ed. 1863; Neale and Littledale, *Translations*, 2nd ed., 1869; Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, ed. 1878, with *Appendix*, 1879; Maskell's *Ancient Liturgies*, etc., 3rd ed., 1882; Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, 2nd ed., 1863; Luckock's *The Divine Liturgy*, 1889; Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, 1884; Bona's *Rerum Liturgicarum*, 1672.

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form. The Clementine, S. James, and S. Mark do not give it, nor does it seem to be known to S. John Chrysostom, nor to Justin Martyr, whose liturgy began directly with lections. Among the forms of S. Chrysostom the elaborate Service of the Prothesis is found only in the sixteenth century, though there is an elementary form in Leo Thuscus. Among other services the variety is so great that I shall confine my remarks to the West, for which the Roman form, known I assume to all, gives the norm. The Ambrosian is practically identical; the Mozarabic adds a few prefatory prayers. The English variations are considerable. In Sarum and Bangor the *Veni Creator* and Collect for Purity precede Psalm xlii.: in all, a Kyrie and Pater Noster follow it. It is, however, of importance to observe that, except in Hereford, which thoughtlessly follows the Roman fashion, the Celebrant leaves the sacristy only after these, so that only the part from the Confiteor is said at the altar. S. John Chrysostom says of the Pater Noster (Hom. xx. al. xix. in Matt., see also S. Aug. Hom. xxix. de verbis Apos.), "This prayer belongs only to the faithful," and the public recitation at this point seems rather unfortunate, as it is also unprecedented. In Edward VI. it was probably, or possibly, intended to be said secretly.[1] S. James Syriac and the Liturgies of the Edessa group, which alone resemble our service in this particular, have the Introit following. I think we should be wise to adopt a similar arrangement, at the same time repeating the Pater Noster in a lower tone. Again, as the wording of the rubric appears to confine the intention of our Prayer Book Confession to the congregation, we really do need the Confiteor of the ministers.

II.—Missa Catechumenorum.

Is it worth our while to maintain these obsolete divisions of the service? From what I have said, and from what I shall have to say, it will be evident this is a question of great importance to me. In it seems to be involved the question whether there is any principle of order at all. I believe there is such an order. The same law, in large and small type, shapes the same history, not only in the race and the individual taken as wholes, but also in each separate act, whereby, as one step, the redemption of the individual is achieved. Although the discipline of the Catechumens may now be lost, the Church, in her great sacrifice, still prepares her children for the Divine Presence by leading them through the thoughts and instruction incidental to our first approach to Christ.

Introit.—To what I have already said I will only remind you that anciently the Introit, even in the West, was said by the choir in their stalls,[2] while the priest approached. I am not aware of any exact precedent for our own modern processional entrances, striking and most appropriate though they seem to me.

Kyrie and Commandments.—Strictly speaking, the Kyrie belongs merely to the Roman, and therewith the Anglican liturgies, although a use somewhat parallel is found in S. James Syriac, S. Mark, and the Canon Universalis. In our own service the Kyrie must, of course, be considered with the Commandments, whose almost accidental insertion seems due to their inclusion, for purposes of exposition, in our Church's first vernacular attempt. The nearest formal parallels are the Old Testament lections. The "second table" formed, in fact, a Sarum lection for Mid-Lent. The origin of the Roman Kyrie, and therefore of our own, must be sought in the ancient Litanies. In S. James's Greek, and the Armenian these occur, with the Kyrie response after, in the fourteenth century. S. Chrysostom, taken from S. Basil, before the Introit: in S. Mark also, and with a triple Kyrie response. In the Coptic and Ethiopic the same idea of Intercession is maintained by the "Prayer of Absolution to the Son." In the Roman a Litany in ancient times followed the Introit,[3] of which, indeed the Kyrie is a survival reformed as upon another model. It was still used in Sarum on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent. In the Ambrosian there are Litanies, one of which follows the Introit on all Sundays in Lent. Among the Ephesine the Stowe Liturgy opens with a "Letania Apostolorum," the Mozarabic has metrical litanies before the Epistle on the first five Sundays in Lent.[4] I think I have somewhat answered those who consider the Litany an incongruous preface to the Eucharist. I cannot but think that one in procession, metrical or otherwise, would be a very great addition, and would introduce our two preparatory prayers more fittingly. Our own is too long, and in form not very suitable, although intended for this purpose. (See Scud. p. 299.) The use of the Commandments has been defended as a help to self-examination, and as supplying the grounds for special intercession on the negative side, as the epistle and gospel do on the positive. I do not think this gets over the incongruity of the bare statement of "law" in the great sacrament of "grace." By themselves they are inadequate as a *résumé* of Christian

[1] It is directed to be said, but is not printed.

[2] See reff. in Maskell, p. 28, on authority of Bona, Gerbert, and Micrologus.

[3] Freeman, vol. II., pt. II., ii., 6 p. 322 ref. to Bona ii. 4, 3. Goar on St. Chrysos., n. 62.

[4] Given in full in Neale's *Essays*, p. 142. See on subject Luckock, p. 173.

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duty. Is it too much to hope that we may ever have in place the far more effective statement of the same thought in the Greek Trisagion and its noble preface? In any case, I hope we shall not accept the lame compromise of the "gospel summary," which, in this connection, suggests that all too-popular habit of putting general sentiments in place of a definite grappling with sin.

Collects and Lections.—Of the collects I need say very little. They have no Eastern equivalent, unless the Ambrosian name, *Oratio super populum*, may suggest a parallel with the Prayer for the Catechumens. The Textus Receptus of S. James, printed by Neale and Hammond, contains a rubric which Neale considered of "the most venerable antiquity."[1] It is very similar to that in S. Clement, and includes Old Testament Lections, while omitting all the liturgical accessories. Unfortunately, it appears to have been a pure invention on Palæocappa's part. All Mr. Swainson's manuscripts, including that which Palæocappa seems otherwise to have copied, agree in the following order:—(1.) "Peace be to all"; (2.) προκείμενον (or 'Gradual'); (3.) Epistle; (4.) Alleluia; (5.) Prayer of Incense; (6.) Part of Intercession; (7.) Prayer for Light; (8.) Gospel; (9.) Remainder of Intercession.

It is worth noting that, according to that great principle of liturgical construction, "omission is prohibition," for the perception of which we owe so much to the Privy Council, all Lections as well as their accompaniments must be considered as forbidden in the ninth century liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom. In the eleventh century and in the Armenian the arrangements are the same as in S. James, less the somewhat distracted intercession. The Gradual in the Armenian is written as "the Psalm for the day," while in S. James Syriac the same title denotes one verse only. Thus we get very near to the Western arrangement, commonly attributed to S. Celestine (cent. v.), where what had been a whole psalm to S. Leo has become one or two verses in the sacramentary of S. Gregory.[2] So much agreement (signs are not wanting also in the Alexandrian group) may suggest for these arrangements a greater antiquity than is usual in the smaller parts of the service.

Creed and Sermon.—The Creed was introduced to liturgical use towards the end of the fifth century.[3] It is omitted only in the Clementine and Gallican. Sermons are rubrically mentioned only in the Clementine and Gallican, and Palæocappa's rubric of S. James, always in immediate connection with the lections. The position of Creed and Sermon in our Prayer Book seems to me very unfortunate. The Sermon is an instruction, and belongs to the Missa Catechumenorum; the Creed concerns the Faithful alone. Breaking up instruction by inserted Confession of Faith is not a happy arrangement. To the preacher, whose sermon the creed impels, it is perhaps a gain, but the people ought to feel whither the whole of the teaching is finally tending. The only Liturgy which is in agreement with our own is the Armenian. It is in great confusion, the Trisagion being given twice over, and the Prayers for the Faithful also fall in the Mass of the Catechumens. A striking instance of the confusion a Liturgy can get into is afforded by the Malabar, where the oblations are made by the unbaptised, and the gospel read only to the faithful. Our sermons now commonly open with invocation, but anciently with the Pax. Many would desire to restore our very Greek "bidding prayer," but our present form cannot be used without the Lord's Prayer, and I have already suggested what seems to me a better way of securing the really desirable intercession.

III.—The Proanaphora of the Missa Fidelium.

The final limit of the Proanaphora is hard to fix. I return to the question presently, but the commencement of the Missa Fidelium is plain. According to those primitive and Catholic customs which our Reformers professed to follow—the unbaptised, the possessed, the penitents of the lower degrees, whose withdrawal was alone permitted, must leave after the sermon.[4]

The Oblations.—The Offertory or Oblation is the true centre of this portion of the service, as the Lections are of the earlier: but we may distinguish four uses of the word. Firstly, there is the "offertory" by the laity, whether of money or in kind. Secondly, we distinguish the "preparatory oblation," or preparation of the elements. Thirdly, the "oblation of the elements" to be consecrated. Fourthly, "the great oblation," which belongs to the canon, and will be spoken of in its place. There is no reason to doubt that an offertory in kind was a regular part of the primitive service, and that from these offerings the priest selected a portion for special "oblation" and final consecration. Although the offertory is not clearly marked,

[1] Neale and Littledale, p. 35, n. 2.

[2] For reff., see Maskell, p. 56, n. 52; and p. 59, n. 55.

[3] Usual reff. are to Peter the Fuller (469 A.D.), Timothy of Constantinople (A.D. 510), Cn. Toledo, Can. ii. (A.D. 589.)

[4] Cf. St. Aug. Serm. xlix., Cn. Laodicea (prob. 365 A.D.) can. xix.

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this appears to have been the custom in S. Clement, which continued at least in the West up till the tenth or eleventh century. Concurrent testimony is lost (1) from all Liturgies actually used, owing to the substitution of the specially prepared loaf in place of common bread,[1] (2) from the special Palestinian group, owing to the commencement of the "Great Entrance." This may probably date from the middle of the sixth century, when the Cherubic Hymn was written at Constantinople. From thence it was introduced into other uses; into St. James, where it makes great confusion in the MSS., and even into St. Mark. From these two forces it results that the ancient offertory dwindles, and becomes a mere accident of the service. A preparatory oblation in some service of the Prothesis takes its place. St. Mark, however, still keeps the Offertory, and "prayer for those who offer," as with most of the Alexandrian school. The Canon Universalis alone seems, but doubtfully, to have the Preparatory Oblation as well. The principle enunciated by the 28th canon of Eliberis (cir. 300 A.D.) that "bishops ought not to receive gifts from him who does not communicate," fixes the position of the offertory, therefore also of the oblations, in the Missa Fidelium. The confusion of actual practice in the matter has resulted partly from the loss of the original distinction between the parts of the service, partly perhaps through confusion between the Oblation and the Preparatory Oblation or the offertory. Except in the Malabar already alluded to, the only Eastern Liturgies which displace the oblation are those which do not mark the Dismissal. In the West the Mozarabic has a rubric after the offertory to mark the termination of the Missa Catechumenorum, but in the service there is nothing to correspond; perhaps it has got adrift. On the other hand, it marks the Missale Offerentium as beginning after the Gospel. At Milan the Oblations are brought up with great solemnity by special bedesmen named Vecchioni, although otherwise in the West, both Offertory and Preparatory Oblation are liturgically all but lost. In England the use of Bangor has something after the Epistle, resembling but not identical with the Preparatory Oblation. In Ireland the Bangor Antiphonary has an *offertorium* referring to gifts, similar to those in our Prayer Book. The Roman *offertorium* beyond the name has no connection with its supposed subject. The offertory in our Prayer Book is well provided for, although the sentences might be more varied (why may we not have complete liberty?) and need arrangement, but it is universally felt that we need better notice of the Oblation. The few words in the Prayer for the Church are rather in the nature of a commendation, as in the Roman "*Te igitur*"—which, indeed, we nearly translate. If, as has been suggested, our Churchwardens would act as Vecchioni they would supply the ceremonial equivalent of the rubric that the elements are "provided at the charges of the parish." The oblation of the bread and of the wine separately, which most of our altar books borrow from the Roman, is open to objection. It was only introduced in the eleventh century (cir. 1050)[2], and except in cases of direct imitation, *e.g.*, by Milan and the Mozarabic it is entirely unknown, and except as an attempt, which I imagine to be the unconscious reason, to attain some of the feeling of the Preparatory Oblation, the separation does not seem philosophically defensible. How is it that no altar book—at least none I have seen—suggests the prayer supplied in the Coronation Service by our own Church which I subjoin,[3] in the hope some may wish to use it?

Lavabo.—It is necessary in speaking of this to distinguish the ritual acts and the psalm. Thus, all English liturgies, except York, together with the Clementine, Coptic, and Malabar, have the ritual, but with varying words. York and S. James Syriac, like the Roman, have the Psalm, as also the Liturgy used by S. Cyril of Jerusalem. S. Augustine, who states that it was universal, also refers to it, but whether with the Psalm is not stated.[4] The inner meaning appears to be rather a preparatory ritual chord to the *Sursum corda* represented in the Eastern services, perhaps, by the Prayer of the Veil, which occurs similarly. If so, one may question whether, with the Confession in its present place, a revival of the *lavabo* is called for. The common interpretation connecting it with the necessary incidents of offering in kind, if it ever was valid, was set aside as early as S. Cyril's day.

Prayer for the Church Militant.—For reasons I will give more fully in discussing the Canon, I can only regard the position of this prayer, though coincident with Ephesine arrangements, as the most unfortunate part of our service. J. H. Blunt appears to suggest that this is not

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[1] Cf. Ivo of Chartres (A.D. 1092), *De Reb. Eccl. Serm.*; *Hitt. Col.* 200, "receiving the hosts from the ministers, and oblations of a different kind from the people," with St. Cæsarius (A.D. 402), "offer offerings to be consecrated." See Scudamore p. 345 *et seq.*

[2] The English Liturgies (Maskell, p. 83) stop at the Prayer, "Receive, Holy Father, etc.," substituting "This oblation" for "this immaculate host."

[3] Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, these Thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of soul and body.

[4] St. Cyril *Cat. Lec.* xxiii. 2; S. Aug., *Quæst. Vet. N. T.*, 101.

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the Great Intercession, but the parallel of the Greek Litanies. The history of the prayer, an adaptation of the *Te igitur*, makes that theory as impossible, as the inference that our service had nothing reasonably to be considered as a Great Intercession should make it, of unwilling acceptance.

Exhortations and Confession.—The two longer exhortations I need not refer to, save to wonder to what printer's stupidity it is due that they must be wedged in where they never can have been used, yet seriously perplex the order of the book. The omission of the third exhortation, even by strictest contenders for "authority," is a good instance of the acceptance of the "authority of use." The Short Exhortation or Invitation is the στῶμεν καλῶς of the English service, but has an exact parallel in the so called *Oratio Missæ* of the Mozarabic, an address of similar length somewhat similarly placed.[1] I have already suggested how the Confession and Absolution, the position of which is most often criticised, form the equivalent preparation, with the Pax, Kiss of Peace, Prayer of the Veil, for the Anaphora, which indeed, according to Syriac custom, is counted rather from the Kiss than from the Sursum Corda.

IV.—The Anaphora.

Sursum Corda and Preface.—Except in the Ephesine Liturgies the Sursum Corda is preceded by a "mutual salutation." The variable prefaces of the West appear to have grown by appropriation from the great length of the primitive forms. Our service seems rather insufficiently supplied with these, but it belongs to the great and difficult question of Calendar Reform, which needs treating as a whole. The *Benedictus*, the true place of which will be discussed immediately, appears subjoined to the Sanctus in all Italian and Ephesine Liturgies. In the East all the Alexandrian and of the Palestinian the S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, even of the eleventh century, as also the two earlier MSS. of S. James all omit. On the other hand, S. James Syriac, the Armenian, and the modern S. Basil and S. Chrysostom insert. In the Clementine it is an invitatory to the Communion.

V.—Canon and Communion.

I may commence this, the most important part of the service, by giving a "normal" order—that of the Palestine group without one break—which will serve to show at once all variations including our own. We have (1.) Commemoration of Redemption. (2.) Institution. (3.) Great Oblation. (4.) Invocation. (5.) Great Intercession. (6.) Lord's Prayer. (7.) Communion; (*a.*) Humble Access, (*b.*) Sancta Sanctis, (*c.*) Communion. Among other groups the Great Intercession is very variously handled. In the Alexandrian, except in the Coptic S. Basil, it has, in some most inexplicable way, got into the middle of the Preface! In the Edessan, the Nestorian places it between the Institution and Oblation (apparently so, but the Words of Institution are not written): but Malabar keeps to the normal order. In the Roman Canons the Intercession is rent in twain, "the living," before the Institution, "the dead," after the Oblation. The Mozarabic, like our own, as I have said, relegates it to the Proanaphora. Edward VI. places it before the Commemoration. Both Western groups appear to omit the Invocation. It remains that, except in our own Prayer Book, the relative order of Institution, Oblation, Pater Noster, and Communion, is kept without variation throughout the whole Catholic world.

Prayer of Humble Access.—The discussion of the principles upon which the order of our Service is based I defer till the Oblation, because I am sure that unless we are prepared to treat the question as a whole, really grappling with it as having theological principles underlying, then regrets for, or proposals for the amendment of, this or that part of the arrangement, or wording, tend only to confusion. Just now, therefore, I will only call your attention to one point which is special to this prayer. Obvious at a glance is its "forward-lookingness," as a preparation for Communion or Sacrifice—for all about it to stand for whatever purpose before the attained Presence, but it has also another side. Roman only excepted, in every liturgy of every group the Canon opens with a sort of echo of the Sanctus and Benedictus. "We also . . . . cry and say, Holy art Thou and All-Holy, Thou and Thine Only Begotten Son, and Thine Holy Spirit. . . ." is the condensed form in which it is given in S. Chrysostom. Such words will be felt to be, like our own prayer, an "Act of Humility." Among English services those which are the most Catholic, Edward VI. and the Modern Scotch, have lost in this respect a Catholic custom.

The Prayer of Consecration includes the three elements of Commemoration of Redemption, Invocation, and Institution. (1.) The Commemoration of Redemption—the statement of the grounds upon which all fellowship with God is possible, of which S. Chrysostom's quotation of

[1] Neale's *Essays*, p. 149.

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S. John iii. 16 is a terse example—is entirely omitted only in the Coptic S. Cyril, although the Roman Canon contents itself with a bald suffix to the *Communicantes et memoriam* on the five great festivals. It is remarkable, however, that the Hereford, and another obscure missal, quoted by Cardinal Bona,[1] had a prayer of great beauty prefixed to the Canon. Micrologus considered it an unwarrantable liberty. The Stowe Missal, although using the Roman Canon, has annexed to the Benedictus part of its ancient Ephesine Commemoration from the variable Post Sanctus.

(2.) The Invocation we must consider—(*a.*) with reference to its necessity and meaning; (*b.*) with reference to its position. It leads us into one of the most debated questions of eucharistic theology, upon which its position, as well as phrasing, have no small bearing. The opinion that it is omitted by all Western liturgies is only apparently, or partly true. Not only because in the Ephesine it is fully given in several of the variable *Orationes post Pridie*,[2] but generally to Roman and English use, prayer for an object includes prayer for the sole efficient means, even if not specified. If so, the Roman *Quam oblationem*, and the English paragraph commencing, "Grant that we receiving, &c.," constitute, in fact, prayers for Illapse, of which we may make two classes: (1.) the explicit, as contained in all Eastern liturgies, those of Edward VI., the Scotch, and occasionally in the Ephesine; (2.) the inferential forms of Rome and the modern English. It is suggestive of more than accident that the same classification holds also for variety of arrangement; the first group placing the Invocation after, the second group before the Institution and Oblation. That the only liturgies which have not kept with their group, but agree in arrangement with the Roman and English, in phrasing with the Greek, should be the experimental liturgies of the early Scotch and Edward VI., adds[3] to the importance of the coincidence. This general acceptance of the position of the Invocation by the Easterns has a serious influence upon their contention for its necessity. No one has yet explained how a necessary part of Consecration can possibly follow the Great Oblation. Mr. Hammond, indeed, contends (p. xxxvii.) that "the element of time must be considered as excluded." If under "time" he includes all consecutive "order," one is driven to ask, Is there, then, no before and after consecration? Does he consider eucharistic adoration proper at the Great Entrance? An explanation, suggested by the phrasing of the formula, I advance with great diffidence. In nearly all Palestinian and Alexandrian liturgies the communicants are included by the words, "Send upon us and upon these gifts." The exceptions are few. The "Bunsen" Ethiopic omits the gifts from the prayer;[4] the Canon Universalis, and S. James Syriac, in some confusion at this point, omit the worshippers. Both, however, together with the Edessan and Clementine, pray for the descent on the elements "that they may be to us for propitiation." Does it not look as if, except in controversy, Illapse was viewed rather in relation to Communion than to Consecration? Not, of course, that one would be justified in denying an operation of the Spirit absolutely upon the gift, yet that in the worshippers does in some ways seem to have been the leading thought. The Greeks were not averse to such an explanation at the Council of Florence.[5] It is another remarkable coincidence that the Coptic S. Cyril has two invocations.[6] The one before consecration refers to the gifts alone, that after Oblation agrees with the usual Eastern form. It is generally considered that the Roman also supplies a second Invocation, though hardly so to be recognised, in the *Supplices te rogamus*. If that be accepted, then in some degree the same distinction between the two will hold. The important words in the first are *quæsumus . . . . acceptabilem facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat:* in the second, *Jube hæc perferri per manus Sancti Angeli tui in . . . ut quotquot . . . . Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus.* I have thought it right to dwell on this subject, as the question of the Invocation is more likely to be forward than any other in all Catholic revisions.[7]

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[1] See prayer in Maskell, p. 110, note fr. Bona, Petrus ab Opmeer *in assertione missæ*, p. 362.

[2] These, of course, precede the Oblation. See forms in Neale's *Essays*, p. 164.

[3] The only clear Eastern exception—a very startling one—is S. Cyril of Jerusalem. It seems impossible to infer from Cat. Lec. xxiii. 7 and 8 otherwise than that Invocation preceded institution. A reference will be made to the Coptic S. Cyril lower down.

[4] This, by-the-by, was the special cause of Bunsen's admiration.

[5] The explanation above is not supported, however, by the majority of the patristic quotations which may be seen in Bingham, xv. iii. 11. Nevertheless, there are exceptions (cf. S. Chrysos, *De Sacerdot.* L. iii. § 4), and I have thought it right to insist independently on the liturgical evidence. Freeman, II. pt. II. i. 11 p. 196, supports the view given above.

[6] Most liturgies have a prayer of Invocation before Institution—generally at the oblation of the elements for their sanctification, but only in this liturgy is the change explicitly mentioned. Cf. Roman *Veni Sanctificator*.

[7] Since the above was written the recent Scotch proposals have strikingly verified this.

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The Amen.—Before passing on I will only refer to two minor points. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, S. Ambrose, and many others,[1] all seem to lay stress upon this *Amen* with reference to the priesthood of the laity; and our own Cathedral has led the fashion of emphasis by musical means. It is worth observing that the Alexandrian group repeat the *Amen* separately at the consecration of the bread and of the wine both in Institution and Invocation: the Palestinian in the latter only, but S. Basil and the modern S. Chrysostom in both. In the Roman, owing to the secret repetition of the Canon, it has been altogether lost.

All Eastern Liturgies, except the Clementine, followed the Institution (not, be it observed, the Invocation) with a confession of faith in the Christian mystery. "Thy death, O Lord, we show forth, and Thy Resurrection we confess," is the form of S. James Greek and Syriac, which, as in the Coptic S. Cyril, and the Canon Universalis, is sung by the people. In all others it is said by the priest. The Mozarabic peculiarity of fixing the Nicene Creed at this point may have some connection with this Confession.

The Fraction.—There are six ceremonies which seem to have a liturgical as well as ritual value. The four of general importance are Mixture—universal except in the Armenian, even as far back as Justin Martyr and Irenæus—Fraction, Elevation, and Commixture. The Fraction, like the Oblation, has three forms: the Preparatory, which is an incident of the Preparatory Oblation, and is confined to the modern S. Chrysostom, and to S. James Syriac; the Symbolic or Ritual Fraction; and the "Comminution" for distribution. Whether the English rubric includes Comminution is not clear, but there is so strong a feeling, and even practice, among many against the direction, which is clear, that Ritual Fraction shall precede Consecration, that a little special attention to this latter point may be welcomed. In S. Clement the Fraction is not given. In the Roman the Fraction follows the Lord's Prayer, and precedes the Preparation for Communion, and practically the same in the Ephesine and Edessan groups, in the bulk of the Alexandrian, and in S. James Syriac. With this last exception, however, the Palestine, and S. Mark, the most important member of the Alexandrian, place the Fraction in group with the Elevation, &c., immediately before Communion. Can it be, as Scudamore suggests, that Fraction is merely a symbolic development of Comminution? The first to dwell upon the analogy with the Passion is S. Germanus of Paris (555 A.D.), nor does it occur again till the eleventh century. The older Liturgies do not make much of the parallel.[2] Our manner claims the dubious support of the Coptic S. Basil, the bread being broken at the word "*fregit*" then rearranged so as to be broken a second time as usual. (Cf. also the double Invocation.) Similarly in many French Churches the custom existed of "touching the host," "bending," or "cracking a little."[3] To judge by the hard words, and bad reasoning of the Marian Sarum,[4] the same custom had unauthoritatively existed in England. Are these to be considered primitive survivals, or are they a development catching at the word in the narrative? Scripture hardly decides the question, for the wording would suggest that after Comminution the words, *Hoc est Corpus meum* were spoken separately in administration. If this be, as it seems to me, inconceivable, yet the words might have been the blessing which preceded Fraction. Again, as symbolically, while it may be argued that it is Christ's true body, the *consecrated* bread, which should be broken, on the other hand His sacramental Presence with us is a consequence of His Passion. The *Comminution* suggests some remarks on the form of bread employed. The Eastern custom, like the primitive, demands the Consecration of a whole loaf, from which all are communicated. In the West the only approach to a loaf is received entirely by the Priest. The use of separate breads is neither reasonable nor ancient, not even in the West. Surely true symbolism demands that the laity also should receive of that bread "which was broken for them" (1 Cor. xi. 24); still more clearly that we should be reminded that we are "one body since we are all partakers of the one loaf" (1 Cor. x. 17). Is there, on the other hand, need of special care to impress upon modern religious selfishness that each receives whole Christ? Rather should we contemplate the principle proclaimed in S. James, and in S. Chrysostom, "The Lamb of God is parted and distributed; He that is parted and not divided, ever eaten and never consumed, but hallowing the receivers." The practical question requires more consideration, for the large and yet uncertain number of our communicants requires greater elasticity in provision than is quite consistent with the "made" loaf. In England till the Reformation, according to Mr. Maskell,[5] the host was broken in three, one piece for

[1] *De Myst.* (S. Ambrose?), c. ix., n. 54.

[2] For this view see Scudamore, p. 611.

[3] A Rheims Missal (mid. of XVI.) "breaks a little." Chartres, 1489; Langres, 1517; Troyes, 1580; a Rheims Missal, 1512, and Breviary, 1572; "pretend to break." Constances, 1557; "crack," in Scudamore, p. 606.

[4] Maskell, p. 134, n. 24.

[5] Maskell, p. 109, n. 53, 2nd ed. No authorities are given, and this part is omitted from corresponding n. 63, p. 159 of 3rd ed. Bona iii, p. 463 appears to imply that the third part was reserved. It is the same principle.

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Commixture, one for the Priest's Communion, one for distribution. Both were taken by the priest only in case of there being no other Communicants. This would often suffice, but if the numbers were large, is there any better practical way than Edward VI.'s? The wafer was to be "more larger and thicker than it was . . . and to be divided into two pieces at the least." Especially if we, by retaining the impressed figure, abandon their one piece of "Protestantism" we have the best practical way of retaining the ancient principle.

The Communion.—The provision for the Communion of Priest and People is a question of great historic interest. In the ancient church where the rule was for each day one celebration, in which the ideas of Communion and Sacrifice were united, owing to very frequent, perhaps, *en masse* communion of the Faithful, the representative communion of the Priest was not felt to be of great importance. In time, as we know, a change set in, whether due, as is often lightly assumed, to the decay of faith, or, perhaps, to the growth of the seriousness of preparation. The fact that those who ought to know were, by demanding conditions, rather increasing difficulties than facilitating constant approach, suggests that, perhaps, the "loss" was not an unmixed evil. The picture drawn by primitive witnesses is not always attractive. The liturgical result was, that the Church enlarged more and more on the priestly act—just because it was representative—while the communion of the laity becomes a by-action to be introduced as necessity required. Thus the Clementine, S. James Syriac, apparently the whole Alexandrian group, and the Nestorian Liturgy, consider only the Faithful. In the Armenian, Mozarabic, and the Sarum, one would not infer that anyone received the Communion except the priest. The great representatives of the Palestinian group are here rather divided. The MSS. of S. James are in a confusion which puzzled even Neale; but the oldest MS., like those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, notices the Communion only with the bare rubric, "after the Communion of the People, he shall say the Thanksgiving." In the Sixteenth Century S. Chrysostom, many pages are occupied mostly on behalf of the Priest and Deacon. The modern printed editions agree only in their variety.[1] The modern S. Basil simply borrows S. Chrysostom. Without, then, any quotations from Reformation theology, these primitive examples, taken in conjunction with the "three at the least" rubric, make the principle of our Prayer Book clear enough. It is convenient to be able to see just where we stand, although the question will arise whether it is possible to remain there. That the Reformation position was a sounder one than the Pre-Reformation may be granted, even while one maintains that neither is sufficient. It is to be remarked that our Prayer Book provides no forms or words whatever for the priest's communion. The form for the people cannot be used as it stands, and the priest has no more authority for adapting it to his use than he has for replacing it. The provision of an adequate form seems, even in low celebrations—for communion—to be desirable; in high, or festal celebrations to be necessary. Many object to the singing of the *Communio* during the Reception by the Faithful, but it is a most catholic custom. In S. Clement the 33rd Psalm, in S. John Chrysostom the 118th, were used. In the Ephesine group the custom is universal. The Greek St. James has a Communio also. In the Syriac S. James and Malabar, the deacon prays a long prayer—a curious deviation from his proper function.[2]

The Lord's Prayer.—The opinion of modern Roman authorities that the Lord's Prayer is not part of the Canon, can hardly be considered of ancient authority. It cannot have been accepted in a day when S. Gregory the Great, or Leo VII. were able,[3] however mistakenly, to maintain that it had been originally the only formula of consecration. Nor, on the theory, does it seem correct that the divinely ordained sum of prayer should not be included in the Church's central form. Its normal position is immediately after the Great Intercession, and before the Prayer of Humble Access. In the Malabar, there is an additional recitation after the Communion. In the Canon Universalis, of two recitals, both follow the Communion. It always has an Introduction, or Preface, and is followed by the Embolismus—an echo of the last petition.

The Great Oblation.—I said above that the unique arrangement of the parts of the English Canon can only be understood by reference to the Great Oblation. The sacrificial idea of the Liturgy may be inferred from its place and wording. There is, first, practically no exception to the rule that the Great Oblation is preceded by the Words of Institution alone. (For Great Intercession, which sometimes also precedes, see above, p. 303.) The theological intention cannot be mistaken. Not the thanksgiving, nor our obedience, nor the hearts of Communicants, not even Christ in us, but Christ absolutely, since He has condescended within our reach by His death, is the subject of our sacrifice. So also with the words:—"We, then, mindful of His sufferings

[1] See Neale and Littledale, p. 121, n. 25, and cf. p. 123, n. 26.

[2] Scudamore, p. 757, for many other instances.

[3] For Roman view, see Maskell, p. 114, n. 1. S. Greg., L. vii. n. lxiv.; Leo vii.; Ep. ii.; in Scud., p. 580. The meaning of passage in S. Greg. is much disputed, see Maskell, pref., p. xviii.

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and saving cross, . . . offer unto Thee"—the opening and exemplar form in S. James Greek expresses the ground and nature of our sacrifice, while the subsequent words, passing into a prayer for our worthiness to make so great an offering, are only an afterthought, omitted by the greater number of liturgies. The same arrangement, the same forms were retained by our first Reformed Prayer Book, were definitely abandoned in the second. To the authors of the latter, not only did communion seem of the greater importance—the sacramental presence was only achieved by, and was dependent on the participation. A moment's comparison will show how the Catholic order was abandoned with the doctrine. All this we understand; yet let us not be hasty in condemning what the later revisers thought patient of a Catholic interpretation. If they thought that sacrifice to a God dwelling in solemn, uncommunicated splendour, was not Christian; if they thought that the essentially Christian idea, one might say *the* central principle of revelation, was that acceptable sacrifice was only possible by the movement of an indwelling God; if they thought this had been over neglected—were they not right? (cf. S. Augustine's defin. in *De Civ. Dei*, x. 6.) Right to a large extent they were, it cannot be denied. How far, on the other hand, the great article, "not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God," applies, as marking the divine principle that sanctification is by ascent first into heavenly places; how far the regular Catholic arrangement was formed by this principle, I need not discuss. I point out only that my suggestion does explain why the Preparation was prefixed to the whole Canon; why the Lord's Prayer, the Prayer of the Participants, follows the Communion; why it precedes the Oblation; why, because that Infinite Gift has been received, there is no Preface of an, as it were trembling, address, no Embolismus; why, on the other hand, alone among liturgies, it has the Doxology. On the other hand, it only aggravates the misfortune that the Great Intercession has been rent from its proper connexion. More perplexing still is the permission to omit the Oblation altogether. This, I confess, is incomprehensible if it be not a mere overlooked survival. I should have thought no Catholic would ever allow himself such an omission, especially where the Thanksgiving is always represented by the *Gloria in excelsis*. Yet, in spite of the theological difficulties and the inconsistencies I have referred to, the English arrangement depends on a principle, which ought to be understood before anyone has a right to hearing as a reformer, and that, for the same reason, no piecemeal alterations can be listened to at all.

One way out of any difficulties or objections has now become universal in our altar books or cards. Whether under the name of Sarum or of Rome, we are assisted to insert the whole Roman Canon, only replacing the *Qui Pridie* by our own Consecration. Is this permissible? I must say so vast an addition goes far beyond the wildest of my own unaided dreams of development. It is ridiculous to talk of "authority" any longer. To start with, could anything be more insulting to our service than to insist on repeating all the parts with which we are already provided—the Intercession, the Invocation, the Pater Noster, the Oblation. What do we gain? Our own service displaces the Intercession. The Roman also places it badly, besides rending it in twain, and saddling us with a list of purely local Roman Saints. It doubles the Invocation, but adds not one iota to its point. The fact must, I fear, be admitted that though in many ways one of the most convenient, the Roman is theologically and structurally the most imperfect liturgy in the world. Let me draw a few criticisms together. I have already spoken of its separation of the bread and wine in the Oblation of the Elements; we have here also the theological blunder of *immaculatam hostiam* for the unconsecrated bread (see n. 2, p. 302). I have alluded to the practical omission, almost unique among liturgies, of the Commemoration of Redemption. In the Great Oblation we have two more theological blunders. In the prayer, *Supra quae propitio*, we ask that our gifts may be accepted as those of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedec, which, even though it refers to the gospel precursors, not to the legal sacrificers, is yet a very insufficient parallel to the Christian sacrifice. The explanation of an authoritative writer in the *Church Times* that the blunder is due to the omission of the Invocation which came later on, and was supposed to complete consecration, is a mere guess. For (1) there is no evidence that view of consecration was held at Rome;[1] (2) there is no evidence that the Roman Liturgy ever contained a full form of Invocation; (3) if it did it was most probably a form of the prayer, *Hanc igitur oblationem*, which precedes Institution; (4) yet, if all these be granted, the Great Oblation, as in the Greek, must assume itself to be *the* Oblation, and so must be perfect and adequate. It has always seemed to me as if the Roman Canon had been formed by the grouping of several short prayers, and a precisely similar form in the Palestinian and other liturgies seems to belong to the oblation of the elements. (The Roman mind does not seem at home in forming long periods, Freeman, II., pt. II. iii. 2, p. 39, adopts this explanation.) It may have been drawn into the group thence without its

[1] Of all the passages cited in Bingham in xv., iii. 12, and Scud., pp. 572, 587, 649, not one of the few testimonies representing the Roman school clearly takes this view.

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unsuitability being remarked. Once more, in the next prayer, *Supplices te rogamus*, it is assumed that we still stand in need of angel hands to carry our offerings to the heavenly altar in the sight of the Divine Majesty. Yet the teaching of the Church has been that in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, all our gifts are embodied in Christ, and presented in Him; the angels are our fellow-worshippers, not our assistants. I offer these suggestions, both elsewhere as here, with the utmost diffidence. They are mostly my own observations and inferences, and may be worth little. Even if I am in this case right, I may be told they are small blemishes. Possibly so, taken separately, yet together they hardly constitute a service with high claims to imitation.

"But," we are informed, "it is Sarum." In what sense? The whole trouble of the Reformation came upon us, was rendered necessary, because our Church had not held to her own national Catholicity, but had admitted an intrusive Roman element. Are we to signalize our return to Catholicity by accepting from our forefathers the badge of the very influence which brought all this mischief upon us both?

VI.—Post-Communion.

In the three Eastern groups the fixed elements of the Post-Communion are a Prayer of Thanksgiving and a Prayer of Benediction. The latter, which is always of some length, and addressed to God, is only added to S. Chrysostom in the eleventh century. The short "Western" Benediction of the people being added amid a crowd of other detail in the sixteenth, I can only infer that the similar forms after the dismissal, found only in the Armenian and S. Mark, are of similar date. In the West the Thanksgiving is variable. Generally, in East and West alike, there are a vagueness and an uncertainty about the Post-Communion. Nowhere does anything exist to match the clear order and the grandeur of our own close. Some, remembering the cry, "Let all flesh keep silence" (S. Basil from Hab. ii. 20), have taken exception to the singing of hymns during the Sacramental Presence. In the East only in S. James Greek and in the Armenian is that principle broken. In the West the Roman variable *Communio* follows, but the fixed form in the Mozarabic precedes the ablutions.

The Pax.—The omission of the Mutual Salutation from our services seems to me much to be regretted. We may distinguish four forms—(1.) The solemn *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum;* (2.) *Dominus vobiscum;* (3.) *Pax vobiscum* (or *omnibus*); (4.) *Gratia Domini, etc.* (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) The response *Et cum Spiritu tuo* is the same for each, although occasionally, as in the *Pax* of our own service, it is omitted. (3) and (4) are exclusively Eastern; (1) and (2) Western, except that (2) is used occasionally in the Alexandrian. To the casual student their use may seem to present endless variety, yet in reality four occasions govern nearly all. (*a.*) Except in the Coptic and Nestorian, the Salutation is always used in connection with the lections: generally in the Palestinian and in the Malabar before the gospel: in the Alexandrian and Western with several or many repetitions, it is also prefixed to the whole movement (as also in S. James Greek). (*b.*) Except the Ephesine, all liturgies use as a prefix to Sursum Corda. The Palestinian, and, in this one case, the Edessan use the fourth form, given above. The Alexandrian and Western use the second. (*c.*) The third universal instance is at the close of the Canon, generally after the Lord's Prayer, often also before it. In the Roman this is the *Pax*. In our service the appropriate place would be after the Prayer of Consecration, the Salutation seeming to be intended as a link between the Canon and Communion. (*d.*) The office closes in S. John Chrysostom and the Clementine with the words, "Depart in peace:" except S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, the Coptic, and Nestorian, in all other liturgies with the interchange of prayer. Of these Edward VI., using the same form as the Roman, has (*a.*) before the Collect only, (*b.*), (*c.*) after the Lord's Prayer, (*d.*) the union of the Pax and Benediction, as in our Prayer Book, as well as "The Lord be with you" at the close of Communion. Is the following of this example beyond our legitimate right? Considering the constant references to the *Pax omnibus* in the writings of S. Chrysostom (*Ep. ad Col.* III., p. 348, and many other places; Bing. xiii., vi. 5, 7, 9, 10), it is a remarkable thing that it only occurs twice in either the liturgy of his name or S. Basil's—these are at (*a.*) and (*c.*), and both times without response. S. Mark, with sixteen occurrences, reaches the other extreme.

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE LITERAL MEANING OF THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC SO FAR AS IT AFFECTS PARISH CHURCHES.

BY

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

"*And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.*"

So runs the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, which, after standing there neglected and almost forgotten for two hundred years, has in our time been brought very much into notice, and has given matter for fierce struggle between rival parties in the Church and out of it. When, about a generation ago, a few Churchmen called attention to the rubric, and hinted that as it is the law of the Church it ought to be obeyed, they were told even by men who from their education and position should have known better that the law was obsolete and therefore no longer in force; and when they began to act upon their conviction, and tried according to the best of their knowledge to obey the rubric, they were opposed, first by bluster, and then by actual violence. Mobs of ruffians were led to the churches by men who called themselves gentlemen, and the authorities whose duty it was to preserve the peace not only refused to act, but often by their open partisanship actually encouraged the disorder. But in spite of all, the movement spread quickly, and showed signs of becoming popular.

The opposition then changed their front, and began to deny the lawfulness of the ornaments in question, and the weight of prejudice being strongly with them, they gained some advantages in the courts as then constituted. But these not satisfying them they procured the creation of an entirely new Act of Parliament court formed for the openly avowed purpose of "putting down ritualism." I need not waste your time by following in detail the doings of that remarkable court. It is enough that after laying it down that the legal meaning of *shall be* is *shall* NOT *be*, and visiting those who refused to accept that position with a persecution the story of which seems to belong rather to the sixteenth than to the nineteenth century, it has brought itself into such general contempt that even they who created it are ashamed of it, and are beginning to consider how it may be decently got rid of.

There are fanatics still, and as rancorous as ever, and, as their old combination has become too disreputable to be of any more service, they have lately formed themselves into another; but they must indeed be dull if they can not see that their day is past, and that the feeling of the great body of Churchmen is against them. There is not, I suppose, a church in the land in which there is not something which they have denounced, and the very sects are being affected by the forward movement.

Respectable Low Churchmen have ceased to pretend to believe that the rubric means the exact opposite of what it says, and ask only that they shall have liberty to go on in their disregard of it, a liberty which they may honestly claim, and which no sensible man would wish to take from them. The time is probably not far distant when none will claim it.

The principle for which High Churchmen have contended is now generally accepted, and their practices are daily becoming more general. Nevertheless, few men, even amongst those who believe that they obey it, have any clear idea of what the ornaments rubric really means. They have not leisure to search the matter out for themselves, and trust in books published for their guidance, of which there are many differing much among themselves, but agreeing in this one thing, that the lists of ornaments they give as those retained in the Church of England in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth omit some which were certainly in use, and include others which as certainly were unknown. The present paper is intended to contribute something towards the compilation of a list which shall be free from these faults.

As a matter of convenience I confine the inquiry to parish churches, only noting in passing a few points in which their usages imitated or differed from those of the cathedral and other collegiate churches—the *quires* of our present rubric—and I wish to treat the matter as a purely

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antiquarian one, and simply to catalogue the ornaments according to the evidence I have been able to find about them.

We must begin by understanding clearly what are the limits of the inquiry. The rubric, which in its present form became part of the law of the Church and Realm of England in the year 1662, says that the ornaments to be retained and used are to be the same that were *in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.* First, *in this Church of England:* not in the Church of France, or of Spain, or of Rome, or of Jerusalem, or any other; nor in the Congregation of Geneva, or of Frankfort, or of Strasburg. Secondly, *by the authority of Parliament:* not by the authority of the King, or of the Privy Council, or of the Bishop of Rome, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other. And, thirdly, *in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth:* not in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh year of that reign, nor in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James I., or Charles I. The want of a clear understanding as to these three points has been the cause of many mistakes and much misunderstanding on both sides, and it will be well to consider them a little further.

I. The Church of England. When the desire first arose to give a literal obedience to this long-neglected rubric so little was known of ecclesiastical antiquities in England that it was commonly assumed that a uniform usage prevailed throughout the Western Church during the middle ages, and, further, that the same usage prevails everywhere in the Roman obedience still. And so things found in use in France, Belgium, or Italy, some of them being quite modern even there, were adopted here, as if they had the authority of the rubric. Students know better now; but the compilers of the manuals of ritual published for the use of the clergy, and often blindly followed by them, generally either do not know or at least do not care anything about the matter. I have treated in two former papers, read before this Society[1], of the mischievous error of them who are striving to thrust the debased ritual of the modern Church of Rome upon the Church of England; and I now refer to it by way of warning, it having been the source from which most mistakes as to the ornaments of the rubric have come. It does not follow that all study of foreign customs is useless. On the contrary, we should sometimes find it difficult to understand what is recorded of our own without it. But the help comes oftener from those local usages which the Roman policy has for centuries been trying to destroy than from the common form which it tries to enforce.

A few ornaments of foreign protestant origin have at times obtained a place here; but as they are now generally given up, and they who used them would hardly have claimed the authority of the rubric for doing so, we need not stay to consider them.

II. The Authority of Parliament. Here I must first guard myself from anything which might seem like a contention that Parliament has of itself any power to make laws for the Church. Such would be an insult to the faith and the reason of Churchmen. I hope to show why the authority of Parliament at a given date was named as fixing the rule of the Church as to ornaments in 1662, as it had been before in 1559. And it is not necessary for us to enquire whether the rule had constitutional authority at the time named, for, if anything was lacking before, it was certainly supplied, when, in 1662, there was put forth the present order, concerning the authority of which there can not be any dispute. But it needs to be remembered that we are referred to the authority of Parliament because there are continually being quoted the orders of the Privy Council and others, which, apart from the question of date, had not, when made, any authority to bind the Church, and have not been accepted by the Church and lawfully enacted afterwards, as, in this matter, the ruling of Parliament has been.[2]

III. The Second Year of King Edward the Sixth. King Henry VIII. died on the 28th day of January, 1547, and consequently the first year of his son and successor began on 28th January, 1547, and ended on 27th January, 1548, and his second year on the corresponding days in 1548 and 1549. We have therefore to enquire what were the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof retained and used by authority of Parliament in the year which began on 28th January, 1548, and ended on 27th January, 1549.

It has generally been assumed that the rubric refers to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. But an examination of the dates proves that this is not so. That book received the authority of Parliament on 21st January, 1549, which is indeed just within the second year of the King, but it was not required to be used until the Whitsunday following (9th June, 1549), or till three weeks after a copy had been procured. So that the book could not have been used by authority of Parliament before the third year of King Edward, and we must seek for something

[1] Transactions S.P.E.S., Vol. I., pp. 252-260, and Vol. II., pp. 150-161.

[2] A curious example of controversial puzzle-headedness, in which time, place, and authority are excellently confounded, is to be seen in a church at Derby. Early in the eighteenth century an altar was put up there which was fairly well in accordance with the use of the second year of Edward VI. Some years ago a fanatical parson pulled it down, and to justify that act in the diocese of Litchfield he set up an inscription quoting an order for the destruction of altars made by Dr. Ridley, for the diocese of London, in the fourth year of King Edward.

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earlier. Now late in 1547 an Act (1st Edw. VI. cap. 1) had been passed, ordering the restoration of Communion in both kinds. No form was included in the Act, but soon afterwards[1] a form was put forth by proclamation. It is known as the *Order of Communion*, and perhaps it may be disputed whether technically it has the authority of Parliament. But without something of the kind the Act would have been inoperative, and the issue of the form was no doubt considered at the time to be authorized by the Act 31st Hen. VIII. cap. 8. The *Order of Communion* was to come into use on Easter Day, 1548, and it continued until it was superseded by the English book of 1549. It was not an order for the *Celebration*, but only for the *Communion*, and it was to be inserted into the old Latin service, which was to go on as before "without varying of any other rite or ceremony of the Mass."[2] This at least is evidence of the continuance, all through the second year of King Edward, of the old Latin Mass and by consequence of the ornaments used in that service. As a matter of fact the same ornaments, or at least all of them which have been the subject of controversy in late times, were also used with the English service of 1549. But I think we may see a reason why first in 1559—so soon afterwards that the supposition of mistake or accident is impossible—and again in 1662 it was thought best to refer back to the time before the introduction of the English service, rather than to that in which it was used. The reign of Edward VI. was one of continual strife and change, and, when we are referred to a particular date in it, it is as necessary to keep exactly to that date, as it would be if we were referred to one date during the French Revolution. The party of innovation were in power, but at first they had to deal with a strong opposition of Catholic reformers, who had to be got rid of before they were able to carry out their designs. This indeed they never did to the fullest of their intention. But they went far enough to make Englishmen accept with gladness the accession of Mary, even with a return to popery. I have said the old ornaments were used with the new book, but almost from its first publication other changes began to be made, and as the innovators became stronger, they pressed forward their measures with little regard to law or order, they arbitrarily put down the use of ornaments, even whilst the book ordering them was still in force, and soon they replaced it by a book of their own in which the externals of worship were reduced almost to the lowest possible. In Queen Elizabeth's time it was intended to continue the use of the ancient ornaments, and it was much simpler and less likely to be misunderstood to refer to the last year of an unbroken usage of centuries, than to the first year of a period of quick and often violent change. And where so many and contradictory orders had been made by all kinds of authority, scarce one of which had been used in a strictly constitutional way, it is difficult to see how any better course could have been taken, than to accept only those which had received the sanction of Parliament. The rule was at least a definite one, and if it had been fairly acted upon, it would probably have worked well; but the earlier bishops of Queen Elizabeth's time never honestly accepted it. They would have had things put back to what they were on the death of Edward, and failing to procure that by lawful means, they tried to obtain their end by acts of their own, as arbitrary as ever those of the Crown had been. Thus began that difference between the law and the practice of the English Church, which has not yet ceased. Much was recovered in the seventeenth century. Laud lost his life, but his cause was won. At the Restoration, the still existing, but generally neglected law, was deliberately re-enacted. Much was done towards putting it into practice then, and the way was prepared for that fuller revival, which after two more centuries, we see now. And it must be borne in mind, that, as in 1662 the standard of 1548 was returned to, any changes, which may have been made between these dates, were overruled, and deprived of any legal force, which for the time being they may have had.

The present rubric then orders the use of the same ornaments as were used in the year 1548. And we have seen that, so far as regards the Altar service, these ornaments were what had been used for many years before. This is true, also, with respect to other services. For although the Court party were attempting, in irregular ways, to put down usages connected with particular days, such as the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of palms on Palm Sunday, it was not done "by authority of Parliament," nor was anything done which materially affected the regular daily services, or the offices contained in the Manual, or any of the ornaments connected with them, before the appearance of the book of 1549.

The changes as to ornaments which had taken place up to the second year of King Edward, had reference not to the public services and regular ordinances of the Church, but to various usages which had grown up in the course of centuries, and which, innocent perhaps in their first beginning, had become superstitious abuses, and from the date of the definite rejection of the authority of the Bishop of Rome in this realm, efforts were made to put an end to them

[1] 8th March, 1548.

[2] The *Order of Communion* was only to be used when there were communicants besides the priest, which was not yet a general custom; and it is likely that at many churches it was not used more than once or twice. At all other times the service would go on as of old.

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They arose out of the worship of relics and images, and the various orders about them were summed up and repeated in the *Injunctions* issued by the Privy Council in 1547. These Injunctions depend for their Parliamentary authority on the Act 31st Hen. VIII. cap. 8, already referred to as giving the authority to the *Order of Communion.* That Act gave the authority of Parliament, under certain restrictions, to Royal proclamations, and, during a minority, to proclamations issued by the Privy Council. It may be disputed whether this really does give the authority of Parliament within the meaning of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. But it would take me away from my subject to discuss that point, and I will assume that it does so. The *Injunctions* are a re-edition of a set which had been issued by Thomas Cromwell a dozen years before, and they contain little that was new in 1547. All relics, shrines, and everything connected with them were taken away, and all images which had been abused by offerings and other superstitious observances. Also all pictures which recorded "feigned miracles." Lights were no longer to be set before any such nor elsewhere in the church, except two before the Sacrament of the Altar. This would make a considerable difference in the appearance of the churches; for although many might not possess shrines or relics, there was none in the land which did not possess at least one image before which it had been customary to burn a lamp, and some had many.

The confiscation of the property of guilds and chantries under 37th Hen. VIII. cap. 4, seems only to have partly taken effect, and it was some years after its re-enactment by 1st Ed. VI. cap. 14, before the work was complete. Beyond the taking away of the lights, which most guilds had kept up, the effect upon the ornaments of the Church was very little. The ornaments used at the private services were of the same sort as those which continued to be used in the public services. In a few, chiefly of the largest, churches there were altars which had been built only for the use of chantries, and would now be left desolate. But by far the largest number of churches had none such, the chantries, if there were any, being founded at public altars.[1]

The Injunctions forbid certain uses of bells, and order the setting up in every church of a copy of the great Bible and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, in some place where the parishioners could read them; and that a pulpit should be provided in every church that did not already possess one.

The list of ornaments in the second year of King Edward the Sixth is, then, a list of such as would have been found in a church of the beginning of the sixteenth century, with certain omissions and certain additions due to these various enactments. Such a list I now endeavour to give. I can not hope that nothing will be left out of it, but I will try that nothing shall be put into it for which reasonable proof can not be given.

The sources of our information are many and much scattered. Not much can be got from the old service books, except with respect to what are now called occasional offices. A knowledge of the customs and ritual of the ordinary services was assumed in the users of the books. I think I am right in saying that in no old English Mass book is there more mention of the altar lights than there is in the Prayer Book of 1662.[2] But much can be learned from the various constitutions and ordinations whereby it was ruled how the duty of providing the requisite ornaments should be divided between the parishioners, the rectors, and the vicars of churches. Much, too, may be gleaned from the records of visitations and from old wills. And, most of all, from the churchwardens' accounts, the minutes of parish meetings, the inventories of church goods, and from the evidence afforded by the old churches themselves.[3] It would be tedious to cite authority for each single object, but I shall try to do it wherever the obscurity or curiosity of the matter seems to ask for it. Some things are in the list, which, perhaps, no one would wish to see put into use again. But the things were in use at the time which fixes the law, and it would be very difficult to maintain that their presence in a church would be unlawful now. And certainly, if the usages with which they were connected should be restored without any new directions concerning them being given by proper authority, these ornaments and none other ought to be used.

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[1] It has been, and still is, the custom of careless or ignorant writers to call all side altars *chantry* altars. But many of them never had chantries founded at them, and, generally, where there was a chantry, the altar was there long before the foundation.

[2] This by itself is enough to upset the contention that the absence of express mention of a thing in an office book is proof of its non-use. And for the continuation of the old tradition until after the year 1548 it is enough to cite the rubric of the book of 1549, which directs that the priest preparing the Mass shall put on *the vesture appointed for that ministration.* But where appointed, except by immemorial usage? There had not been any new order about the vestments.

[3] Some information may be gathered from contemporary literature, and especially from controversial literature, but more about ritual and customs than about the ornaments. Anyone with patience to wade through the scurrilous profanity of a writer like Thomas Becon may find a great deal, and there is a feeling of retribution in it which gives a zest to the search. But such writers need to be used with caution. Their teaching was foreign and their writing contains much which is translated, and in which the references and allusions are to foreign customs. Barnabe Goodge's *Popish Kingdom* is of this sort, and the large use Sir Henry Ellis made of it in his edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* is very misleading, for most of the extravagances attacked were never practised in England.

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I will take the ornaments of the church first, viz. :—

IMAGES AND PICTURES. The church might be decorated with these on walls, in windows, or on furniture, if only they did not commemorate feigned miracles and were not abused by superstitious practices, but were "for a memorial only." Several irregular attempts have been made to stop the use of images and pictures as church ornaments, but they have not succeeded, and it is notable that, in spite of the very widely spread puritan superstition, which can not see a picture in a church without imagining that somebody wants to worship it, the use of them was never quite given up in England.[1]

THE HIGH ALTAR. Which was of stone, as were other altars. The very few examples of wooden altars in England during the later middle ages were irregular and contrary to the canons in force at the time.[2] The destruction of the old altars and the substitution of movable wooden tables, which seem to have been set up only at the time of the Celebration, appears to have been begun in the diocese of London by Dr. Ridley in the fourth year of King Edward.[3]

MINOR ALTARS. Even the smallest of parish churches appear to have had two altars, besides the high altar. Churches without aisles or transepts had the minor altars one on each side of the chancel door.[4] Five altars seems to have been a very usual number in parish churches of the better sort, and collegiate and cathedral churches had many more, as may often be seen by the marks of them which remain. These altars were still in regular use in 1548. Even the introduction of the new book in 1549 did not at first make any difference in this respect. But the old services were kept on at the old times and in the old places, the English form being used instead of the Latin.[5]

THE TABLE, OR REREDOS. Often there was a rich wall or screen of wood or stone behind the altar, covered with imagery and painting, and sometimes it had shutters or "leaves" to close it in.[6]

THE ALTAR SHELF. Dr. Wickham Legg, whose zeal against the outlandish novelties which are finding their way into English churches I heartily share, is certainly wrong in classing with them the altar shelf, or, as he prefers to call it, the *gradin*. In his thoughtful paper on *Antient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse*[7] he cites several passages quoted in a paper I wrote in 1878,[8] in which the altar shelf is mentioned by various names as "*the forme uppon the high altar undre the juellis*," the "*shelfe standyng on the altar*," "*an halpas*," and "*a deske*." He would explain these as referring not to a shelf raised a few inches above the altar, but to a thing some feet in height, in fact, to the *table* or *reredos* of the altar. Whatever it was, the ornaments of the altar stood upon it. Now, I know that some desperately "correct" ones in our time have taken to putting the altar ornaments on the top of the reredos instead of in front of it. But I do not know of any authority for such a strange practice, and I much suspect it comes only of the study of the cuts in M. Viollet-le-Duc's dictionary, which is not a source at which I should advise English ecclesiologists to seek inspiration. Perhaps I may be referred to the old statutes of several of the cathedrals, in which the number of candles to be placed in this position at different times is clearly laid down. So it is. I do not deny that candles were sometimes put on the top of the reredos. But, if the searchers after some new thing in ecclesiastical

[1] Even when the ideal of a church was a square box, with a central pulpit in three stories, and galleries and close pews all round, it was common to set up pictures—often crucifixes—over the altars.

[2] There can be no doubt that wooden altars were sometimes used in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they not mere makeshifts, but things of some cost. The word *altar* was also, sometimes, used for a press or cupboard to keep things in.

[3] The real contest in the seventeenth century was not about the material so much as the position of the altar, and that was finally set at rest after 1662. Stone or marble altars of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century are not uncommon.

[4] The beautiful reredoses of two altars thus placed remain at Ranworth Church, Norfolk, and the altars themselves at Patricio Church, Brecon.

[5] A Privy Council Order, of 24th June, 1549, orders the discontinuance of "Our Lady's Communion" and the "Apostle's Communion," kept in the chapels at St. Paul's, and directs that, in future, only one Communion shall be kept—at the time of High Mass—except there were some who desired to receive at another time. For them a special celebration was allowed, but it was to be at the High Altar. As late as 1567 the churchwardens of Kingston, in Surrey, made three new Communion tables of wood for their church, which already had one, so there were four. They took the places of as many old stone altars. [See churchwardens' accounts, quoted by Major Heales in his history of that church, page 85.] Henry the Eighth's altar in the Lady Chapel, at Westminster Abbey, stood until the Puritan usurpation, and there is evidence of services at it. The rubrics of the coronation service still assume the existence of the altar of St. Edward at Westminster Abbey. The Lady Chapels of Winchester and Gloucester Cathedrals have (unless they have been taken away lately) altar rails of the seventeenth century, the former being, I think, earlier than 1662, and the other later.

[6] See a description of the Church of Melford, in Suffolk, by Mr. Roger Martin, who remembered it as it was at the date we are discussing. It is printed in Neale's *Views of Churches*, Vol. II.

[7] Transactions S.P.E.S., Vol. II., p. 119.

[8] *The State of Parish Churches in the year* 1548, printed in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXV., pp. 372-396. I can scarcely expect Dr. Legg to accept the following as giving yet another name for the altar shelf, but I believe it does so :—"Itm. *iiij. coffyns* to ly on the auters." *Inventory of goods belonging to the Church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London*, 1466. Printed with a paper by Dr. Freshfield in *Archæologia*, Vol. L., p. 44.

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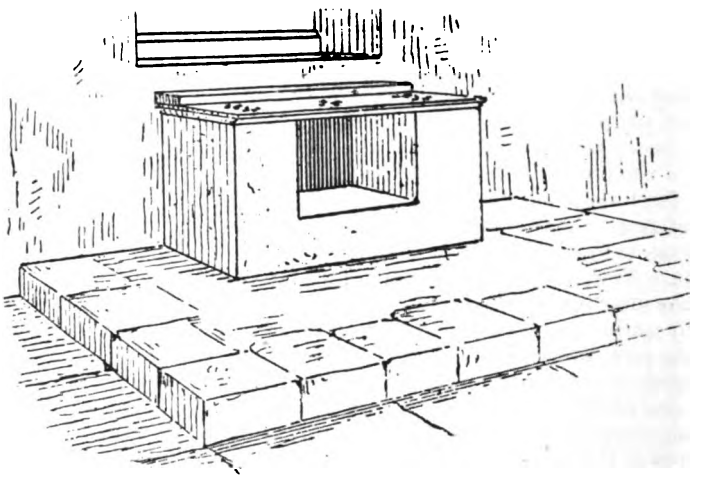
revival will read the whole of the passage in each case, they will find that these candles were not part of the ornaments of the altar—the candles for it are separately mentioned as being *on* the altar—but were extra and additional to them, being part of the special ornament of the quire on feasts. Dr. Legg would explain the cover or cloth "to lye upon the forme uppon the high altar undre the juellis" as the upper frontal or dorsal. But that would not *lie upon* but *hang in front of* his tall table, and I do not understand the difficulty as to a "modern gradin" being unable to take all the ornaments enumerated by Hall as having stood upon the "halpas" of the altar in King Henry's Chapel at Guisnes.[1] I do not see how a shelf six inches above the altar should hold less than one six feet above it.

The various illustrations of altars without shelves given by Dr. Legg prove only that the shelf was not always used, which I do not dispute, and his only English examples are from Westminster Abbey, where the conservatism natural to all monastic foundations would keep to an older fashion than that which prevailed in the secular churches. I am convinced that in the middle of the sixteenth century the use of the altar shelf was very common in parish churches. Sometimes it was a long wood box laid upon the altar, and sometimes a stone ledge behind it. We have seen mention of them in inventories; and though the general destruction of the old altars has carried with it the destruction of the shelves, I am able to cite two still remaining examples to refute the statement that such things were not. Under the south chapel at Grantham parish church is a large crypt, and in it an old altar. At the back of it against the wall is a low stone ledge 5½ inches wide, and 6 inches above that is another shelf formed in the sill of a window. Here is a figure of it.



ALTAR WITH STONE SHELF AT GRANTHAM CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE, FOURTEENTH OR FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

This plain stone shelf was probably intended to be covered with a cloth like that at St. Christopher's at Stock. But at Cold Overton church in Leicestershire, at the east end of the south aisle of the nave, remains the shelf of the altar, which once stood there, enriched with moulding and carving, and evidently intended to be seen.

THE CANOPY OF THE ALTAR. An altar often had above it a canopy of cloth, wood, or other material. The view of the presbytery of Westminster Abbey in the Islip roll[2] shows a canopy over the high altar, and there are some remains still of that above the chantry altar within the grate of the tomb in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. A wooden canopy is mentioned in 1877 as existing at Clun Church, Salop,[3] and another is recorded to have remained over the altar at Goosey Church, Berks., till about fifty years ago.[4] The canopy on pillars does not seem

[1] We may assume some exaggeration in the "twelfe images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of age all gold" (see later p. 316, note 4).

[2] *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. IV., plate 18.

[3] "Over the central east window is suspended from the roof a canopy composed of thirty panelled squares in oak, and at its western angles and centre are three angels." *The Builder*, XXXV., p. 877.

[4] It is thus described by Mr. J. H. Parker in *The Ecclesiastical Topography of Berkshire* (1849) "over the altar a flat tester painted with emblems of the crucifixion, &c., and above this on the east wall a painting of the crucifixion." It must have been taken away soon after Mr. Parker's visit, for in the *Ecclesiologist*, Vol. XII., p. 216, it is said that it "disappeared no one knows how" a few years before 1851. Enquiries about it kindly made for me lately by the Rev. O. Birchall resulted only in the information that nothing is remembered of the thing at Goosey now.

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to have been common here in the sixteenth century, but it was not unknown. There was one in Henry the Seventh's chapel, which remained with the altar beneath it until 1643.

THE HAIR. This was a covering of hair cloth to lay on the top of an altar. I am not sure that it was always used.

THE UPPER FRONTAL OR DORSAL. A cloth of more or less richness hung against the wall above the altar.

THE NETHER OR LOWER FRONTAL. The cloth in front of the altar to which the name *frontal* is now generally given.

THE FRONTLET. Was a strip of stuff fringed on the lower edge and sewn as a "parure" on to the front edge of one of the linen cloths, from which it hung so as to hide the suspension of the lower frontal. It was not always used. The modern thing called a *superfrontal*, which covers the top of the altar and hangs over in front, is contrary to the old canons, which forbid anything but white linen to be put on the top of the altar at the time of celebration.

THE RIDDELS OR COSTERS. It was usual to have curtains generally of light stuff hung at the ends of altars from rods projecting from the east wall, and at right angles with it. They are often mentioned in inventories by these names.

CARPETS were laid on floors and on seats, and

TAPESTRIES hung against walls of such churches as could afford them.

THE HANGING PYX. THE CANOPY OF THE PYX. THE PYX CLOTH. The blessed Sacrament was reserved in English churches all through the year we are concerned with, and the old English way of doing it was by suspension over the high altar. A sort of crane was fixed there with gear for raising and lowering, and the pyx was hung by a cord or chain attached to a ring on its top. Above it was hung the canopy, a round tent-shaped thing of linen or silk, kept in form by a metal ring, and sometimes highly ornamented.[1] The pyx itself was veiled in the pyx cloth, which was a square napkin, with a hole in the middle through which the suspending chain passed, and weighted tassels at the four corners which kept it down close by the pyx. The constitution of Archbishop Peckham in 1260, given in a note below,[2] seems to apply rather to a locker than to a hanging canopy; but it is evident from Lyndewode's curious gloss that he did not know of any method of reservation in use here except suspension. There is, however, some evidence of the occasional use of a locker over the high altar after the Italian fashion. In 1466 the church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, had "j coffyn for to keep the sacrament on the hy auter."[3] And in 1547, as appears by their accounts, the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, paid for the making of "a little coffer upon the hie altar for to set in the sacrament with other necessaries 1s. 4d."[4] And much earlier than either of these we find in the accounts of the keepers of the fabric of Ripon Minster for 1399—1400, "in salario Joh: Memersmyth emendantis j seram de cista in qua Corpus Christi ponitur iijd.[5] Here *cista* seems scarcely to apply to the hanging pyx, though the hanging pyx was in some way secured by a lock.

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[1] In 1500 money was left to the church of Walberswick for, amongst other things, "a canope over the hygh awter welle done with our Lady and iiij aungelys and the Holy Ghost goyng upp and down with a cheyne."—Nichols's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners and Expenses*, p. 187. "A canapy for the Sacrament of crymson sarsenett with knoppis of golde and tacellys of sylke." Inventory of goods belonging to Faversham church in 1512, printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XVIII., p. 109.

[2] "Dignissimum Eukaristie Sacramentum precipimus decetero taliter custodiri ut in qualibet ecclesia parochiali fiat tabernaculum cum clausura decens et honestum secundum facultates, in quo ipsum Dominicum Corpus non in bursa vel loculo propter comminutionis periculum nullatenus collocetur, sed in pixide pulcherrima lino candidissimo interius adornata, ita quod sine omni diminutionis periculo facile possit extrahi et imponi." On this Lyndewode remarks: "Videtur quod usus observatus in Anglia, ut scilicet in canopeo pendeat super altare, non est commendabilis." And again: "Licet enim consuetudo anglicana commendabilis est illa consideratione qua citius representatur nostris aspectibus adoranda, non tamen est commendabilis eo respectu quo ponitur in loco publico, sic quod ad eam manus temerarie de facili valeant extendi. Nam, licet in cupa que forsan clausa est pendeat, tamen ad illam deorsum mittendam vel forsan cum illa cupa totaliter auferendam manus temerarie de facili possunt apponi. Et ideo, ut michi videtur, commendabilior est usus aliorum locorum quem vidi, viz.: in Hollandia et Portugalia in quibus ordinatur unus locus singularis honestus prope altari in quo reponitur eukaristia sub clavibus inter parietes, ut locum bene munitum, conservanda, sic quod nullus ad ipsam eukaristiam accedere poterit, nisi sacerdos loci illius clavem custodiens." *Provinciale, De custo: Euka: c: Dignissimum.* I do not know the ancient usage of Portugal, but from the way it is here spoken of it was probably the same as that of Holland, where the Sacrament was reserved, not in the Italian manner, but in a "sacrament house," on the north side of the presbytery. The same custom existed in Scotland in the 16th century, and I have sometimes doubted whether those often highly enriched lockers, which we find on the north sides of the chancels in the east of England, and which are called Easter sepulchres, may not have been used for the reservation of the Sacrament. In Peacock's *English Church Furniture* (p. 80) it is recorded that the sepulchre at Ewerby, in Lincolnshire, was "broken in pieces," but the stone locker is there yet. If, however, the lockers are "tabernacles," it is strange that Lyndewode should not have known of them, for most are as old as the fourteenth century. There is evidence of the use of the Italian tabernacle in some English churches in Mary's time, but it was not general.

[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. L., p. 44.

[4] Nichols's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners and Expenses*, p. 12.

[5] *Memorials of Ripon*, edited by the Rev. J. T. Fowler for the *Surtees Society*, Vol. III., p. 129. The "restorers" have so completely destroyed the old arrangements of the presbytery at Ripon, that nothing remains which can help to the understanding of this curious passage.

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THE SANCTUARY LAMPS. The injunctions of 1547 order the retention of *two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament.* The order is rather obscure, because, according to the use of the time, a light *on* the altar could not be *before* the Sacrament, whether reserved or lying on the altar at the time of celebration. It has generally been assumed to refer to the latter, but a comparison of these injunctions with those of Thomas Cromwell seems to prove that the lights intended to be kept were those before the reserved Sacrament. I have discussed this point at length in the paper on *Parish Churches in* 1548. It is true that at a rather later date, when the intention was to do away with reservation altogether, this injunction was quoted as applying to the candles on the altar. But that proves nothing as to the meaning which it was understood to have when put forth in 1547. At that time, and all through 1548 at least, the reservation of the Sacrament was general, and we may be quite sure that, so long as it was so, the place of reservation was marked in the old way by one or more lights being kept burning before it.

THE LINEN ALTAR CLOTHS. These seem to have varied in number from two to four, three, perhaps, being the most usual. The frontlet was sometimes sewn to the edge of one of them, as was said before. The topmost cloth was of as fine texture as could be afforded, and was often fringed and embroidered. It hung down at the ends, besides covering the top of the altar. Weights of lead were used to keep the altar vestments in their places.[1]

THE ALTAR CROSS. A cross was not thought a necessary ornament for an altar, though it was a common one. The cross which a parish was bound to provide was for processions. But often it served for the altar as well, being fitted with a foot to stand in, and a staff for carrying. This cross always had a figure of our Lord crucified, and often there were brackets at the sides with figures of St. Mary and St. John.

THE ALTAR CANDLESTICKS. The direction in the *Order of Communion* that the old service should continue without varying of any rite or ceremony, sends us back to the ancient usage as to altar lights. This differed much in different churches, the only fixed rule being that there should be at least one light on the altar at the time of Celebration.[2] Rich churches would have more, and it was the custom to vary the number according to the day, but the greater number of parish churches probably had ordinarily only two lights on the high altar, and one on each side altar. On occasions the number might be very great,[3] but as a rule the extra lights were put round about the altar rather than on it. The largest number of candlesticks I have met with named as being on one altar is ten. This was in King Henry's chapel at Guisnes. The curious modern custom of having certain candles on an altar reserved for use at celebrations, and another set for use at evensong, has no authority in antiquity.

THE TEXTUS, OR GOSPEL BOOK. The custom of placing a specially ornamented book of the Gospels upon the altar is of very early date. It was kept up in most collegiate churches in 1548, but it seems not to have been usual in the parish churches.

THE ALTAR LECTERN OR CUSHION. The priest's book at the altar was supported, sometimes on a small desk and sometimes on a cushion.

OTHER ORNAMENTS OF THE ALTAR. So long as they remained, reliquaries had been the chief means of decking altars. Figures and other sculptures in alabaster or wood, and especially in the precious metals, were used; and indeed any pieces of plate seem to have been considered proper ornaments for the altar.[4] There is no evidence of the use of pots of flowers. The things called *altar cards* were unknown in the English Church till they were introduced from abroad a few years ago. They are a modern Italian invention, and are as useless as they are ugly.

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[1] "iij pila plumbi super altare ad firmanda tualia." Inventory of goods of the church of St. Kerrian, Exeter 1417, printed by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston Randolph as an appendix to his *Register of Bishop Stafford*, p. 483. "j coveryng wt: iiij pecis of leed lying of the alter." Inventory of goods belonging to a chantry in York Minster 1543. *York Fabric Rolls*, 283.

[2] "*Tempore quo missarum solennia peraguntur accendantur duo candele vel ad minus una.*" Constitution of Archbishop Walter Raynold, of Canterbury, in 1322.

[3] See the curious particulars of the annual procession to St. Bartholomew's chapel, from the Custom book of the borough of Sandwich (A. D. 1301), printed by Boys in his *History of Sandwich* (p. 87). There were carried in the procession seven score and more of candles (*usque ad numerum vij xx. et amplius*) provided at the public cost, besides others found by private persons. When the chapel was reached, the candles were set *super candelabra et alias trabes ad hoc assignatas.* Then followed high Mass. The candles offered on that day were enough to serve the chapel for the whole year following and leave something over, which was returned and worked up again for the next year's offering.

[4] In 1483 Richard the Third went in state to the cathedral at York, and the high altar was decked with the King's stuff *cum xii apostolis argenteis et deauratis cum multis aliis reliquiis.* *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 211. It is very likely that these images of the apostles were the same that afterwards stood in King Henry's chapel, and are recorded by Hall to have been of gold. The word *reliquiis* in this quotation should be noticed. Both *relic* and *jewel* were used in a wide sense for any article, especially one of precious metal, placed upon an altar for its adornment. The metal dishes, which till lately were common upon English altars, but are now going out of fashion, may have a respectable antiquity claimed for them. Witness this extract from the will of Sir W. Bruges in 1449: "I bequethe to the said church (St. George's, Stamford), for the solempne fest dayes to stande upon the high awter ij grete basyne of sylver." See Nichols's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners and Expenses*, p. 132.

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STANDING CANDLESTICKS. In well furnished churches it was usual to have a pair of tall candlesticks of brass or other material placed one on each side in front of the high altar. Sometimes secondary altars had them also.

THE CHALICE. THE PATEN. THE CHALICE SPOON. THE CORPORAS. THE PALLA. THE CORPORAS CASE. Some churches now possess a spoon among their plate. It is, generally, a domestic spoon, which has been given by some one for the use of the altar. The same used to be done in the middle ages, but sometimes the spoons were purposely made.[1] The corporas case or forel was used to keep the folded corporas in. The *palla* is seldom mentioned as a separate ornament, as it was really another corporas, one cloth being opened out and laid upon the altar, and the other kept folded to cover the chalice with.[2] The stiff thing called a *pall*, which has been introduced from abroad into some of our churches lately, has no English authority, and being made of pasteboard, instead of linen, it is contrary to the ancient canons.

THE CREWETS FOR WINE AND WATER. The difference between them was marked in various ways, as by one being gilt and the other plain, or by letters or other ornaments.

THE OFFERTORIUM. This was a linen or silk scarf which was cast about the shoulders of the patener, and in the ends of which he muffled his hands when he brought in the chalice or held up the paten. I think it was seldom used in parish churches. The modern chalice veil has some analogy with the *offertorium* and may be a remnant of it. The word is also sometimes used for a vessel of silver in which the altar bread was brought in before the offertory in some rich churches.

THE CENSER. THE SHIP. THE SPOON FOR INCENSE. The censer was amongst the things which were to be found by the parishioners, and few churches seem to have been without it, though in many country churches it was probably seldom used.

TWO BASINS FOR WASHING THE HANDS. A TOWEL. The usual English custom seems to have been to use, not a ewer and basin, but two basins for the washing of the hands of the celebrant. Water was poured from one to the other, and sometimes one had a spout at the side for the purpose.[3] The towel sometimes hung on the wall at the south side of the presbytery.

THE SUPERALTAR. This was a small portable consecrated altar stone intended to be placed upon a table when there was a celebration in an unconsecrated place. The privilege of such services was granted to a man personally and only to a few. It is probable that the superaltars, which are known to have been possessed by some even amongst parish churches,[4] had been bequeathed to them by those who had in their lives had the privilege. They had no use in a church which had its own consecrated altars, and were probably only looked upon as "jewels" for the decking of the altars at feasts.

THE SACKERING BELL. The ringing of bells during the time of service had been forbidden by the injunctions, except before the sermon, and if any bell were rung then it would be one of the bells in the steeple audible to people outside. Some use of the small bell inside the church seems, however, to have continued even till the total stopping of the church services during the puritan usurpation in the seventeenth century. The bells were generally handbells, but sometimes were hung against walls or on screens. Sometimes they were in sets to sound together; and in one case, which probably was not singular at the time, we find the sackering bell developed into a musical chime.[5]

PROCESSIONAL CROSS. PROCESSIONAL CANDLESTICKS AND TORCHES. These must have continued in use so far, at least, as they belonged to the service at the altar as long as the *Order of Communion* was in force. Torches are not mentioned in the rubrics, but it was the common custom to light one or more at the consecration, or *sackering*, as it was called. There was usually a special cross for Lent, often of wood, painted red, or sometimes green, and generally without any figure.[6] At Easter they used, in most places, to hang a banner to the

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[1] See will of John Ravensthorpe of York 1432, "*calicem sanctificatam cum patena et cocleari eidem calici pertinente*," *Test. Ebor.* Vol. II., p. 29. Also given to York Minster in 1370, "*unum coclear argenti deauratum ad proporciandum vinum sive aquam pro calice magni altaris*," *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 185.

[2] Early inventories and the like often mention the corporases in pairs, as "*viij paria corporalium cum forellis v*" in the Sarum inventory of 1222, printed by Dr. Rock at the end of his *Church of our Fathers*; and "*deficit unum par corporalium*," from a visitation of the Church of Bosham in 1282, in Mr. Hingeston Randolph's *Register* of Bishop Quivil of Exeter, p. 316. The later inventory-makers seem to have concerned themselves chiefly with the cases, which were more costly things than the corporases, which they sometimes do not even mention. I think that two cases were used.

[3] Amongst divers things given to York Minster in 1370 we find "*duas pelves argenti deauratas bene spissas cum armis Angliæ et Franciae in fundis bipartitis quarum una habet bibonam.*" (*York Fabric Rolls*, p. 185.)

[4] The Church of St. Christopher at Stock had three in 1488. See *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV., p. 116.

[5] The will of John Baret, of Bury (1463), which contains much that illustrates the condition of a good town church in the fifteenth century, mentions this, and further directs that the "berere of the paxbrede" should "wynde up the plomme of led as oft as nedith" and "do the chymes goo at ye sacry of the Messe." (*Bury Wills*, p. 29.)

[6] At St. Margaret Pattens, London, in 1486, they had "a crosse and a crosse staffe to serve for lentten, paynted green withoute ymages wt. iij white silver nailis." (Inventory in *Archæological Journal*, XLII., p. 322.)

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cross, and it was often done at other feasts. These banners had devices suited to the time, as the Resurrection, or the picture of the patron saint.

THE MONSTRANCE, OR OOSTER. Nothing like the modern Roman office of Benediction ever existed in the Church of England, but the monstrance was used in processions of the B. Sacrament, of which there were several in the year. It was made in various forms. One, which seems to have been specially used for the procession on Easter morning, was an image of our Lord with a pyx of crystal or glass fixed to the breast.[1] It was usual in towns where there were several churches for them to join in one procession on Corpus Christi day, and when this was done the monstrance was sometimes fixed in a large shrine made for the purpose and carried by two or four men.[2]

THE PAX. THE HOLY WATER VAT AND SPRINKLE. THE SKEP FOR HOLY BREAD. I have put these together because of the curious evidence of the retention of all of them at this time, which we have in the injunctions of a commission of magistrates, who were directed to visit the churches of the Deanery of Doncaster, in 1548, to see that the various changes which had been ordered up to that time were properly carried out. Their injunctions are printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*,[3] and I know of no other like document, but it is probable that similar commissions may have been issued in other places. The commissioners gave various instructions as to the manner of performing the service, including directions for the sprinkling with holy water before the service, the presentation of the pax to the people by the clerk, and the distribution of the holy bread.

THE HOUSELING CLOTH. A long linen cloth held by clerks in front of the communicants when receiving the Sacrament, or sometimes laid upon a bench at which they knelt. In some cases it seems to have been long enough to reach all across the nave and aisles of the church.[4] In a manner it took the place of the altar rail of modern times, though Communion was not necessarily given at an altar. The rail was not used at the date of our inquiry—it was introduced early in the next century. The houseling cloth was ordinarily of linen, but on state occasions it was sometimes of silk.[5]

ALMS BASINS. The inventory of goods of the Church of St. Christopher at Stock, in 1488, has "ij coper disshes to gedre offryng inne."[6] This is an unusual item.

THE LECTERN FOR THE GOSPEL. Richly furnished churches had often brass desks standing on the north side of the presbytery to sing the Gospel from. The eagle desks which remain in some old parish churches,[7] and are now generally used to hold the great Bible, were, in most cases, originally meant for the Gospel. In a few churches, chiefly in Derbyshire, stone gospel desks are found against the north wall.

THE LAVATORY. Near the south end of each altar was a small lavatory, called in Latin, *sacrarium* or *piscina*, and above or near it was a shelf or bracket upon which the crewets were placed. The credence, in the form of a table, seems not to have been used here before the seventeenth century. The old English custom at plain services, and at most services in parish churches, seems to have been to place the chalice at the south end of the altar at the beginning of the service, and to take it thence to the middle of the altar at the time of offering, thus making the end of the altar itself serve as a credence. At solemn services *cum tribus ministris* in quires, the chalice was "made" at a side altar, or other fit place some distance away, so that by the stateliness of the approach greater dignity might be given to the ceremonial offering. Until the suppression of the monasteries, the ascetic orders—the Cistercians, Carthusians, and White Canons—who had a simpler ritual than that followed in the great secular churches, did use the credence, which they called *ministerium*. I think the ritual *cum tribus ministris* was not used in parish churches.

FLOOR DRAIN. It is still not very uncommon to find a small sink stone in the floor near to the lavatory in the wall. It is not mentioned in any rubric, but we know from other sources

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[1] An extract from the bursar's accounts of the College of Winchester, 4th Henry VI., quoted in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. VIII., p. 82, shows how the Host was placed in the monstrance "*pro i cressant de argento pro eucharistia supportanda in pixide de crystal habente in pondere xiiij*d. *cum viij*d. *pro factura.*"

[2] See the description of that used at Durham in the *Rites of Durham Abbey* (Surtees Soc. edition), p. 90.

[3] Vol. IV., p. 20. There are some evident mistakes in the transcript.

[4] I have found mention of these cloths as much as eighteen yards long. I select the following quotation for the sake of the name *mensa Domini*, which is evidently given not to the altar but to the bench or desk against which the communicants knelt, and upon which the houseling cloth was laid:—"*Unum manutergium continens undecim ulnas ecclesiae meae parochiali ut possit servire ad mensam Domini in die Paschae.*" Will of Agnes de Selby in 1359. *Test. Ebor. I.* p. 71.

[5] This was only for ostentation. Other things, properly of linen, were sometimes made of silk. Albes and surplices of silk will be noted further on. The very early canons which forbid the use of silk in the place of linen on the altar, prove, that from a misdirected desire to do honour to the Sacrament, the change must sometimes have been made.

[6] *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV., p. 116.

[7] Most of those in cathedral churches are of the seventeenth century.

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that it was intended to receive the few drops which it was the custom to pour out of each of the crewets to clear the spouts of dust before "making" the chalice.[1]

THE SEDILIA. This is a modern name for the seats for the clergy at the south side of the presbytery. They varied in number but were seldom more than three, except in great quires, where they were generally four.

We have now been through the list of the ornaments of the church, so far as they belong to the service at the altar. Next we will take those of the quire. As to these there was much difference amongst churches, according to the style of service which was kept up in them, from the stately minster, with its many clergy and its endowed singers, to the humble moorland church, served only occasionally by one priest and one clerk. The collegiate churches had their full sung services every day; and with the prosperity of the middle classes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there had grown up a desire to improve the services of the parish churches, in which they worshipped, until, at the time of our inquiry, some of those in towns were not far behind the colleges. One consequence of this was the introduction into the parish chancel of various things which originally belonged to the collegiate quire. But tradition ruled less in the parish churches than in the quires, and the services in them were—to use a modern word—of a more "popular" character.

SCREENS. The chancel, as the name implies, was separated from the rest of the church by screens, and the same was done for each chapel and altar.

THE ROOD LOFT. It was usual in parish churches, even in the smallest, to have a gallery on the top of the screen, which separated the chancel from the nave. This is one of the adaptations from the quire. It is not the same as the *pulpitum* of a quire, but it was suggested by it, and served some of the same uses. It was a music gallery. Certain parts of the services were sung there, and it was occupied by the "minstrels," vocal and instrumental, whom it was the custom for well-to-do parishes to hire to sing the service on high days. These minstrels sang pricksong, whereas the custom of the older collegiate churches was to use only plain song in quire.[2]

OTHER LOFTS. Occasionally small lofts are found in other positions, as over the screens of chapels, and sometimes above the arch leading to a west tower; these were probably also minstrels' galleries. The gallery inside a west tower was for the convenience of ringers.

THE ROOD. From very early times it had been the custom to set up a large cross in the midst of a church, and in England it was placed over the entrance to the chancel, either upon the screen itself, or upon the wall or a beam above it. I can not find anything which gives the "authority of Parliament" for the destruction of the roods in 1548, though it was being done in places by certain called the "King's Majesty's Commissioners." In Elizabeth's time, when the standard of the second year of Edward VI. was chosen to fix the new use as to church ornaments, it is certain that the rood was not reckoned amongst the superstitious images, which were to be abolished. The Queen was herself anxious to keep it, and did so for a time; but afterwards the efforts of the foreign-bred Puritans amongst the bishops prevailed to its destruction. The rood always had a figure of our Lord crucified, and generally images of St. Mary and St. John at the sides.

STALLS AND DESKS. Well furnished churches had stalls with *misericords*, or turn up seats and desks on each side of the chancel, and returned at the west against the screen. Parish churches had only one row of stalls, but sometimes there was a bench in front of the desks for the use of the song boys. Poor churches had plain settles instead of stalls. In large collegiate churches, where service was regularly sung in the Lady chapels, they were sometimes fitted up like quires; but this was never done in a simple parish church.

THE GREAT LECTERN. In the middle of the chancel stood a lectern of wood or brass, generally of two desks made to turn. On it lay the grayle and the antiphoner, the music books belonging, respectively, to the services of the altar and the choir.

LECTERN CLOTH. Amongst the ornaments is sometimes mentioned a cloth for the lectern. It was a long strip, which went over the desk of the lectern, and hung below it before and behind.

LESSER LECTERNS. Mention is sometimes made of small lecterns standing in the quire and the rood loft.[3] They were what we should now call music stands. The Gospel and Epistle were not read from the rood loft of a parish church, as they often were from the *pulpitum* of a quire.

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[1] Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.* lib. iij., c. xxx.

[2] Some colleges of late foundation seem to have used pricksong in quire, and it was used in the Lady chapels of the older ones.

[3] In 1488 St. Christopher's at Stock had an iron standing lectern and two wooden ones in the rood loft, and two, (or it may be four) in the quire, besides the "grete deske lettarne for the gret boke." *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV. p. 119.

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THE ORGAN. Well appointed churches generally had an organ. It was small, and generally stood in the rood loft. I doubt whether it was ever used to accompany singing, according to our modern custom.

CHANTERS' STOOLS. CHANTERS' STAVES. In imitation of the quires, some parish churches used to have chanters or rulers of the quire, or, as they often called them, *standers*,[1] a name which seems to imply that they were more ornamental than useful. Copes[2] and stools[3] for them are mentioned occasionally, but I do not remember to have met with chanters' staves in any inventory of parish goods. They probably used plain wands which were of small value, and so not worth recording.

POOR'S BOX. The injunctions of 1547 order the provision of a chest with three keys near the high altar. Till the "restorers" took them away, such chests remained in some places on one side of the chancel, just below the step of the presbytery. Collecting boxes of earlier date are sometimes found. They had been common in connexion with shrines and images so long as such remained.

PEWS. Most churches had pews for the use of the people, though they were not crowded with them as became the custom at a later date. They occupied the eastern part of the nave and of the aisles (where there were any), the passages between the blocks being very wide. When a church had chapels at the sides of the chancel they also were often fitted with pews, arranged so that they might be used by worshippers either at the high altar or at the altars of the respective chapels. Shut up pews or *closets*, as they were called, were to be found in some churches. They were generally the enclosures about altars at which there had been chantries, and were used by the patrons of the chantries as private pews. This use continued after the suppression of the chantries.

PULPIT. This was ordered by the injunctions of 1547 to be provided where it did not already exist. The Gospel and Epistle at High Mass, which at this time were read in English, were to be read in the pulpit, or in such a place that the people might conveniently hear them.[4]

A DESK FOR BOOKS. The great Bible was to be placed where the people might have access to it, and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus were also to be provided for the reading of the people. For these there must have been a reading desk of some sort. The custom of placing books of devotion or instruction in the church for the private reading of the people had been used before this, and it became very common in the seventeenth century.

TABLES WITH INSCRIPTIONS. Besides books there were placed in many churches framed tablets with writings for the instruction and edification of the people. As early as 1488, we find the ten commandments set up at St. Christopher's at Stock.[5]

THE FONT. THE FONT COVER. THE FONT CLOTH. The font usually stood near the west end of the nave. Its cover was kept locked down, as the use was to keep it filled with water which was hallowed only occasionally, and not at each baptism as now. The font cloth is an ornament often mentioned in inventories, but I do not remember to have found any reference to it except in them or in churchwardens' accounts, and I am not sure what it was. It was generally of linen, but sometimes of silk.

THE CHRISMATORY. THE SALT. A CANDLE. A EWER AND BASIN. A NAPKIN. All these things were used in the old office of baptism, and often a locker was provided near the font to keep them in. The ewer and basin were for the sponsors to wash their hands after taking the child from the font.[6] There is no evidence of the use of a shell or anything of that sort for the affusion of water by the priest.

THE CHYRSOM CLOTH. This was a linen kerchief placed on the head of the infant after the unction which used to follow baptism. It might not be turned again to common use, and was to be brought back to the church. The general custom was for the mother to bring and

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[1] "Four copes of crimson velvet plaine with orphreys of cloth of goulde for standers." *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 309.

[2] In 1530 William Leryffax, of Beverley, left by will a house to be sold, and the proceeds to be spent in a full suit of vestments for St. Mary's Church there, including "two copies to stand in the qwhere" or four "iff the money will mount so fer." *Test. Ebor. V.*, p. 299.

[3] "For two stolys (stools) for the rectors of the queyre." *Churchwardens' accounts* for St. Mary's-at-Hill, London, 1531, printed in Nichols's *Illustrations*.

[4] In 1547, the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, paid two shillings "for making of the stone in the body of the church for the priest to declare the pistills and gospells;" and in 1553, fifteen shillings for "a pulpit, where the curate and the clarke did read the chapters at service time. Nicholls's *Illustrations*, pp. 12 and 14.

[5] *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV., p. 118.

[6] In 1466 William Holme, vicar of Mattersey, Notts., left a ewer and basin to his church, adding in his will "*et volo quod hujus modi pelvis et lavacrum deserviant temporibus baptizacionis infancium.*" *Test. Ebor.* Vol. II., p. 279. A like bequest was made by Agas Herte to the church of St. James, Bury St. Edmunds, in 1522. See her will printed in *Bury Wills and Inventories*, p. 116. At Wiggenhale St. Peter, in Norfolk, is a piscina like that of an altar, but in the south wall of the nave, four feet from the west wall. (*Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLVI., p. 394.) I believe this was for pouring away the water after the washing.

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offer it at her churching, whence the name *shriving cloth* sometimes given to it. The chrysom cloths were made into articles for church use, such as altar cloths and surplices.[1]

HOLY WATER STOCKS. A holy water stock was placed at each of the principal doors of entrance. It was either a stone basin or a vessel of metal or wood placed on a bracket or hung on a pin.

THE SHRIVING PEW. This was what is now called a confessional. It was certainly used in London, and I have met with instances elsewhere, but I do not think it was in general use. It is sometimes called the *shriving house*. We do not know anything of its form beyond what is suggested by the names.[2]

[THE LITANY DESK.] This has been so often included in lists purporting to be of the ornaments of the second year of Edward VI. that I mention it here, lest it should be thought that it has been inadvertently omitted, but I can find no evidence of its having been used so early. The injunctions of 1547 ordered that immediately, before High Mass, the priest and others of the quire—not the priest alone, as is now the custom—should kneel in the midst of the church, and there sing or say plainly and distinctly, the litany. This was a modification of the old procession, and the litany itself was often called the *procession*. Some such convenience as the desk very likely soon came into use, but the only mention of anything of the kind for many years that I know of, is one entry in some churchwardens' accounts of the time of Mary, belonging to the parish of Cheswardine, Salop.[3] It runs "for a forme to serve in procession tyme." This "forme," I have no doubt, was a thing for the priest and others to kneel at when singing the "procession" or litany.

THE CARE CLOTH. This was a sort of veil which was held over the heads of a newly married couple when they received the blessing.

THE PASTE. This was scarcely an ecclesiastical ornament. It was a sort of coronet worn by brides at weddings; and it appears that some parishes had them and let them out at a regular charge to those who wanted them. The parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, bought one in 1540 for £4 10s., as appears by the parish books. The price is considerable, and in 1564 the thing is described as "set with perle and stone." About the same time mention is made of one at St. Lawrence's, Reading, and another at Steyning,[4] in Sussex.

THE PYX. A PURSE TO PUT IT IN. THE BELL. THE LANTERN. These were used in taking the Sacrament to the sick. I believe that in poor parishes the priest took the pyx which ordinarily hung over the altar, but in most a special one was used. And it appears from an inventory of the goods of St. Mary's Church, Sandwich, that sometimes a cup for the ablution was in some way fitted to it.[5] The pyx was often, though perhaps not always, carried in a little bag or purse.[6] The bell and lantern were carried by the clerk, or it might be, by two clerks before him who bore the Sacrament. The chrismatory has already been mentioned. It contained the oil for the sick, with the other two oils, it being the custom to keep all together.

A CROSS FOR FUNERALS. It was required that a church should have a special cross to be carried before the corpse at a funeral.

THE HANDBELL. This was rung before the funeral procession on its way to the church. It was also used for "crying" of obits, that is, giving notice of them abroad in the parish, and asking for prayers for the soul of the deceased.

THE BIER. THE COMMON COFFIN. THE PALL. TORCHES. STANDING CANDLESTICKS WITH LIGHTS. Each parish was bound to have a bier, and the other things were often kept in

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[1] "Itm: an altar cloth made of shriving cloths." Inventory of goods belonging to St. Mary's Guild at Boston. Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 204.

[2] Imaginative sextons and such folk are apt to call anything in an old church, which they can not understand, a *confessional*, especially if it has a hole of any sort in it. But I do not think a real one exists. It is possible that the curious chamber at Tanfield, near Ripon, is a confessional; but I think it is a watching closet. It may, perhaps, have served both purposes.

[3] Quoted by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in the *Church Times*, 7 Dec., 1883. Some may, perhaps, think it strange to find this note in the time of Queen Mary. But it should be remembered that, on the accession of Mary, the return was made not to the state of things before the beginning of the Reformation, but to that at the death of Henry VIII., when scarcely anything remained to be done in the way of real reform, except the translation of the services into English. There was a Roman party at Court, and to it we owe the persecution, which has made the name of Mary unpopular, but such men as Gardiner and Tonstal had been leading reformers, and although the excesses of the puritan faction in Edward's time drove them now to accept the authority of the Bishop of Rome, there is no reason for believing that they had changed in that respect. It is at least significant that, of all the shrines which had been taken down in Henry's time, the only one known to have been set up again in Mary's was at Westminster Abbey, a new royal foundation.

[4] See *Sussex Archæological Collections, VIII.*, p. 137; also *Machyn's Diary*, p. 240.

[5] "A cowpe of sylver and gylt for the Sacrament with a lytell cuppe there yn gylt to give the seke body drynke thereof, xxix oz." Boys's *History of Sandwich*, p. 374.

[6] "Payd for sylk for mekyng off a pursse to bere the sakarament in to seke forlke vij^{d} payd to Alson Fendyk for makyng off the same pursse viij^{d}." *Churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Leverton, in Lincolnshire* for 1544. Printed by Mr. Edward Peacock in *Archæologia*, XLI., p. 356. The sum paid for making must have included some embroidery or other ornament.

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the church, and a charge made for their use from such as could afford it. Burial in a coffin was the exception, but many churches had one with a hinged lid, which used to be lent to bring bodies to the grave in.[1]

Other Funeral Gear. In descriptive accounts of important funerals two special lights are often mentioned as the *white branches*. They were carried in the procession and placed upon the coffin during the services. What may be intended for one of them appears standing upon the coffin in the contemporary drawing of the funeral of Abbot Islvp in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, and engraved in their *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. IV., Plate 18. In the written account of the funeral two are said to have been used. Machyn, the diarist, who seems to have had a trade interest in such things, often mentions white branches. At York they used to lay a small cross upon the body at a funeral; and in 1409 the want of such a cross was thought serious enough to be presented at a visitation.[2] It is then spoken of as a local custom, but it was used in other places. The *herse*, a canopy of curtains with many lights above it, was rather an undertaker's affair than an ornament of the church. It had grown to be a very extravagant thing.[3] The banners and heralds' stuff generally were only matters of worldly pomp, and it was no doubt for that reason that the puritans did not object to them.[4]

It was the custom to lay a cloth or pall over a grave inside a church until the gravestone or tomb was made and often to place lights at the head and foot. Sometimes there were endowments to keep up lights round tombs, but these had been confiscated by the Act 1st Ed. VI., cap. 14.

The Canopy for Processions. This was a canopy carried on four staves above the Sacrament in processions. The procession on Corpus Christi day, with other usages belonging to particular seasons, was being put down in 1548. They were forbidden, but, so far as I can find, not in a way that can be said to have had the authority of Parliament; and it seems that this year the prohibition had not yet taken effect generally, except where the direct influence of the court was strong. I therefore include the canopy and some other things similarly affected in the list of ornaments retained in the second year of King Edward. They appear to have been used in most churches in 1548, in many in 1549, but not generally after that.

Torch Staves and Torches for Processions. To carry before the Sacrament.

The Lenten Veil. A curtain generally of blue or white or of the two "paned" together, which was drawn across the chancel before the altar in Lent.

The Easter Sepulchre. This, though only set up for a short time each year, was often an elaborate and costly structure, and, to judge from the many gifts for its adornment, it would seem that of all the ceremonies of Passiontide that of the Sepulchre most deeply affected the minds of the people.

The Triangular Candlestick. Called also the *Herse* and the *Judas*.[5] It was used to put the candles on during the office of *Tenebræ* on the three last days of Holy Week.

The Paschal Candlestick. Every parish church seems to have had this in the form either of a large standing candlestick of wood or metal or of a basin hanging from the roof,[6] or, I believe, sometimes not hanging. Its place was on the north side of the presbytery. I am not sure that the ceremony of the new fire was gone through in parish churches, though it may have been in some of the largest and best appointed ones. Except the paschal candlestick, the articles used in it do not appear in parish inventories.

Banners. Banners, standards, and streamers in various forms were used to deck the churches and carried in processions. Banners seem at first to have specially belonged to the Rogation processions, but were afterwards used in those of Corpus Christi and others. They bore various devices—figures of saints, coats of arms, badges, and sometimes texts. I have mentioned the custom of hanging one to the cross.

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[1] This custom was long kept up, and even yet a common coffin may sometimes be found stowed away in an old church. I lately saw one of the 17th century at Howden, in Yorkshire, and I have heard of others.

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 247.

[3] At the funeral of John Paston, at Bromholm, in 1466, the glass had to be taken out of two lights of the windows to let the smoke out. *Paston Letters*, Gairdner's edition, Vol. II., p. 268. This was the funeral of a country gentleman only.

[4] The funeral of Oliver Cromwell is a notable example.

[5] The word *Judas* has been laid hold of by the "correct" ones and appropriated to mean a sham candle, and in an odd way the existence of the word has been made an excuse for the sham. It is quite true that *Judas* in old writings does sometimes mean a sham candle, but not often; and I do not believe that an instance can be found in which it is used, as it generally is now, for a wooden candle to be put on an altar. It is used for the herse light as above, for a staff with a "castle" on the top to carry a torch in procession, and for a wooden core or stiffener round which the paschal candle was cast. The word is curious, and needs explanation. It seems to have been used indifferently for any movable wooden thing made to set a candle or candles upon.

[6] The hanging basin was a London fashion; but we sometimes meet it elsewhere. In Mr. Peacock's Lincolnshire inventories the paschal *post* is often mentioned. I take it to have been a wooden candlestick standing on the ground, or perhaps fixed in it.

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Bells in the Steeple. The Clock and Chimes. A parish church was to be provided, not with a bell, but with bells, and even the smallest had two. Chapels sometimes had one bell only. Rich churches had "tuneable" peals of bells, though they did not ring them as was done later. Clocks and chimes playing on the bells were not very uncommon.[1]

Clappers. The returns of church goods in Lincolnshire in Elizabeth's time, printed by Mr. Peacock in his *Church Furniture*, often include clappers or claps.[2] They were things to make a noise with at times when by custom the church bells were not used. Their use is very ancient, and it is found also in the Eastern Church. But there is not evidence to prove that it was general in English parish churches in the sixteenth century. I am not sure what a clapper was like here,[3] but I think it was a board hung up by a loop and struck with a mallet. A like machine was used in monastic cloisters. At Rouen they used a horn instead of bells in Holy Week,[4] and so many customs were common to England and Normandy that I should not be surprised to learn that the same was sometimes done here. But I have not found proof of it yet.

Fire Pans. The Pome. Fire pans were kept in vestries chiefly to supply embers for the censers, but sometimes they were put in the church in cold weather. The idea of warming a whole interior is a very modern one.[5] Of old, men used to protect themselves from cold by putting on extra clothing. But for the celebrating priest, lest his hands should become numbed with cold, so that he could not properly use them, there was sometimes provided a thing like the muff-warmer which ladies use now. It was warmed with water or with a heated ball, and from its shape was called *pomum*. It had a little tray to stand in.

Cressets. Candles for Light. Except at the service at midnight or very early in the morning on Christmas Day, for which we find candles regularly provided,[6] a parish church seems never to have been lighted up. The ordinary services were said by daylight, except the earliest Masses in winter, and at them the worshippers did not need to read, so that a light or two to guide them on entering the church would serve. In quires where the night office was kept we know that they used to put cressets or mortars[7] at doors and corners where people had to pass, and there is proof that the like was sometimes done in parish churches in a stone with seven cressets, which does, or did very lately, stand on a base inside the north door of that at Lewanick, in Cornwall. I have seen such stones in other parish churches, but not one which, like this, appeared to be in its original position. In the north wall of the west tower of Blakeney Church, Norfolk, is a recess with six holes in two rows, evidently intended to hold candles to light people coming in at the door near by; and it was very likely usual to put a light in such a place. But if there had been any general lighting up, the churchwardens' accounts would contain some record of it, which, with the exception just mentioned, they do not. When it was dark in the church it was dark out of doors, and folk who wanted light would bring their lanterns.[8]

Now as to the ornaments of the ministers. By "ministers" here are meant all who minister about the service, from the Archbishop to the humblest clerk. But as before, I shall speak chiefly of the things which would be used in a parish church.

The Cassock. The Priest's Cap. The Amys. The Tippet. These things were not kept by the churches, as they were part of the ordinary clerical dress of the time, and the surplice might almost have been included with them, as most clerks wore their own and came to church in them, as they still do at the Universities. The priest's cap has its modern

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[1] John Baret, whose will has already been quoted with respect to chimes inside the church, also left money for the repair of those in the steeple of his parish church, and desired that they should play *Requiem Eternam* at certain times in memory of him.

[2] Pages 43, 118, 126, 138, &c.

[3] They were of wood, as some are recorded to have been burned.

[4] De Vert, *Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, 2nd edition (1709), Vol. I., p. 51.

[5] There is a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755 (p. 68) in which stoves in churches are mentioned as a novelty much to be commended. The earliest example I have found of any provision for warming having been made at the building of a church is at St. John's, Wakefield, which was built about 1790. In making some alterations there a few months ago, I found that there had been two open fireplaces in the outer corners of the aisles at the west end. They were far under the gallery, and can have done very little towards warming people in pews, the tops of which were above the tops of the fireplaces. They had long ago been superseded, and were plastered over and forgotten.

[6] I give, from amongst many examples, two chosen for their late date from the accounts of the Church of St. Helen, Abingdon, printed in *Nichols's Illustrations* (p. 143). 1561—4th Eliz: "Payed for four pounds of Candills upon Christmas in the morning for the Masse." 1574—16th Eliz: "Payed for Candilles for the Church at Christmas."

[7] They were cups of stone, metal, or earthenware which were filled with grease, and a wick set to burn in each. For examples see two papers in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIX., one (p. 390) by the Rev. T. Lees, the other (p. 396) by Sir Henry Dryden.

[8] I was told lately at Sidbury, in Devonshire, that a few years ago only the pulpit and reading desk were lighted up in the church there, and on dark afternoons in winter people used to bring their own lights.

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representative in the square college cap, which is directly derived from it by a gradual process of stiffening. The *biretta* is a foreign degradation of the same sort, and I can not understand why, when we have our own tradition, we should go out of our way to adopt a foreign one. The *biretta* is certainly not more comely than the English cap; and if men must have a change it would be better to return to the old shape from which both have been derived. Some of our bishops have nearly done this, but they have gone back only to the time of James I. The cap was used in processions and in quire,[1] but *never by any priest or clerk ministering at or approaching the altar.*

The amys was a fur hood with a cape, originally intended to keep the wearer warm. Later it became a badge of dignity, and distinctions were made in its material and form.

The tippet was a scarf generally of black silk, sometimes lined with fur. It has a curious later history. It was retained by dignitaries, who wore it, as they still do, in quire. Bishop Blomfield, of London, for some reason wished all his clergy to use it, and from them it spread to other dioceses. Then it came to be called a stole, and that soon led to its being made like one. Thus it comes that the stole is now generally used, though fifty years ago it was as obsolete as the chasuble was.

THE AMICE. THE ALB.[2] THE GIRDLE. THE STOLE. THE FANON. THE CHASUBLE. These made up what was called a single vestment. Every parish church was bound to possess one, and I think they generally did possess at least three, which were assigned according to their quality, and often with little regard to their colour, to festal, ferial and penitential times respectively. A full vestment included also

THE DALMATIC, THE TUNIC with amices, albs, girdles and fanons for the gospeller and epistoler, and a stole for the gospeller. Churches which could afford them were bound to have these also, and rich churches had many. A set or vestment often included other things besides these, as a cope or several copes, vestments and curtains for the altar, vestments for servers, a cloth for the lectern and sometimes other things.

COPES. Copes were worn by the clergy in processions and for the censing of the altars at mattins and evensong on feasts. They did not wear them all through the office; but the custom seems to have been to lay the cope upon the altar before the service and take it thence before the censing. Churches in which the ceremonial ruling of the choir was used had also copes for the two or sometimes four "standers," who wore them at Mass, as well as at mattins and evensong.

The Morse was an appendage to the cope which was, I think, seldom found in parish churches. It had originally been a real clasp by which the cope was closed in the front, but by the sixteenth century it had become a merely ornamental brooch of goldsmith's work, which was fastened to the front band.

It may be well here to mention the *Rationale* which is included in some lists professing to be of the Edwardian ornaments. I do not know an English name for it, nor any evidence of its ever having been used in an English parish church. It was one of several ornaments affected by prelates in the twelfth century in imitation of the Aaronic high priests. But the fashion does not seem to have generally lasted long.

SURPLICES. ROCHETS. Three surplices[3] and a rochet are included in the list of things to be provided by the parishioners, set forth by Archbishop Robert Winchelsea of Canterbury[4] in 1305. And Lyndewoed's note on the rochet is "*Rochetum . . . differt a superpellicio quia superpellicium habet manicas pendulas sed rochetum est sine manicis et ordinatur pro clerico ministraturo sacerdoti vel forsan ad opus ipsius sacerdotis in baptisando pueros ne per manicas ipsius brachia impediantur.*" In quires, or at least in those of old foundation, clerks ministering at the altar used albs, but in parish churches the rochet was generally used. It was sleeved sometimes, but its sleeves were close and not hanging like those of a surplice. There is a very curious representation of the procession in a small church, carved on some pew ends, at Trull in Somerset. Illustrations of them have been published by the Society of

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[1] The custom of covering the head in church was much commoner in the middle ages than it is now. The change was one of many which resulted from the struggle between the Church and the Puritans in the seventeenth century. The Puritans abused the liberty, so Churchmen set themselves against it, and in the end succeeded in stopping it.

[2] The alb was properly of linen, but the inventories of great churches often include silk albs, and the way they are sometimes classed and described (as in the Westminster Abbey inventory taken at the suppression, printed in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, Vol. IV., p. 335) shows that they were really silk vestments, and not linen ones with ornaments of silk.

[3] It appears from the following passage from a tract printed in London in 1534, with the title "Of the olde God and the newe," and quoted in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV. p. 210, that silk surplices were a vanity occasionally indulged in by secular canons. "Afterwards do come in our masters and lords of the close with gray amyces and havyng on a very white surples of most fyne raynes or sylke."

[4] Lyndewode, *Provinciale, De : ece : edi : c : Ut parochiani.*

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BENCH ENDS IN TRULL CHURCH, SOMERSET.

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Antiquaries,[1] the Council of which has kindly allowed me to use the blocks here. The clerks are shown in very short rochets with close sleeves, and the work may be as late as the time of Queen Elizabeth. In great quires servers used to be vested in tunicles, and sometimes in copes.[2] But I think they never were in parish churches. Such vestments described as "for children" are not uncommon in parish inventories. Sometimes it is said that they are for St. Nicholas's bishop, and probably they all were so. That sport was very popular in the middle of the sixteenth century, and ornaments sometimes of considerable value were given for it.

I have now completed the list of ornaments so far as my knowledge goes. There are some amongst them which are now in abeyance, because the usages with which they were connected, are not provided for in our present formularies. Of these it may be said that the "time of ministration" for which they were appointed never recurs now. But the most in number, the most ancient, and the most important can be used as well with our present services as they could with those of 1548 or 1549. And so let us use them, and not any novelties English or foreign instead of them. The introduction of foreign ornaments is mischievous from the countenance which it gives to those who profess to see in the present revival within the Church of England only an imitation of the Church of Rome. And we do not want the things, our own are better.

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[1] See *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVIII., page 342, and Plate 26.

[2] For example of both at York Minster see *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 228, 233 and 234. They had sets of four tunicles *pro thuribulariis et choristis* in each of the four colours white, red, blue, and green.

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S. DUNSTAN'S, STEPNEY.

By G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.[1]

Many of you, I dare say most of you, have read Walter Besant's "All in a Garden Fair," in which book one of the characters speaks of this neighbourhood:—"See, here is a map of great London, here are the great contiguous cities, the beautiful, the picturesque and unknown of Whitechapel, Stepney, Bow, Stratford, Old Ford, Bethnal Green, Shadwell and Wapping. They are all of them cities of the People. They are cities of the industrious poor; they are cities of the ignorant. If their country is great they know nothing of her greatness, because nobody teaches them. You English," continues M. Philipon, "are so proud in your greatness that you do not think it worth your while to teach your own people how great they are. If the country is rich and glorious they see nothing of the wealth of the glory. If it is full of Art and treasures, they know nothing of Art, they are left to find out Art and everything else by themselves." I have quoted this as an introduction to the subject of this old church in which we meet, because there is a certain amount of aptness, a certain amount of truth, a certain amount of reproach. How far the two last may have been met and grappled with, or indeed had been even when those words were penned, by the Oxford House and Toynbee Hall, Bethnal Green Museum, and hosts of other good and pious influences, is foreign to my subject. I allude to them because of the influence that they may in time exert to wipe away the reproach from among us that these thousands and thousands of our fellow-men have been left in their unlovely lives to toil on the same dull, unceasing round until death, and that we have never lightened that burden by so much as stretching forth a single finger.

Well, we are in the midst of these contiguous cities, in the very nucleus from which they sprang and covered regions to the north—and far east and south, to the great highway of nations—the river. Houses and streets in never-ending lines for miles and miles, hundreds of new churches and districts, whole parishes, now in their turn ancient, have emanated from this old and venerable building, the mother church, of Whitechapel, Bow, Spitalfields, Limehouse, Shadwell, Poplar, Wapping, Bethnal Green, Ratcliffe, Mile End and Blackwall. That fact alone attests its antiquity, and yet, like many other old churches, we don't know to this day when it was founded; all that we know and what history tells us of it is that at certain ordinary starting-points it was here; its dedication to S. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, points to its being pre-Norman. We know from the Domesday Survey, where it is called Stibenhede, and afterwards Stebenhythe and Stebunhethe, that this parish was a manor belonging to and attached to the Bishopric of London. I will not trouble you with the number of hides and carucates and virgates, nor with the ploughs or the villains who followed them as they turned up the soil for the many seed-times and harvests—the event of the lives of those rude forefathers of the hamlet who now sleep until that great harvest when the reapers shall be the angels, and they themselves are all garnered in on the golden floor.

Whatever may have been the appearance, one point is clearly apparent in the survey, that it was extensively cultivated. The Bishop was not the only possessor—the chapter of S. Paul's held land here, which seems to have been very productive. Altogether they held 6½ hides. Possibly it was nearly all arable and meadow land, just those sort of meadows one sees in a flat country, for flat it always was, bounded by the river Lea and the Thames. Besides the pasture for kine, there was wood enough to give pannage for some seven or eight hundred swine, and there were four mills probably on the Lea. What a contrast now between those days when all round here the kine stood knee-deep in the flowery meads, or the billowy corn-fields waved beneath the gentle summer breeze, and the song of the lark was borne upon it; alas, the enemy has sown the tares, and what a crop! Man made the town and God made the country.

Rural indeed was Stepney, and I dare say its comparative safety close to the walled city gave security to the peaceful inhabitants, except when the dreaded Dane came with his ships, and their swelling sails could be seen ascending the Lea or the Thames, and the smoke of the burning homesteads warned them to fly within the pent-up walls.

S. Dunstan, to whom this church is dedicated, was a saint with many peculiarities; indeed so marked were they, that I think his canonization in these days would have been postponed. Separating all the legendary stories and accepting only historical facts as recorded, he seems to

[1] Read in the vestry of Stepney Church, June 15th, 1889.

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have been of a turbulent and meddlesome disposition. He may have had trying people to deal with, and probably was forced into the position of resisting the powers that were. His double banishment, his connivance with the shameful outrage on Queen Elgiva, whose face was burnt with hot irons to spoil her beauty, his behaviour to Athelstane and Eadwy certainly do not seem saintlike. He was, however, in those early times, an enlightened promoter of the arts, and so has some sort of claim on our consideration; but good or bad, he has gone to his account, and was buried in the year 987 beneath the altar at Canterbury. That he was soon held in high estimation, and that the evil was buried with his bones, and the good instead lived after him, is a proof, I think, that some of his misdeeds must have been exaggerated; and S. Dunstan was the saint to whom this church, and two others in London, were dedicated.

The first general view of this spacious church would give one the idea that it was entirely a fifteenth century building, but on a nearer examination, you will find remains of at least three previous structures. The font, though modern, is Romanesque in form, and preserves the tradition of the ancient one which survived to the present century. The old one was destroyed when the church was restored. In the vestry is an old drawing, showing it to have been a plain moulded bowl, and with rather rude central and angular shafts.

In the chancel are remains of the Early English Sedilia; again, in the north aisle the succeeding century left its mark in the windows, which are of the fourteenth century, showing that then the church was a spacious one, and possessed nave and aisles of much the same size as at present; but, in about the middle of the next century, the whole church seems to have been rebuilt and remodelled, and we have a fine type of a fifteenth-century town church, which, like S. Margaret's, Westminster; S. Giles', Cripplegate; S. Andrew Undershaft, and others, had no chancel arch; but it by no means follows that the roof was continuous, for I am inclined to believe that the chancel roof was always lower, and that the distinction between the two was marked by a flat or slightly arched beam carrying the east wall of nave, and that the lower part was filled in by the screen, and the rood and its attendant figures might have been carried by this beam placed against the wall, or the space may have been occupied by a fresco of the Doom or Last Judgment.

The screen was evidently carried right across nave and aisles, the aisles of the chancel forming chapels. The staircase and door to the roodloft remain.

The removal of the plaster ceiling some years back brought to light the ancient roof, which is singularly good, and one of the best in London; the curved rafters or ribs are set close together with a tie beam at the level of the collars with a carved boss at the intersection, similar to Bow, but finer. The old north and south porches have gone, the doors remain in the last bay but one westward; at the north door are the remains of a holy water stoup much mutilated. The piers are octagonal and the arches rather flat and poor, carrying a dwarfed clerestory of two lights, with an eastern window above the chancel roof. The tower seems to have suffered most, and contains a good peal of ten bells.

In the north-east side of chancel is a hagioscope commanding the High Altar from the altar in the south chapel, and close by is the tomb of Sir Henry Colet, the father of our celebrated Dean of S. Paul's, an eminent mercer, and twice Lord Mayor of London. Sir Henry Colet lived in a large house close by called the "Great Place," and hither very often came the Dean. There are other fine monuments to Sir Thomas Spert, Jane Neville, Lady Dethick, the wife of Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King at Arms, Elizabeth Startute, and of her son-in-law and daughter. No brasses remain, but there used to be some very fine matrices of several.

Several tombs are mentioned in Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, which no longer exist. Among them was that of Henry Stuart, an infant son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and elder brother of the Earl of Darnley, who married Mary of Scots. Another was of John Kyte, bishop of Carlisle, with a long inscription, beginning:—

"Undyr this ston closyde and marmorate
Lyeth John Kitte, Londoner Natyffe."

There was also the tomb of John Pace, the successor of Colet, in the deanery of S. Paul's, with a laudatory inscription:—

"Richardus jacet hic venerabilis ille decanus
Qui fuit etatis doctus Apollo sue;
Eloquio, forma, ingenio, virtutibus, arte
Nobilis, eternum vivere dignus erat.
Consilio bonus, ingenio fuit utilis acri,
Facunda eloquii dexteritate potens.
Non rigidus, non ore minax, affabilis omni
Tempore; seu puero seu loquerere seni.
Nulli unquam nocuit, multos adjuvit, et omnes
Officii studuit demeruisse bonos.
Tantus hic et talis, ne non deleatur ademptus
Flent muse, et laceris mesta Minerva comis.
Obiit anno 1532, etat. circiter 40."

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It is a popular tradition that all people born at sea are parishioners of S. Dunstan's, Stepney. So large as this parish is, if we include that also, I think Stepney bids fair to be the most extensive parish under the sun, but perhaps the "see" was that of London, to which it belonged until Bishop Ridley got rid of it in 1550. Braybroke resided here, and died at the Palace or Manor House. But the old tradition seems to have influenced a great number of master mariners and seamen to be buried here, and some of the inscriptions are very quaint and original.

One of a Captain John Duneh I think is worth preserving, it is given in Hatton :—

"Tho' Boreas blasts and Neptune's waves
Have tossed me to and fro,
In spite of both, by God's decree,
I harbour here below.
Where I do now at anchor ride,
With many of our fleet,
Yet once again I must set sail,
Our Admiral—Christ to meet."

Against the west wall is a stone brought from Carthage with these odd lines :—

"Of Carthage wall I was a stone,
O mortals read with pity!
Time consumes all, it spareth none,
Man, mountain, town nor city.
Therefore, O mortals! now bethink
You whereunto you must,
Since now such stately buildings
Lie buried in the dust.
Thomas Hughes, 1663."

BOW CHURCH.

By G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.[1]

The dedication of this church is to S. Mary. The place was known anciently as Stratford for the high road here crossed the Lea by an ordinary ford, until Queen Matilda built the bridge, and the collection of small houses which naturally sprung up at the bridge-head requiring a church, the parish was carved out of Stepney, and was known as Stratford-le-Bow or atte Bow. This term Bow means, as you know, a bridge or arch, and gave the same title to the more famous S. Mary-le-Bow in Chepe. It seems almost incredible that a ford could have existed here from the depth and sluggishness of the stream, and its muddy bed, and judging from an inquisition as to who was liable for the repairs of the bridge taken in 1303, it is there distinctly stated that at the time when Matilda, the good queen, lived, the road crossed the stream at Old Ford, further up, where the Roman road crossed into Essex, and that even there the passage was dangerous, owing to frequent inundations, and so Matilda turned the road to where it now is, and caused a bridge to be built across between this village of Stratford and West Ham, but the hamlet was known as Strat*ford* before, clearly pointing to some sort of *ford*. Queen Eleanor caused the bridge to be repaired. The foundation of the church or chapelry took place in 1311, and was granted by Bishop Baldock, and the cause of it is also set forth through the distance to the parish church of Stepney, and the difficulty in times of floods; it is described as being built on a piece of ground which was part of the King's Highway. It continued a chapel of ease to Stepney until 1719, when it was made a distinct parish.

The plan consists of nave and aisles, and there is this peculiarity in the plan, that the aisles are abnormally narrow, the position of the church in the King's Highway explains this. Although at the first glance one would say the church was entirely a fifteenth-century building, if you examine the three eastermost arches of the nave arcade, there is a slightly earlier look about them, pointing to the fact that they are remains of the first church, which was afterwards lengthened. There is no chancel arch, and the roof is similar to that of Stepney Church.

[1] Read in Bow Church, June 15th, 1889.

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HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE CITY OF ANGERS,

ITS ECCLESIOLOGY AND ANTIQUITIES.

By GEORGE H. BIRCH, F.S.A.

In one of the fairest districts of France, famous by its close connection both with French history and also with that of our own country, not far from the swiftly rolling current of the Loire, which on its course hither westward has flowed past many a castle and many a famous town and city, each a chapter in the history of France, stands this city to which I wish to-night to draw your special attention. Familiar as I am with most of the cities in that fair country, the picturesque ones of Normandy, Picardy and Brittany, the splendid glories of those of Central France, and the more distant ones of the sunny south with all their wealth of Roman remains, yet this city of Angers somehow does interest, and always has interested me, more than any, and is one in which I love to linger, and note with sorrow from year to year how gradually its old landmarks are disappearing one by one, and how modern improvements are tearing out, page by page, whole chapters in its history. For this reason I now bring it before your notice, trusting that what I have to tell about it may perhaps awaken a desire among some of my audience who have not yet seen it, to visit it before nearly everything is eliminated, and also that my paper may serve as a guide, although but a poor one, to the many objects of interest yet contained within its boundaries.

I have alluded to its proximity to the Loire, the longest river in France, which, rising at the foot of the mountain Gerbier des Joncs, far away in the south in the Ardèche, flows north-west, until it reaches Briare, and then westward, until it falls into the Bay of Biscay. But Angers is not actually on the Loire, but on the Mayenne or Maine, which, after receiving the Sarthe and another stream called also the Loire, flows past Angers, and joins the main stream of the Loire some four miles below. It will be seen at a glance that a town placed in this manner must always have served as a strategic point to protect these rivers, so its early settlement by the Andes, or Andegaves, a Gaulish tribe, is not to be wondered at; and tough customers to dispossess these Andegaves turned out to be when Cæsar first attempted their subjugation. But dispossessed they were, the final struggle taking place at the Ponts de Cé, under Dumnacus, their leader, who was killed, and to whose memory the French Government have lately erected a statue on the bridge, never neglecting an opportunity of commemorating in statuary fictitious representations of what they think these heroes who fought for "La Patrie" ought to be like; and no small blame to them if they rush to the opposite extreme to that of ours, who permit our starving heroes to sell their Victoria crosses for bread and refuse an obolus to Belisarius.

This town of the Andes became, under Roman sway, the town of Juliomagus, and no mean city, judging from the Roman remains of the arena or amphitheatre, or rather the remains, which existed until the commencement of the present century. In size it occupied but a small portion of the present city, the portion being an irregular square, comprised between the castle at the south-west corner, and then south along the Boulevard, east along the Rue Toussaint to the Place S. Croix, just including the Cathedral and Bishop's Palace, then north along the Rue Baudrière to the River, which formed its western boundary as far as the castle. The Place du Ralliement, beyond to the north-east, is the cemetery, and close adjacent the Prætorium on the site of the Rue S. Julien.

This city existed under the Romans for between four and five hundred years, but on the gradual decline of the Roman Empire, following the example of Armorica and the rest of Gaul, it threw off the yoke, and became once more known as Andegavium, or the city of the Andegaves. In A.D. 475, Childeric, the leader or king of the Franks, took it finally from the Romans, and a new chapter in its history commences. Christianity had been early established here. S. Florentus, the son of S. Florianus, who had been martyred, is the first to whom the Andegavi owed Christianity, seemingly about the end of the third century. He was a Bavarian soldier. So many converts were made that a Christian Church and Bishopric were soon established, and several of its bishops were canonized. Among the most famous were S. Aubinus and his successor, the eleventh bishop of Angers, S. Eutropius, circa A.D. 529; and during his episcopate, S. Benedict, the founder of the monastic order bearing his name, sent two of his disciples, one of whom was S. Maur, or Maurus, who, coming into Anjou, built a monastery at Glanfeuil, not far from Angers, on the opposite bank of the Loire, near S. Mathurin. This Abbey of S. Maur became afterwards famous as the centre from which emanated those reformations in the order of S. Benedict, about 1621, and which were distinguished by the name of the congregation of S. Maur. This rule of S. Benedict was in special favour at Angers, as we find that the churches of S. Aubin, S. Serge and S. Nicholas, and le Ronceray all belonged to them.

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Its temporal government from early times seems to have been by Counts, or, as we should call them, Earls, and the succession was hereditary, certainly from the time of Charles the Bald. One of these, named Licinius, who was made constable by Chilperic I., and invested with the Countship and government of the district of Anjou, through a love disappointment, took orders, and after his death was canonized, and became in the vernacular S. Lezin. Another was Rainfroy, who defended the rights of the last of the Merovingian race of kings, Chilperic, whose rights were contested by the famous Charles Martel, the son of Pepin. Rainfroy, being defeated twice, submitted, and was afterwards reinvested by Charles Martel with the Earldom or Countship. To him is attributed a portion of the building since used as the Bishop's Palace, but originally that of the Earls; and tradition further relates that to erect it he destroyed a portion of the Abbey of S. Maur, which caused that saint to reappear in person to complain of the profanation, although he had been dead and buried for nearly 200 years.

The succession was granted by Charlemagne to Milon, Count of Le Mans, who had married Bertha, the Emperor's sister, and had been dowered by him with the countship of Anjou. Milon had four sons, all famous warriors, as befitted their relationship to Charlemagne. These were Thierry, Geofrey, Baldwin, and the still more famous Roland, one of the mirrors of chivalry. But we are now approaching more troublous times in the history of Angers; those dreadful Norsemen, or Normans as we call them, first began their depredations under their leader Hastings, and after having sacked and burnt Nantes at the mouth of the Loire, sailed up the Maine and arrived before Angers, which soon experienced the same fate. The aged Count Thierry was made a prisoner and burnt alive; this was in A.D. 854. Angers remained in their possession for some years, until they themselves were besieged by Charles the Bald, aided by Salomon, Duke of Brittany, and the latter tried again the same tactics which Cyrus used against Babylon, and our Alfred against the Danes; he turned the course of the river on the west side of the city, and left their ships high and dry, which so frightened them, that they promised then and there to go, and never come back any more, a promise very soon broken. At last Charles the Simple, by assigning to them the district of Neustria, since called Normandy, quieted them at the expense of his kingdom. I will not enumerate all these hereditary Counts. Foulques the Good founded the abbey of Ronceray on the west side of the river, and the following anecdote is told of him:—It appears he was learned, a strange thing in those warlike times, when a man's hand seemed for ever on his sword-hilt; but Foulques was not ashamed to don a surplice and sing his part in the service at the famous church of S. Martin, at Tours. One day, Louis IV., who was present, wondered who the singer was whose voice was so melodious and rose above the nasal chant of the canons. When told or recognizing the Earl of Anjou, he laughed and chuckled with his attendant barons, who were all mightily tickled with the idea of a warrior like Foulques singing like any minor canon. Foulques saw their smiles and whispers, and wrote a note hastily to the King, brief and pithy, to this effect, "An unlettered prince is but a crowned ass." Louis, to his credit, took the rebuke in good part, and said it was perfectly true and just. Another, Count Geoffrey of the Grey Tunic, owned his peculiar nickname to a wonderful deed of arms. Otho, Emperor of Germany, was besieging Paris, and in his army there was a Dane of immense size and superhuman strength, who daily strutted out before the walls and defied the besieged, and told them to come out of it, and he would show them something, conduct, of course, very annoying to the Parisians, who were not so tall by half. Geoffrey hearing of this siege, gathered all his liegemen and set out for Paris; but leaving them near Chartres, and taking only three men with him as an escort, he rode off for Paris, and arriving at S. Germain des Prés crossed the river in a boat belonging to a miller, and appeared before the mighty Dane, who of course succumbed, and had his head cut off in the face of Otho's army, and also of the besieged Parisians, to the joy of the latter. Leaping on his horse, he cut through their opposing ranks and disappeared. On the first opportunity, when the Germans had retired, inquiries were made by the King, and the miller who lent his boat was interviewed, but he did not know who this famous knight could be, but he was perfectly certain he should know him again if he ever saw him. Soon after, a great meeting of the principal feudal nobility and vassals taking place at the palace in the city, the miller was asked to be present and keep a sharp look-out, and soon recognized our hero, although he had only a grey tunic of some woollen stuff and no marks to show his exalted rank; but the miller knew him, and called out "There he is! that fellow there in a grey jacket"; and so he was called "Grey Jacket" to his death. This Geoffrey was succeeded by Foulques III., called "Nerra" or the black, because he was dark of complexion, and certainly was one of the most famous of these Earls who governed the province from 987 to 1040. In his day, that marvellous wave of religious sentiment towards captive Jerusalem, the Holy City, first began to be apparent, and his pilgrimage there was conspicuous by the fervent acts of piety he performed, even to the extent of being flogged through its streets, from which he got the name of the "Jerusalemite," but which in these days would be less reverently changed to "Bethlehemite" or "Bedlamite." However, in spite of his penitential Psalms and his scourgings, he knew how to wield that huge two-handled sword of his and carve out victory

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for himself in various places, and bring his two turbulent neighbours of Brittany and Blois into subjection. Like David of Scotland, he was a sore saint for the crown or coronet, and to him Angers owes some of its principal ecclesiastical foundations, such as the Abbey of S. Nicholas, in consequence of a vow made to that saint when he was nearly shipwrecked on his foreign travels, and S. Mary de Ronceray; he rebuilt the curious church of S. Martin at Angers, of which considerable portions exist, founded others at Langeais, Chaumont, Montrésor, Sainte Maure, Lenniac, Montrichard, Morebeau and half-a-dozen others. His chief work at Angers was to make a new wall all round enclosing that part of the city which had sprung up just beyond the Roman Walls, considerably enlarging the area of the city, and taking in a further portion on the left bank called the Doutre, or the "other side." The Romans had previously fortified a small portion of this immediately opposite to the city, to protect the approach to their bridge. The succeeding Counts are not very interesting; one was nicknamed "Peter Grievous," who seemed very unfortunate in the matrimonial line, and in his time at Clermont, Urban and Peter the Hermit first uttered the famous words "God wills it" which sent half Christendom off to Jerusalem. Foulques V. married Melisenda, the daughter of Baldwin of Jerusalem, and became titular king of that city. His son was the famous Geoffrey the Handsome, or, as he is perhaps better known, Geoffrey Plantagenet, from the little sprig of that lowly plant he wore habitually in his hat; and he, by a fortunate marriage with Maud or Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V. of Germany and last scion of the Norman Kings of England, besides uniting in her own person the old royal Saxon line of England by this marriage, the Earls of Anjou became the progenitors of our line of Plantagenet kings, whose direct descendant Victoria still occupies the throne of her ancestors, and represents Saxon, and Norman, and Plantagenet. Geoffrey and Maud's son, Henry the Second of England, became Earl also of Anjou, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Poitou and Guienne, and added to his other numerous titles Lord of Ireland, after he had conquered and dispossessed the various little kinglets, whose sole pastime for ages seemed to be cutting one another's throats.

Henry did much for Angers, and up to but a few years ago, one of his foundations, the hospital of S. John still carried on the same career of usefulness, and in the very same building Henry had erected; the building stands, but the hospital has been transferred to a new one, much larger and on more modern principles, to which I shall again allude.

On Henry's death, which happened at Chinon in 1189, Richard Cœur de Lion became King, but Geoffrey the second brother became Duke of Brittany, and predeceasing his brother, left an only son Arthur, who was, of course, heir to his uncle Richard, who was childless. Arthur's rights were trampled on by his uncle, John Lackland; who, on Richard's death, usurped the Kingdom. Shakspeare in his Play of "King John," introduces us to this City of Angers, before whose "saucy walls" he places a considerable portion of the action. Although Shakspeare never saw Angers, his fictitious descriptions are wonderfully accurate, with the exception of antedating the use of gunpowder and cannon by two full centuries; King John in addressing the citizens of Angers thus speaks:—

> "The cannons have their bowels full of wrath,
> And ready mounted are they to spit forth
> Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls:
> All preparation for a bloody siege,
> And merciless proceeding by these French,
> Confront your city's eyes, your winking gates;
> And, but for our approach, those sleeping stones,
> That as a waist do girdle you about,
> * * * * from their fixed beds of lime
> Had been dishabited and wide havock made."

And again Shakspeare speaks of it:—

> "Their battering cannon charged to the mouths;
> Till their soul-fearing clamours have brawl'd down
> The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city."

One can well understand the caution of the citizens in refusing to open their gates to either King John or King Philip, being between the anvil and the hammer, and there is more than worldly wisdom in their reply—

> "He that proves the king,
> To him will we prove loyal; till that time,
> Have we ramm'd up our gates against the world."

The sequel is unfortunately too well known; poor Arthur was made away with, and although John retained England to his death he lost all his possessions in France, which were seized by Philip, and the Earldom of Anjou became dissevered from the Crown of England, and transferred as a Royal fief to that of France, and the Earldom was in abeyance; but in the

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meantime the City had largely increased and was again surrounded by fresh walls and gates, and the castle commenced. S. Louis created his brother Charles, Earl of Anjou and Maine. This Charles of Anjou led an expedition into Sicily against Manfred, and taking Naples caused himself to be crowned at Rome, King of Jerusalem, a former appanage, as I have mentioned, of the Earldom; but disasters followed, and the notorious Sicilian Vespers terminated the French rule there in 1282. He was succeeded by his son Charles the Lame, who dying without issue (male), was succeeded by his son-in-law, Charles of Valois, a younger son of Philip the Bold. Their son Philip succeeded to the throne of France, and his son John, in whom the Earldom was vested by that whirligig of time, was made prisoner by the English, and kept here in London at the Savoy by the real Earl of Anjou, Edward the Third. The Dauphin Charles, however, Regent during John's captivity, re-erected the fief into a Duchy, and invested his brother Louis hereditary Duke of Anjou and Maine. He died during a campaign in Italy, in which he suffered considerable reverses, at Bari, and his son Louis the Second, who was only eight years old, succeeded; and his mother taking him into Provence, got him crowned King of Naples at Avignon, by Pope Clement VII., 1390. He married Yolande of Arragon, who lived at the Castle and built the chapel which still stands within the precinct. Louis died at Angers in 1417, and his young son, Louis who was thirteen, succeeded.

France was then torn by internal dissension during the madness of Charles VI. The English were nearly masters everywhere, but had experienced a reverse at Vieil Baugé, near Angers, where the Dauphin, aided by 7000 Scotch under the Earl of Buchan, defeated them. They were led by the Duke of Clarence, Henry V.'s brother; it was but a temporary check, but, according to the French account, a wonderful victory. Clarence was slain by a Scotch knight, and there was a dreadful carnage, and Angers was saved. Louis, the Duke of Anjou, like so many of his predecessors, attracted by the shadowy crown of Naples, went to Italy to defend his rights against Alphonso of Arragon, and there died childless; but his Duchy of Anjou passed to his brother René le bon Roi, for he was also called King of Naples, and never was there a more adventurous life than his; a lover of the arts, and practising them with no little success, but having to fight continually for his existence, first with his King, in his struggle against the English; then against the Duke of Burgundy for his Duchy of Bar, and taken prisoner, released, off to Italy, fighting for the possession of Naples, but driven back into France; he certainly does not appear to have been the weak imbecile which we are familiar with in the pages of Sir Walter Scott. His daughter, Margaret of Anjou, who certainly inherited some of his bravery and his misfortunes, was married to our Henry VI. in 1444. René tried to revive the old spirit of chivalry then moribund, but his learned leisure was again broken by war, and he assisted Charles VII. in that final struggle which eventually ended in the expulsion of the English from France.

His latter days were certainly not peaceful ones. Louis XI., his nephew, practised every piece of chicanery he could against him, and finally got possession of Angers, and poor René retired to Aix, where he died in 1480, and Margaret of Anjou in 1482. René had one son, John, who died in his father's lifetime, and also two grandsons who both died young at their grandfather's little Court, at Aix. His other daughter, Yolande, left a son named René by her marriage with the Comte de Vaudemont, of the race of Charlemagne, and through her became Duke of Lorraine, and inheritor of all of poor René's empty titles, and was the founder of the houses of Lorraine and Guise. This ended the line of hereditary Earls and Dukes; the title was revived continually by the French Kings as a younger son's title, and was held at various times by Henry III. of France; Philippe de Bourbon, grandson of Louis XIV., afterwards called to the throne of Spain; and again, I believe, by one of the grandchildren of Louis XV. I have rather dwelt upon this succession of the house of Anjou, because a detailed account of the City of Angers would hardly be complete without it, and I now pass to the buildings within its precincts, and especially its ecclesiology.

In the foremost place, of course, stands the *Cathedral* of Saint Maurice; and although one does not find here the sculptured glories of Chartres, the airy magnificence of Amiens, or the stately grandeur of Rheims, yet as a building it possesses elements of interest which quite equal these, and stamp it certainly with a character entirely its own. S. Maurice or Mauritius, to whom it is dedicated, was the leader of that famous Theban legion of Roman soldiers who, in the reign of Diocletian, were called into Gaul under Maximianus. Christians themselves to a man, they refused, when called upon, to sacrifice to the gods before an anticipated battle. Ready to do and to die for the Emperor and for Rome, they could not do homage to deities they knew to be false. Called out, they were twice decimated, and still proving true to their faith, were all put to death. This massacre, while hastening the final triumph of Christianity, and causing a universal feeling of horror even among its opponents, re-echoed through every land, and probably did more for the conversion of Constantine and the utter destruction of paganism than all the martyrdoms which had preceded it. S. Martin of Tours obtained some of the blood of S. Maurice, and gave it as a relic to the principal church at Tours, and Charles Martel

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obtained his helmet and lance to arm himself with against the Saracens; instances of the early adoration or veneration paid to the memory of S. Maurice. Tradition asserts that there was an oratory or chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin from very early times, A.D. 475, on this site, and the actual date of the foundation of the Cathedral of S. Maurice is uncertain. But at the commencement of the ninth century it was in existence, and under that invocation, for Hermengarde, the wife of Louis the Debonnaire, died at Angers, and was buried in the Cathedral the 30th of October, 819. Hubert de Vendôme, the forty-first bishop, is said to have built the nave: he died in 1047. But this statement is at variance with the style of the present nave, which Viollet-le-Duc places between the years 1145 and 1165. Ulgerius, the forty-sixth bishop, gave the magnificent series of stained glass windows, which still remain, and are scarcely excelled by any in France for gorgeous colouring, and are of a very early type. To those accustomed to the lofty vaulted and traceried cathedrals of the north-east and central France, perhaps this cathedral may be a little disappointing, because it is so utterly unlike them both in plan and arrangement: a vast nave of three bays only, but such bays! north and south transepts, and choir terminating in a semi-circular apse; no aisles or chapels, nor any of those adjuncts which give such an air of mysterious length and distance and intricacy of vista to the ordinary accepted idea of a French cathedral; and yet we get here both magnificence and solemnity, combined with the greatest simplicity of plan. It is cruciform, and the cross is composed of seven equal squares, three to the nave, one to the crossing, one to each of the transepts, and one to the choir, beyond which is a half bay or square, and then the semi-circular apse. The western towers and spires stand on square solid masses of masonry containing staircases, and each square is separated by enormous arches spanning the whole width, which is 54 feet, and rising to the height of 80 feet. The side walls have one huge wall-arch, which starts from the floor without columns, and above this the wall is pierced by two round-headed windows, in front of which runs a ledge broad enough to walk on, and protected by a rail of wrought iron of seventeenth century work of rather pleasing and graceful design. The vaulting is marked with a great singularity: it rises considerably in the centre, giving a dome-like appearance to each compartment, and the ribs over the three westernmost bays are massive—veritable diagonal arches in themselves. As you proceed eastward, although the general outline is still preserved, you perceive at once a difference in detail: the vaulting ribs over the crossing transepts and bay of the choir are thinner and more rope-like, a peculiarity distinctly Angevine, and a rib starts from the apex of the transverse arch to the centre of each vault, accentuating the dome-like appearance. The transepts have also a central rib, making each bay sexpartite instead of quadripartite as in the other part of the church, and the apse is divided into five bays in which the arch or wall-rib is considerably lower than the centre of vault, giving the same dome-like appearance. The windows in the apse are traceried of two lights with circular roses over each, and two small circular openings in each spandrel of plate tracery form. All these windows are filled with old glass, but of later character than those of the choir. The transepts and the prolongation eastward are of later date than the nave, Bishop William de Beaumont giving up a portion of the palace which still closely adjoins the north transept in order to build it, and it was called the aisle of the Bishops in consequence. The south transept was called that of the Knights. Both these transepts have magnificent rose windows of plate tracery, and are filled with old glass.

A reference to the plan will show that evidently one altar only was contemplated in the chord of the eastern apse; but in 1699 Bishop Michael Lepeltier brought forward the altar to the crossing, placing it under the choir arch, and at that time the stalls of the canons and choir were destroyed, and they were placed behind the altar, and the old woodwork was replaced by very bad Grecian panelling, which now disfigures this part of the church. In 1757 (Bishop John de Vaugirault) the curious baldachino was added. This is a stupendous structure, carried on six tall Corinthian columns, with a hemispherical entablature, surmounted by a sort of canopy of bronze gilt scrolls, carrying a little dome and enriched with gilt cherubim and angels, palm branches and festoons in the usual style of Louis Quinze; the columns are monoliths of red Laval marble, and the altar beneath is of the usual stereotyped soup tureen style. I have never been behind the altar, but my impression is that it is double. At the west end of the cathedral is one of the largest organs in France, carried on bold caryatide figures of dark oak, and the case one mass of carving. It was first built by Jousselin, 1511 to 1513, repaired and enlarged in 1521, and re-constructed in the reign of Louis XIV. by Dainville. It is certainly most stupendous, and is colossal even in the colossal nave of Angers.

Just in front of it now stands a curious benitier of verde antique, or green marble. It was given to the Cathedral by René, and looks like a classic lavacrum; it is supported on lions, and probably was brought from the south of France, from Arles or Nismes, by René.

Opening out from each side of the Cathedral from the first bay are two chapels, that on the south occupying a similar position to S. Gregory's Church next old S. Paul's Cathedral. It is evidently early, quite as early as the Cathedral, but forming no part of it. It is called

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"La Paroisse," and may probably be the old oratory of the Virgin spoken of before. It has been considerably altered and mutilated, and contains the font. The chapel on the north side is a considerably later erection, probably of the time of King René. It is in the flamboyant style, with traces of frescoes, and contains a very good renaissance altar and retable, and at the other end is a huge Calvary of Christ crucified between S. Mary and S. John, sculptured by David of Angers, who also carved the white marble figure of S. Cecilia, which stands in the centre of the music desks and fiddle stands behind the high altar.

There is a modern pulpit of oak of the most elaborate description, surmounted by a tremendous canopy and double staircase, carved by the Abbé Choyer, and presented to the Cathedral. It figured in one of the Paris exhibitions, and is a mass of carving, containing types and antitypes, and a host of patriarchs and prophets, evangelists and apostles. Of tombs there are the remains of several, but the Revolution made a clean sweep of most, and there are no traces of those of Queen Ermengarde or the earlier counts of Anjou. A slab, inscribed in memory of the Royal House of Anjou, Sicily, and those who have been buried in the choir of this Cathedral:—

Louis I.	1384	
Mary of Brittany	1404	
Louis II.	1417	Erected by the Society of Agriculture;
Yolande of Arragon	1442	and here follow the names of
René (called the Good)	1480	the Bishop, the Prefect, and the President
Isabella of Lorraine	1453	of the Society, and the date
Margaret of Anjou (Queen of England)	1482	1850.
Jeanne de Laval	1498	

There are one or two tombs of the more recent bishops, and a low altar tomb with an incised slab of a bishop, which looks modern, and some ancient chest or coffer-shaped small sarcophagi. One of the chief glories of Angers is the magnificent series of tapestries, with the exception of the Bayeux the earliest in France from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. I have only seen these once, and I am afraid that they have been all carted off to the Hôtel Cluny, where they have no room to display them. (I have since heard that they are still at Angers.) A curious vase of porphyry, with two antique heads of Greek workmanship, formerly belonged to the Cathedral, and can now be seen in the Museum. When in the Cathedral, it passed for one of the six waterpots on which Our Lord performed his first miracle in Cana of Galilee.

Externally, the Cathedral can only be seen on the west and on the east, the north side being occupied by the Bishop's Palace, and the south by low buildings, doing duty for a cloister, and probably erected on the site of the old.

The west front, flanked by its slender but lofty stone spires, is curious, for between these two towers and spires rises a third, surmounted by a stone cupola of the time of the renaissance, increasing the apparent height, and taking off from what would be the exceeding slender appearance of the two towers and spires. The west window is a single broad, slightly pointed one, with several orders of recessed mouldings, and flanked right and left with a lofty blank arcade of eight pointed arches. Above the window, occupying the full width between the towers, is a series of eight lofty tabernacled niches, containing warrior saints, probably S. Maurice and his companions; but I am not certain. I seem to trace a coronet or crown on the heads of one or two of the figures.*

Below the west window is a most beautiful portal, although it is sadly disfigured by a horrible alteration of the last century, to allow banners to enter the church carried in procession. In style it reminds one of the western portals of Chartres, and is of the same date. The tympanum displays Our Lord in glory, with the book open in the left hand, and the right raised in benediction, surrounded by the four beasts of the Apocalypse. The four recessed arches contain very beautifully sculptured figures of the twenty-four elders, and angels bearing instruments of music and golden vials of perfumes—fifty in number altogether. Below these are eight slightly larger figures, which, from their bare feet, I should take to be some of the Apostles. The connecting link has been destroyed, and below are eight tall statues, of which I can only identify four—David and the Sibyl (Teste David cum Sibyllâ), Aaron with his rod, and Melchisedec, and perhaps Abraham. The whole of this sculpture shows considerable traces of gilding and colour. The ancient ironwork of the hinges and handles still remains. The spires and the central tower have experienced frequent conflagrations, leading to several rebuildings, the last being as recent as 1831, when the electric fluid set fire to the central tower, and it spread to the interior of the flanking towers, and the whole had to be re-built, and was finally completed in 1843

* Over the heads of these saints one can still trace the legend—Da pacem Domine in diebus nostra et dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt.

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There was originally an open portal built to protect the west door, which may possibly account for the very distinct traces of colour decoration. The marks of this can still be seen; it was erected by Foulques de Mathefelon in 1336, and destroyed in 1807.

Close adjoining the Cathedral, with which it communicates, is the Bishop's Palace. Modern restoration has in this case so completely eliminated every trace of outward antiquity, that unless one was told it was ancient, 99 people out of 100 would pass it. It is externally built of strongly contrasted materials arranged in lozenges, bands and chevrons, the voussoirs of the arches strongly brought out also in coloured material. I am told that all this was found when the decayed external face was scraped; but striking as the exterior is, the interior has been more fearfully treated, as it is made to represent what a modern French architect imagines a Byzantine interior ought to be like. It is enough to kill anyone who has to live in it, and yet, under all this harlequinade of blue, red, buff and green and gold, the old architecture is there. The grande salle or salle synodale is well worth seeing, and the private chapel has hitherto happily escaped. I do not think that it is the original chapel, it has the appearance to me of being a sort of guard-room or hall of knights. It is divided down the centre by a row of lofty cylindrical columns with capitals, somewhat roughly resembling Corinthian. There are, I think, four or five of these dividing it into two equal portions or aisles, and the altar is placed on the east side, as the room runs north and south; it is vaulted with a plain stone Roman vault without ribs, and lighted by round-headed windows on each side.

Above this is the "salle synodale" communicating with the Cathedral direct by a wide staircase, and forms what we should call the chapter house; above this, again, is a fine room with splendid fourteenth century chimney-pieces, and is called the library. The staircase is worthy of notice, but how much of ancient work is left in that part inhabited by Monseigneur Freppel, Bishop of Angers and Deputy, it is impossible to say. My dismay at the mass of colouring everywhere rather prevented me using my eyes to detect antiquity; but I hope, if I am spared, to make another careful examination. The staircase I referred to was the work of Bishop Francis de Rohan, 1499. With regard to the main structure there is little doubt but that it dates from the eleventh century, and forms the ancient palace of the Counts before they moved to the castle in the thirteenth century, and gave this up as a palace for the Bishops, the present one being the eighty-third, and who has made considerable additions to the structure.

S. Sergius.—The next building in point of size is the church of S. Sergius, formerly monastic, and was founded in the time of, if not by, Clovis II., about A.D. 654; the tradition was that being cured of a dangerous illness by the prayers of S. Severinus, he founded this abbey then outside the walls, and made him first abbot, but from its position it was frequently destroyed, and as often rebuilt. Towards the middle of the eleventh century it was refounded on a larger scale, under the abbacy of Vulgrinus, and the choir necessarily enlarged to make room for the sixty monks instead of twelve; but of this choir there is no trace, as the present exquisite structure dates from the end of the twelfth century. The central portion (for although there are the usual four arches, there are no proper transepts), so far as the lower portion is concerned, is of very early date, probably as old as the foundation, as narrow courses of Roman tiles or bricks are used. The choir, which is square-ended, is in the purest Angevine style, and in plan and arrangement is unlike anything else in France; the first impression reminds one of the choir of the Temple Church, but it is of course utterly unlike it. There is no clerestory, and the beautiful vaulting is carried by single shafts of great height, nearly 32 feet high, and only about 12 or 13 inches in diameter. It has double aisles, and the eastern compartments of each are so arranged that an apsidal effect is gained by a peculiar arrangement of the vaulting ribs. The nave was transformed in the fifteenth century, and is Flamboyant in character, with enormous piers and narrow aisles, and with a clerestory filled with fine old glass. The size of these piers makes me think that probably the old early nave exists as a core, and is only outwardly fifteenth century. The tower, which is very massive, stands on the north side, the upper part of the belfry and spire was destroyed in the war of La Vendée 1793, when a stray shot demolished the upper part.

Of the building there is nothing ancient left. The Benedictines nearly throughout France invariably altered and rebuilt their domestic buildings towards the end of the seventeenth century, and replaced them by vast and dreary and factory-like structures with Mansard roofs. These structures remain, and are now turned into a seminary; in 1794 they were transformed into prisons, to contain the vast numbers of old men, women and children who had followed their sons, husbands, and fathers; and as at Mans, they were taken out in batches and mowed down by grape shot in that "glorious" revolution which modern France is so proud of. Vulgrinus was afterwards transferred as Bishop of Le Mans, and to him is due a part of the present Cathedral there.

S. Aubin.—One of the most striking objects in a view of the city of Angers is the ruined spire and belfry of the destroyed Abbey of S. Aubin, for unfortunately this fragment, and some others of the cloisters built in the modern Prefecture, are all that remains of this once famous

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Abbey. The site of the Nave is marked by rows of trees. Its foundation is very early; the first record of it is in the fourth century, when S. Hilary of Poictiers constructed on this site a small oratory, called Our Lady of the Orchard. Childeric, the son of Clovis, about A.D. 534, built an Abbey or Collegiate Church, which was consecrated by S. Germain, of Paris, and dedicated it to S. Stephen; but the regard that the early Angevins had for their bishop, S. Aubin, who died in 550, and was buried here, caused Eutropius, his successor in the see, to alter the dedication in compliment to him. The foundation was certainly not at first monastic, for it was served by secular canons, but on account of irregularities of their life, another bishop, Nevincius, with the aid of the Count Geoffrey, "Grey Jacket" and his wife, Adela, refounded it for monks of the Benedictine Order, and it soon became wealthy; and one Jean de la Flèche, a very rich nobleman, left it all his property. This was about 1087. The church was a large cross one, with nave, aisles, transepts and choir with chapels. Some old views of Angers show it, because it was only commenced to be destroyed in 1805, and wholly removed in 1812. The belfry tower, which was distinct from the church—a feature not uncommon, for the Abbey of S. Nicholas possessed one in a similar position—was built not so much to contain the bells of the monastery, but those of the Abbot, which as a temporal lord was the mark of his rank; but the bells have long since been melted, and the beautiful spire and tower, shorn of its upper part, was only preserved because of its utility in casting shot, like that wonderfully picturesque tower near Waterloo Bridge. A new street, Rue des Lices, now passes between it and the site of the abbey. You must actually enter the court of the Prefecture if you wish to see the remains of the cloisters and entrance into the Chapter-house, which are of the most extraordinarily rich Romanesque work. They had been plastered up, and their existence almost forgotten, but were brought to light by some masons who were repairing the bulged plaster, and who soon uncovered the two columns, whose shafts are one mass of carving. These are figured in De Caumont's Abécédaire d'Architecture, and the then Prefect gave orders to clear the whole wall. They had been evidently bricked up by the Vandals of Benedictines in the seventeenth century, when, as I have before remarked, they rebuilt in the modern style all their buildings; and these still form the modern Prefecture. Some of these arches are peculiar in having a painted decoration, now covered by plate glass to preserve them. In style they remind me of the Bayeux tapestry, which they very much resemble. In costume and attitude one subject seems to refer to the famous combat of the Geoffrey "Grey Jacket," and the gigantic Dane, unless the more Scriptural interpretation may be put upon it of David and Goliath. But what strikes one most is the extraordinary richness of the figure carving and foliage in the arches and capitals, and the depth of the wall, for there are as many as five columns, one behind another, packed in a double row. I have never seen anything like it elsewhere. During the fifteenth century the cloister seems to have been vaulted without much regard to this superb doorway and arcade, for they evidently then blocked up an arch with masonry and cut away the rich mouldings to insert a stone, to be carved as a corbel, in the most ruthless manner.

Some of the carving seems to refer to the signs of the Zodiac, and the labours of the months interspersed with the grimmest of monsters. From this fragment one can imagine the magnificence of the church, *ex pede Herculem.*

S. Nicholas.—Of the other large Benedictine Monastery, that of S. Nicholas, where several of the earlier Counts of Anjou were buried, and where René was married to Jeanne de Laval, 1455, not a stone remains, and the buildings altered in the seventeenth century are now utilized and annexed to the huge charitable institution of the Good Shepherd.

Close to the Abbey of S. Aubin, in All Saints Street, behind a wooden gate, which one would very readily pass unnoticed, little knowing the gem concealed behind it, stands the ruined *Church of All Saints*, roofless and ivy grown, while trees and shrubs have grown everywhere over its area—one of the most beautiful sights of Angers. Gerardus, a canon of the cathedral, established here, on the site of a cemetery set aside for the poor, an oratory dedicated to All Saints. This first foundation was increased in 1047, and given to the Monks of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme; but under the episcopacy of Renardus de Martigné, the Benedictines abandoned it to the Augustinians. Ruined and abandoned at the Revolution, its vaulting fell in 1815. It is a large cross church, without aisles or chapels, and square ended. During the seventeenth century some alterations appear to have been made, the eastern rose window having been inserted. What makes the aspect of this ruin so curious, are the number of stone coffins and effigies placed here. Most of these come from the ancient Gallo-Roman cemetery that was discovered in altering the level of the Place du Ralliement; some of these are curious. Some other fragments of destroyed churches in the neighbourhood also find a resting-place here. The church has been very beautiful, the detail of the windows and vaulting shafts is very pure, and the manner in which these light and graceful shafts start from canopied niches in which mutilated statues still stand is worthy of notice.

Within a short distance in the Rue Courte, opposite the Museum, stands the small twelfth century chapel of *S. Eloi*, now used as a Protestant place of worship, and to which has been

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added a new doorway with a big sculptured open Bible in the tympanum. It is vaulted in stone, and was formerly the chapel belonging to the college founded by Ulgerius, the forty-sixth Bishop. Above it is built the school of design.

S. Samson is another small ruined chapel or church with very pleasant surroundings, for it serves as a tool-house and potting shed in the midst of the beautiful Botanic Gardens. It seems quite cleared internally of any ecclesiastical remains, but externally it is evidently of the date of the last years of the twelfth century.

S. Martin.—The church of S. Martin is also a ruined one, and was used as a store-house for firewood; but when I last saw it, it was promoted to being the yard of a wine merchant, and for the storage of his casks.

It is a very curious church, and some parts of it, especially the nave, are very ancient. I have alluded to Hermengarde and her illness and vow, and although she did not live to complete it, Louis the Debonnaire, her husband, did; and his work can be seen in the lower stages of the central tower. The nave is also very early, and in both the style of the building with narrow courses of tiles, reminds one of Roman work. The choir, which terminates in a polygonal apse, is much later. The upper part of the tower was completed by Foulques Nerra; only in the tower and choir does the vaulting remain, the nave is roofless, and its arcades are built up and turned into magazines or warehouses. In the vaulting of the choir can still be seen those extraordinary acoustic vases of earthenware, which, from the manner in which they are placed, clearly point to the fact that the science of acoustics was not utterly forgotten even in the twelfth century.

Passing by the castle, and crossing the river by the grand bridge, we arrive at La Doutre, a synonym, for what we Londoners would call "the other side of the water." We come next to *La Trinité*, after the Cathedral and S. Serge, the largest of the ancient churches, and one in which the Angevine style can be seen in all its purity. It closely adjoins the Abbey of S. Mary of Ronceray, to which it owes its origin, being built as a parish church for the benefit of the population that had so much increased on this side.

It is a very curious building, a vast nave, stone-vaulted, without aisles; but on each side of the nave a series of semi-circular niches or chapels, one in each bay; the nave is much wider than the choir and transepts, which open into these by three arches, the north and south being very narrow. There is a tower over the crossing carried on arches; the choir is apsidal, and is flanked by two lower apsidal chapels. The interior has been very much restored, and is now painfully white and clean. The high altar is new, of gilt wood and metal in the Byzantine style, and stands in the chord of the apse. The vaulting of the nave is domical in section, rising very much to the centre, with massive transverse arches, rising from piers spanning the width, and dividing it into four bays; the enrichments are all very delicate, and the strings are all carved into chevrons and lozenges. The lofty semi-circular niches or chapels are half-domed. Externally the building is lofty, and the buttresses, like those of the Cathedral, are immense square masses, with weathered slopes at the top, and die in just below the cornice. The central tower is picturesque; it is carried up as a square lantern with two windows in each face, and this is surmounted by a lofty octagon with parapet. Four of its sides have windows, and the other four colossal statues in niches, and the octagonal is completed by a dome and small stone lantern, somewhat similar to the central tower of the Cathedral, but richer. The ground considerably sloping to the east, the west door is placed rather high, and you descend into the church by steps; close to the west door is a magnificent spiral staircase of oak, sculptured with all the exuberant richness and delicate finesse of the style of François Premier, giving access to an organ loft; and adjacent to this you descend to a small underground crypt or chapel. I am afraid this is but a very slender description of one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical buildings in Angers; but time will not allow me to dwell further on its striking peculiarities.

Of the adjacent Abbey of *S. Mary of Ronceray*, I am ashamed to say I have never yet been able to get into it. It has been turned into a school of arts and trades. The church remains, but whenever I have been at Angers it has always been vacation time, and I never could persuade the concierge that my curiosity was legitimate, and after many attempts I have been obliged to put off my visit until I came to Angers again; and I quite decided that this October I would not leave Angers without seeing it, but a sudden attack of bronchitis frustrated my intention effectually. It still remains to be explored when I am there again.

Near La Trinité is the church of *S. Jacques*, which has been almost entirely rebuilt by Mr. Richon. The west end is untouched, and well worthy a visit.

Several vast and uninteresting churches have been built of late years, none of them particularly worthy of a visit:—S. Joseph, S. Laud, La Madeleine, and S. Thérèse, which are only interesting as showing how utterly modern French architects fail in their ecclesiastical architecture, however clever and original they are in that of civil. There is always such a want of interest about them. There is size, and that is all.

I now pass toth ose buildings which are perhaps not strictly ecclesiastical, with the exception, perhaps, of the first. The Hospital of S. John the Divine deserves some notice.

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This superb monument of the middle ages has come down to us almost uninjured, and, until a few years back, was still used according to the intention of the Royal founder. In 1153 Henry II., assisted by his seneschal Stephen de Mathas, opened this asylum for the sick and needy, the popular legend being that he did it in atonement for the atrocious murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury. But that is impossible, as that event did not take place until eighteen years afterwards.

The great hall is vaulted, and is divided into three equal aisles by slender cylindrical columns, with carved caps; there are fourteen of these. The vaulting carried by these, which is in twenty-four compartments, is exceedingly light and elegant. It is admirably lighted by round-headed windows. At one end is the chapel, which is also divided into bays by slender shafts, and contains some fine old glass. The chapel and hall form two sides of a cloistered quadrangle, of which two sides are perfect, and another, which has been altered in the sixteenth century, nearly so. The cloisters have small but deep semi-circular arches, carried on coupled columns. Closely adjacent is the magnificent barn, which looks more like a church, for it is divided by arcades into nave and aisles, one aisle being wider than the other. The arches are fine, and the capitals of the columns richly carved. Both the cloister and barn retain their open roofs. The story in the roof over the great hall was used probably for stores and drugs; the carpentry of the roof is very fine. At present, since the hospital has been transferred to some little distance, the buildings have been devoted to a museum of antiquities, and contain fragments from destroyed churches, and a host of other interesting things well worth careful study. Many of the fronts of the old houses have been deposited here, and a great quantity of Roman remains found at different times in various parts of the city.

One of the most curious things to see are the underground cellars cut in the rock for the storage of provisions contemporary with the buildings.

Perhaps the most striking building in Angers, occupying as it does such a commanding position facing the river, is the Château, or Castle, one of the most extensive in France. I have before mentioned that the original palace was next to the Cathedral, and was the abode of the subsequent Counts until they abandoned it to the Bishops.

Philip Augustus, when he took Angers from King John of England, began the castle, which S. Louis continued. It is immensely strong, although it has been much dismantled. All the seventeen towers, with one exception, have been lowered down to the level of the walls, which are themselves very lofty, and the foundations are carried up from the solid rock which is scarped to fit the semi-circular projections of the towers. It still retains its moat, now dry, on the east and north sides, and so solid and strong does it look, that it seems to have only been built yesterday; the side towards the river is the most ruinous, for evidently, like Amboise and Blois, the best apartments were on this side; one tower remains, but without its conical capping. In the enclosure formed by these massive walls and towers is a graceful building, flanked by turrets in which René was born, and close to this is a fine chapel now used as an armoury and stand of arms. This was built by Yolonde of Aragon, and in the enclosure the foundations of an early church have been discovered, probably here before the castle was built. After the death of René, the castle was not tenanted by any of the Royal Family, until Louisa of Savoy, the Duchess of Angoulême, after her son Francis became king, usually resided here. Under the last of the Valois, during the wars of religion, the possession of the castle was of importance to both, but Henry III. gave orders to dismantle it, and at this time the towers were taken down. Henry IV. occasionally came here, and Fouquet, the minister of finances under Louis XIV., was confined here, and they still show his prison. After the murder of her husband and son, poor Margaret of Anjou passed the remainder of her days principally here.

The construction of the towers is peculiar from the banded appearance, white stone being used at intervals in that manner. Angers still retains many of its old wooden houses, although they are fast disappearing, and there are still one or two very fine houses: the Hôtel Baugé, now the Museum and Picture Gallery, dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the Hôtel Pincé, a beautiful specimen of French renaissance.

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THE ABBEY OF THE HOLY CROSS,

AT WALTHAM, IN ESSEX.

BY J. ARTHUR REEVE.[1]

I hope I may be right in assuming that all the members of the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, who are gathered here this afternoon to inspect this grand fragment of Norman architecture, are archæologists in fact, as well as in name; and therefore that I shall not be voted a bore, if I enter into a somewhat lengthened discussion of the dates of the various portions of Waltham Abbey.

This is of course the question of paramount interest in connection with this building; and it is a question which has been discussed with a considerable amount of spirit; and with unabated interest for over thirty years.

Most of the leading archæologists of the last generation had something to say on the subject; but if I may be allowed to say so, they all seem to me to have been too much influenced by preconceived ideas to form a correct judgment, and even Mr. E. A. Freeman, with whose conclusions I entirely agree, although he based his arguments on actual observation, does not, in my opinion, give due weight to the whole of the data; and unfortunately he entirely overlooked one of the most important facts.

I firmly believe, if he had linked this fact with all the strong arguments which he brings forward, derived partly from documentary evidence, and partly from the inspiration of a true historian, that it would have settled this vexed question in an absolutely conclusive manner; and I cannot help regretting that it did not fall to his lot to make the discovery which I shall presently describe, instead of to mine, because, had he made use of this very strong piece of evidence, it would have received far more attention than I can ever hope to gain for it.

Before entering upon the main discussion it may be well to observe that Harold's foundation was for Secular Canons of the order of S. Augustine, and that the foundation was altered by Henry II., in 1177, to an order of Regular Canons; and it was then that the conventual buildings were erected. They stood on the north side of the choir; which, as far as I know, is a unique position for them, although the corresponding position on the south side of the choir existed at Rochester. A market garden now covers the whole space formerly occupied by the choir, cloister court and conventual buildings.

One beautiful fragment of the buildings is extant; it consists of a vaulted passage, which, apparently, gave access to the cloister court at the north-east angle, immediately to the east of the Refectory, and the walls running west and south from this building most clearly mark the north and east walls of the quadrangle. In the latter, indeed, a small amount of ancient stonework remains *in situ;* and it seems probable that, if a careful survey of all the other walls on this piece of ground were made, they would be found to stand upon old foundations. The wall which now runs from the east end of the church, in an easterly direction, appears to have been built upon the line of the choir arcade, and, as far as can be ascertained without taking measurements, I should judge that the modern wall, which bounds the garden on the west, rests upon the foundation of the west wall of the cloister garth.

The only other distinct fragment which remains is a portion of the Abbey Gateway, which, as it stands, was probably erected late in the fourteenth century; and a small stone bridge across a stream, to the north-east of the Abbey, probably dates from about the same period; it is enriched with chamfered ribs underneath, and it is peculiar for the extreme flatness of the arch, which is elliptical.

I think there is some evidence to show that a small cloister, with some buildings attached, also existed, formerly in connection with Harold's Church, on the north side of the Nave, the site of which is now marked by a peculiar sinking in the old vicarage garden. A strong

[1] Read at the Meeting of the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, at Waltham Abbey, June 21st, 1890.

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foundation wall exists on the north side of this space; and I think the existence of the door at the western end of the north aisle, and the remains of another doorway, towards the eastern end of the same aisle, which was discovered when the vestry door was inserted, must indicate that a cloister of some sort originally stood here.

As far as I can recollect, the eastern of the two doorways must have been inserted in the fourteenth century, and the western one, as it stands, does not seem to be earlier than the time of Henry I., the mouldings of the inner arch being somewhat similar in character to those of an arch at the east end of the south aisle, of which I shall have to speak presently. But I think it is clear that this doorway has been rebuilt at some period; and I should say that portions of it do belong to Harold's work, for its general design corresponds with that of the great south door; that is to say, the head of the opening is formed by a shallow segmental arch underneath the semi-circular arches which form the inner and outer features of the doorway.

A corbel exists outside this door, close to the present level of the ground, which must have been inserted late in the twelfth century; presumably, it indicates that, in later years, the corridor, which led away from the door, was vaulted in stone.

We will now proceed to the discussion of the Abbey Church itself.

The point of the controversy, in connection with Waltham Abbey, has always been as to whether any portion of the existing building was erected by Harold, or not; and, for some years past, it has been my constant endeavour to show that not only some fragments of his work remain, but, in fact, that the greater portion of the church, as we now see it, was executed by him; and I cannot help thinking that I shall be able to put some facts before you, this afternoon, which will prove to you that there is a great deal of evidence in support of this theory. It is, moreover, evidence of the very best type, because it is derived, in the first instance, from the building itself, and it is upheld by all the documentary evidence which, as far as I am aware, is in existence.

It would take up too much time if I were to discuss this documentary evidence now. I will, therefore, only say that the chief *positive* point in it is that it establishes the fact that Harold did build an abbey here, and that it was looked upon at the time of its erection as a building of extraordinary magnificence. It was probably consecrated in 1059 or 1060, and it was thus raised concurrently with Edward the Confessor's Abbey, at Westminster; its dimensions, however, must have been considerably less, and, consequently, it took a much shorter time to build. But for Harold's Church to have been accounted a structure of great note, it is clear that it must have been at least as fine, as far as general treatment is concerned, as Westminster.

In discussing this most interesting question it should be borne in mind that as both Harold and Edward had spent a considerable amount of time in the Norman Court, they must have been well acquainted with the style of architecture which was practised there; and both being men of culture, it is impossible for them not to have been much impressed with the grandeur of the Norman buildings. It may then be taken for granted that when these two men determined to erect abbeys of very large dimensions, they would gain their inspiration directly from Normandy; and hence there can be no archæological absurdity in attributing a building such as this to a period anterior to the Norman Conquest.

If we happened to come across a building similar in all respects to Waltham Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and if tradition said that it was finished in the year 1060, I do not suppose that any of us would hesitate to accept the statement, even without the production of strong internal evidence proving that it must have been built about that time.

Unfortunately, or perhaps I ought rather to say fortunately, we know hardly anything about the Confessor's church beyond the fact mentioned in Dean Stanley's work on the Abbey, that its dimensions would seem to have been nearly identical with those of the present building, and that the spacing of the arcade was similar: some of the remnants of the conventual buildings, however, very clearly prove that Norman detail was thoroughly understood by the men who were employed upon them.

I do not, therefore, attach any weight to the arguments which one hears brought forward very frequently as to the impossibility of work of this type having been done in England before the Conquest; there can be nothing *impossible* in it when we take into consideration the two facts, first that it was being practised at this period in Normandy, and second, that the connection between the English and Norman courts was most intimate. Edward the Confessor was even more Norman than English in his tastes, and he showed his strong predilection for the countrymen of his mother by granting lands in England to many Norman nobles, and it is a historical fact that these men raised castles upon the territories thus acquired. The English of the middle of the eleventh century were therefore distinctly in touch with Norman ideas; and hence I argue that for a man like Harold to decide to build a

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Norman church in England was nothing more than might have been expected; it was merely a bold stroke on the part of a bold man; and it was certainly eminently successful; at all events, it always seems to me that there is something in the proportions of Waltham Abbey which raises it above most of our Norman churches, even in its present curtailed and mutilated state.

The theory which, as I believe, accounts for all the phenomena which we find here, is simply this, that from the west wall, up to and including the second pier from the east end on both sides of the nave, we have Harold's work—perfect on the south side, and perfect on the north side up to the string course below the clerestory; that the two eastern bays, together with the western arch of the original central tower and the remains of the south transept were erected by Henry I. during the lifetime of his first wife, and that the clerestory in the western bays, on the north side of the church, was probably re-constructed by him after his second marriage. The fourteenth century alterations in the western bays are too palpable to require special notice at present.

Let us now consider in detail the evidences which exist in support of this theory, and first allow me to point out to you some of the differences which obtain between the work to the west of the second pier from the east end, and the work to the east of the same, because it is clearly of importance to prove that a change of style actually does take place at this point.

This fact is entirely overlooked by Mr. Freeman, in his paper contributed to the Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, his theory being that the whole of the Norman nave, excepting only the south-east corner of the south aisle, was built at the same time, and that the variations in the detail are due to the freedom allowed to the men who carried out the design. Now, although I am very loth to criticize the conclusions of such a learned and careful antiquary as Mr. Freeman, I am convinced that herein he was in error, and that by not grasping the fact that in the two eastern bays we have the work of a second architect, he missed one of the strongest arguments in favour of a portion of the church having been built by Harold.

In the first place, the whole of the western work is executed with very fine joints, while the eastern bays are jointed throughout in a very coarse manner. It was, I believe, Professor Willis who first called attention to the fact that the jointing of Norman work differed greatly at different periods, and he laid it down as a rule that wide joints denote early work and fine joints late work. That such is the case at Canterbury, in connection with which, I believe, he formulated this theory, I have no manner of doubt, but I am certain that those archæologists who have based arguments in connection with the sequence of dates at Waltham Abbey on this theory, have been led into error, owing to their not having given due attention to all the phenomena which exist here; but of this more presently.

Another difference is found in the section of the bases:—In the western bays the mouldings consist of a shallow hollow and a shallow roll, with a fillet between—the simplest form of all Norman bases; in the eastern bays the mouldings are also shallow, and are of two kinds, those to the respond having a second fillet and a roll added above the hollow, and those to the circular pier having two shallow hollows above the lower fillet and roll. The bases to the nook-shafts of the aisle windows in the two portions of the church also differ from each other in a corresponding manner.

Next we come to the capitals of the nave piers. Throughout the western portion of the church these are composed of two courses, while in the eastern bays they are executed in a single course; the abacus mouldings also differ, the western ones being simpler than the eastern;[1] and here again corresponding variations occur in the aisle windows.

The capitals to the responds at the eastern and western ends of the church present another point of difference; in the latter, both the main cap which takes the soffit arch, and the side caps are of the same depth, while in the former the main cap is about two inches deeper than the subordinate ones.

Another change takes place in the manner of working the chevrons on the inner voussoirs of the nave arches. In all the western arches they are worked up and down on the face, and they show very slightly on the soffit, whereas in three of the eastern arches, they work up and down on a splay, and in and out on the soffit, and in the fourth they are very similar, working up and down on the face, and in and out on the soffit.

The chevron mouldings in the eastern bays are slightly richer in section than in the western bays, and the mouldings in the western arch of the original central tower are very similar, both in section and in working, to the eastern arches of the nave.

[1] The capital and base of the first pier from the east end on the north side of the nave are similar in all respects to the work in the western portion of the church, but it seems probable, nevertheless, that this pier was rebuilt when the eastern bays were reconstructed.

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The space between the labels at the springing of the eastern arches, is filled by a roughly carved head—no such ornament obtains at this point in the western bays.

There is a marked difference between the eastern and western triforium piers on plan, the former have three semi-columns to carry the arch, one towards the nave, one in the centre, which took the soffit arches now lost (for I cannot agree with Mr. Freeman that these never existed), and one towards the aisle; the latter have only two, one towards the nave, and the other in the centre.

The clerestory also differs greatly in the two parts of the church; in the western bays the columns are built up in courses, and they consist on plan of a cluster of four shafts, between which the points of a star project, while in the eastern bays the columns are monoliths, and they are alternately polygonal and circular on plan, and they are interchanged on the two sides of the church.

The sculpture, such as it is, indicates two different dates; the heads, which form the terminations to the pseudo-vaulting shafts in the western portion of the church, are rounded in profile, while those in the eastern bays are square: they are all heads of men, but the former are represented as being quite smooth, whilst the latter have moustaches, and they are also embellished with leaves of early Norman character, the stalks of which start from the corners of the mouth and twist round, so that the leaf itself is made to cover the ear.

Other minor differences exist, but I will not weary you by enumerating them all. I will merely call your attention to the structural evidence of a change of date, which is provided by the great irregularity which exists in the jointing above this second pier from the east end, from the sill of the triforium to the ceiling.

Now, all of these variations taken together, although many of them are slight in themselves, do conclusively prove that a change of date does take place at this second pier; the next point to be decided therefore is, which is the earlier, and which is the later part of the church.

A casual observer would unquestionably be inclined to answer this question by saying that the greater roughness and coarseness of the two eastern bays prove that they must be older than the very refined work which we find throughout the western portion of the building; and yet I can place evidence before you which I believe you will admit proves in the most incontrovertible manner that the western part of the church is the older, and that being so, it must almost without the shadow of a doubt be the very work which was executed by Harold 830 years ago.

I have already mentioned the extremely thick jointing of the eastern bays; you will see that this continues right up the jambs of the western arch of the original central tower, and through the arch itself. We may therefore safely assume that this archway is of the same date as the eastern bays; but this is merely indirectly interesting: what is of far greater importance is that the jointing of the archway at the east end of the south aisle is of exactly the same character, and all the joints run through in level courses from the jamb of the tower arch, right round the respond of the nave arcade, to the jamb of the aisle arch. It is therefore impossible not to believe that the whole of this work was done at the same time. But strange to say, when we come to this arch across the east end of the aisle, we find an entirely new type of detail introduced, for the chevron ornament is altogether discarded, and very fully developed running mouldings of twelfth century character are substituted—mouldings which I think you will all admit cannot well have been executed before the year 1100.

It is also extremely interesting to observe that mouldings of precisely the same character exist on the inner arches of the only two remaining windows belonging to this period, one of which is in the eastermost bay of the south aisle, and the other is in the west wall of the south transept. In other respects, the arches of these windows correspond with the western windows.

We have it proved, therefore, very clearly that these two eastern bays of the nave arcade are associated with well-developed running mouldings, which must belong to the twelfth century period, whereas throughout the western portion of the church no sign of any such running mouldings is found; certainly, there is a very shallow bead moulding on the edge of the triforium arches, but this is by no means capable of comparison with the mouldings just described; it is nothing more than might easily have been executed with an axe wielded by the hands of a skilful man. As already mentioned, the doorway towards the western end of the north aisle possesses running mouldings, but the jointing of the internal jambs of this door clearly shows that it has been rebuilt.

The foregoing evidence is very strong, but there is even a stronger and a much more curious piece of evidence to be described.

It will be observed that this second pier from the east end, to which allusion has already been made, has been rebuilt; this work was carried out under the late Mr. William

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Burges, A.R.A., in 1860, in which year he was called in to report upon the Abbey, and afterwards to carry out the works of restoration which were required.

Now, when Mr. Burges inspected the building, the first thing, naturally, which struck him was that this pier was in a most dilapidated condition. It had been grievously cut about above the floor of the church, and owing to various interments which had taken place beneath the floor, it was found that the foundations of the pier had been almost entirely destroyed; consequently, it was, of course, found necessary to reconstruct the pier, and this was done in the most careful manner possible.

The arches resting upon it were first strutted up according to advice given by Mr. Burges' father, the well-known engineer, and when the whole of the weight had thus been properly supported, the pier itself was taken down, and it was rebuilt upon a strong new foundation. So perfectly was this work carried out, that not a stone of the superstructure was disturbed when the struts were finally removed: therefore, although this pier has been rebuilt, from the top of the abacus moulding upwards, we have the work in its original condition, with the few exceptions which are apparent where new stones had to be inserted owing to the old ones being in too bad a state to be left.

I have mentioned this act of rebuilding simply to meet any objection which might be raised to my argument on the score of the present state of the walls having been produced by the works which were carried out in 1860.

Anyone who had studied these bays as carefully as I have done would know from internal evidence that the settlement which runs right up through the third bay from the east end must date from a period anterior to the reconstruction of the pier; but it might possibly occur to the mind of any archæologist who had not gone very minutely into the matter, that the settlement was of late development, and therefore I have thought it well to mention in the first instance that it did exist exactly as we now see it before 1860; of this there is not the shadow of a doubt.

It is upon this settlement that the argument in favour of the western portion of the Abbey being Harold's work is chiefly based.

When I came to measure these two bays with a view to settling, if possible, the question as to the dates of the two portions of the Abbey (my drawings to a scale of half-an-inch to a foot are now in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects), the first thing which I discovered was that the springing line on this second pier is nine inches lower than it is on the piers both to the west and to the east: this, therefore, proved at once that the pier in question must have sunk bodily into the ground to that extent. Now, a settlement of this magnitude is almost certain to take place immediately after the erection of the building; at all events, if we give it fifty years to develop itself, it is quite as much time as ought to be assigned to it. No doubt, if you carefully cut away the foundations of a pier during any portion of its existence, you can make it settle down; but if this be done the settling down is extremely unlikely to be suddenly arrested, as was evidently the case here. Let the foundations of any of the piers of this church be sufficiently destroyed to cause the work to begin to move, and you will find most probably that it would take considerably less than fifty years to bring that portion of the church to the ground. When, therefore, a settlement of this description takes place bodily without the total collapse of the superstructure, you may be tolerably certain that it occurred shortly after the erection of the building, and that the pier or wall went down until the foundation came to a hard bottom.

Naturally, as soon as I discovered that this pier had sunk to this extent, I saw that it accounted for the settlement in the arches and wall above it, which is so apparent all through this third bay; it proves clearly that they were all resting upon the pier when it went down. But the extraordinary point is that none of the arches on the eastern side of this pier are similarly affected; the joints of these arches are as true as they were when they were first made, and this notwithstanding the fact that they all spring from a lower level on the west side than they do on the east.

Now this incontrovertible fact appears to me to be as conclusive evidence that the arches in the second bay were built after the pier went down, as the crippled condition of the arches in the third bay is that they were built before the pier went down.

Further, the string-courses in the third bay and throughout the western portion of the church are jointed in stones of considerable length, and in this third bay the joints are badly broken. This is quite apparent from the floor of the church; but in the second bay these stringcourses are jointed in peculiarly short lengths, and they are brought gently down from the higher to the lower level without any break whatever. It is also a curious fact that the course of ashlaring below the stringcourse between the clerestory and the triforium comes to a feather edge on the eastern side of the arch, not by the arch rising to the string, but by the string coming down to the arch.

The condition of the clerestory columns is also significant. In the second bay from the east

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end they are both vertical, although the western one stands on a lower level than the eastern one. In the third bay, however, they are much out of the perpendicular, and the eastern one, as might have been expected, being more directly over the point of settlement, is considerably more crooked than the western one.

To recapitulate, then, we have these facts to deal with:—first, that evident differences do exist between the architecture of the five western bays and the two eastern bays, the two latter are clearly associated with the western arch of the central tower, and with the distinctly advanced Norman mouldings at the east end of the south aisle; these much later mouldings also occurring in the remains of two blocked-up windows, one of which stands in the eastern bay of the south aisle and the other in the west wall of the south transept; the association of all these features, namely, the two eastern bays of the nave, the western arch of the great crossing, the arch at the end of the south aisle, and the two windows being clearly proved by the particular type of coarse jointing which is found in all of them, by the joints of the south west pier of the central tower running through in unbroken courses to the jamb of the arch at the east end of the south aisle, and by the profile of the mouldings of the capitals and bases. We also find that the second pier from the east end sank nine inches into the ground *after* the bay to the west of it was erected, and *before* the bay to the east of it was built in its present form; and I am certain that if you give due consideration to all these facts you will be brought to this conclusion, namely, either that the five western bays of this church, as we now see them, were erected by Harold, or else that Harold's church was entirely destroyed, and afterwards rebuilt by William the Conqueror or by his son, William Rufus, before the great works undertaken by Henry I., or more properly speaking, perhaps, by his two queens, were put in hand.

But I can hardly suppose that anyone can consider the latter of these two alternatives more probable than the former; for myself, at all events, I am bound to say that the evidence is as conclusive as could be wished, that the western part of the church was built by Harold.

In the first place we know that he was well acquainted with Norman ideas, also that he built a magnificent Abbey on this spot, and that, in all probability, he was buried here. We also gather from history that William the Conqueror did all in his power to stamp out the memory of his predecessor on the English throne; and it is on record that he treated the Canons of Harold's foundation with considerable harshness, robbing them of the chief part of the movable wealth which Harold had bestowed upon them; therefore, it seems most improbable that he would have taken the trouble to rebuild the one building in England which was more associated with Harold than any other, and in which early tradition says his body was laid. He could not have done so without rendering marked honour to his hated rival, and this seems the very last thing he would have been likely to do.

William Rufus, being the man he was, is even less likely than his father to have erected such a building as Waltham Abbey; moreover, he also is specially mentioned as having inflicted wrongs upon the society; it seems impossible, therefore, not to agree with Mr. Freeman when he says that "no one can attribute the rebuilding to their times," that is, either to William the Conqueror, or to his son Rufus.

Thus, then, I am forced to the conclusion that a large portion of Harold's church does stand, and that the eastern bays of the existing building were re-erected by Henry I., in conjunction with the great works which would seem to have been undertaken by him in connection with the choir.

Doubtless, it is a curious fact that while dealing with the nave Henry I. should have assimilated his work to that of the older portion of the church; but at the same time several other cases where the same thing was done can be cited; and that it was done here, and done, moreover, in the most intentional manner, is clearly proved by the existence of the moulded arch at the east end of the south aisle, and no doubt the whole of the choir and transepts as far as they may have been built by Henry I. were carried out in the same advanced style.

The western portion of the north clerestory furnishes another very marked example of an earlier type of work, having been executed by a man who would naturally have employed a later style, for the distinct purpose of making his new work assimilate with the older surroundings; but whether it was done by Henry I., Stephen, or Henry II., is perhaps doubtful; it was, however, certainly not done at the same time as the rebuilding of the eastern bays of the nave; and it seems to me rather more probable that the east end of the nave was rebuilt during the life of Henry I.'s first wife, and that the north clerestory was reconstructed during the life of his second wife; for we know that Waltham Abbey became the property, first of Maud, and afterwards of Adeliza, and that they both took great interest in its well-being.

From the very perfect condition, even now, of the south clerestory in Harold's portion of the nave, it seems probable that the north clerestory must have met with some accident to have rendered its reconstruction necessary at so early a date; it may very well have been struck

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by lightning; at all events, it is clear that something must have happened which affected it without damaging the work below.

As to the choir of Harold's church we know practically nothing, but presumably it was very short: I should be inclined to think there was a transept, with possibly one bay to the east of it, and very likely the church terminated in a semicircular apse. An argument against the church having been built by Harold, as we now see it, is sometimes found in the fact that the western portion has been preserved, because people say that Harold would have begun at the east end, and that he would probably not have completed his church westwards before his death; but this assumption is based upon the supposition that Harold's choir was very long, of which, however, we have no evidence, and it is more reasonable to suppose that it was short; and if so, the whole church might easily have been finished by the founder.

Foundations of a large choir do unquestionably exist, but these must have belonged to the work of Henry I. and Henry II., and possibly also to a thirteenth century extension: for it is recorded that a dedication of the church took place in the year 1242. This probably indicates that the choir was lengthened at this period, and that in consequence the high altar was moved eastwards, thereby rendering a re-dedication desirable: possibly even it might be spoken of as a consecration of the new presbytery. It appears from the foundations which have been discovered that the eastern portion of the Abbey Church was quite as long as, if not longer than the existing nave.

The design of the west end of Harold's church is almost as uncertain as the form and extent of the choir, but perhaps it is reasonable to suppose from the treatment of the westernmost bay on both sides of the church, both internally and externally, that the aisles were intended to stop against western towers of small dimensions; for the first piers from the west end are considerably larger than any of the others, and the aisle walls in these western bays are thickened out in just such a manner as might be expected, if they were intended to form the bottom story of western towers, such as Harold would have been likely to build. Added to which clerestory windows never existed in these bays.

It is, however, very doubtful whether these towers were ever erected, and certainly if they were, they have left strangely slight indications behind them.

Mr. Parker, who did not believe that any portion of the architectural features of the building belonged to Harold's design, used to point out two pieces of walling, which he considered could alone have been executed by the last of our Saxon kings. One of these is found in the centre of the south aisle wall, below the stringcourse which runs along underneath the aisle windows. For several yards at this point the ashlar facing ceases, and a peculiar type of rubble work exists in its place. I account for this by assuming that the ashlaring has either been purposely removed, or else that it fell down, and that the gap thus formed was roughly repaired by unskilful or careless workmen.

The other piece of walling exists on the eastern side of the wall, forming the present east end of the Lady Chapel; but when it is considered that this originally formed the inner face of one of Henry I.'s transept walls, which was clearly prepared for plaster, I think it will be seen that no very strong argument can be based upon its peculiarities: however, it certainly does bear some traces of the herring-bone work which is generally believed to be characteristic of Saxon walling; and I am quite willing to admit that this particular piece of wall may have been built by Harold, or even by Tovi, who first erected a church on this site, and that it proves that the church was originally transeptal in form.

That it was so is in every way probable; the particular dedication of this church, and the romantic story connected with its great relic would naturally have suggested the appropriateness of a transeptal church; added to which it is likely that so large a nave as we find here would have been associated with transepts. I think, too, the peculiar shortness of the arms of the cross, as built by Henry I., suggests the idea that he was building on the old foundations; and if so, how probable it is that some portion of the old walling should be retained!

The roof of Harold's nave was of wood, the pseudo-vaulting shafts went up and ended in a capital above the top of the clerestory arches, and the necking of one of these capitals is visible below the present flat ceiling. No doubt, heavy beams spanned the church at each pier above these capitals; but whether the ceiling above these beams was flat or barrel-shaped, there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence to show.

The present ceiling was designed by Mr. Burges, and it was executed at the same time as the new east end.

It is, no doubt, difficult to believe that the aisles of Harold's church were vaulted in stone, but certainly a very definite leaning towards such a treatment did exist, for there can be no question that the vaulting shafts at the back of the piers of the nave arcade are original, and the marks of the corresponding piers against the walls are also plainly visible. Evidently, therefore, transverse ribs of heavy form must have been thrown across the aisles, and

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if any evidence could be found to suggest that an ordinary Roman vault formerly existed between them, I should not myself hesitate to accept it as part of Harold's design.[1] But perhaps it is more probable that the space between these transverse arches was covered with a flat wooden ceiling, the back of which would have formed the floor of the Triforium. Mr. Freeman seems to think the aisles were always open up to the triforium roof, but herein I can hardly agree with him. But whatever form of ceiling may have existed here would seem to have been removed, together with the transverse arches, in the fourteenth century, when the large alterations to the church were commenced, which fortunately did not extend further than to the second bay from the west end.

The man who devised this alteration must have been a very poor sort of architect. His intention was to have thrown the nave arcade and the triforium into one composition, but what he hoped to gain by this treatment it is difficult to imagine. It was certainly not a complete renewal of the design which he contemplated, for he retained the piers of the arcades intact, and by inserting a pointed segmental arch, in place of the original triforium arch, he introduced the ugliest feature which Gothic architecture ever gave rise to. The most charitable view to take of this work is to suppose that it was undertaken by a madman.

Some people think that this work was done by the same man who designed the original fourteenth century west end. For my own part, I can scarcely believe that the man who conceived the grand composition of the latter could possibly have perpetrated such an abomination as the former; but undoubtedly the two works were nearly contemporaneous. Unquestionably the fourteenth century west end must have been very fine; the south-west and north-west buttresses, terminating in massive octagonal pinnacles, being specially worthy of note.

It is probably needless to mention that the existing tower was begun in the reign of Queen Mary, and clearly it was built out of fragments of the ruined monastery. Old prints are in existence showing the tower with a battlemented parapet, which presumably proves that Queen Mary's Tower was properly finished originally; but the upper part having fallen into a state of decay, it was refaced, if not entirely rebuilt, about eighty years ago. This work, as far as the belfry stage is concerned, was done entirely in clunch, and it is now again in a most dilapidated condition.

The Lady Chapel is an extremely interesting piece of later fourteenth century work. Mr. Burges once suggested that perhaps it was designed by the man who executed the fourteenth century work at the west end during the latter years of his life; and this seems not at all improbable. The chapel was very carefully restored about fifteen years ago by Mr. Burges, and the wooden screen across the arch between the chapel and the south aisle of the church was executed from my own designs, after his death, as a memorial to the late vicar. The composition in the centre represents the arms of the Abbey.

Originally, the tracery and arches of the windows in this chapel were executed in clunch, and they had all fallen into a state of decay long before the restoration was taken in hand. Of the side windows no fragments even of the tracery remained, but enough of the large square-headed window at the west end was left to make an exact reproduction of the design possible; and the inner plane of tracery in this window is entirely ancient. The external facing of the chapel is worth looking at; it is a very good piece of fourteenth century ornamentation, produced by means of alternating bands of stone, squared flints and bricks.

I ought, perhaps, to have called your attention to the fact that the springing of the original windows belonging to the fourteenth century west end of the nave, is marked by two capitals, high up in the west wall above the gallery. It may also be of interest to point out that all the gutters of the western part of the church were reached by a system of stair turrets and passages in the west wall, the thickness of which is great. The stair turret which projects in such a peculiar manner at the end of the north aisle, gave access directly to the gutter on the north side of the nave; from it a passage branches to the north, high up in the west wall of the aisle, and by means of a short circular staircase in the top of the north-western buttress the north-aisle gutter was reached; another passage, also, originally passed across the church in front of the west windows, and from this rose a circular staircase at the south-west corner of the nave; and exactly the same treatment was repeated across the end of the south aisle and in the south-west pinnacle, as has been described in connection with the north aisle. The circular windows which occur close under the raking parapets of the aisles on the west front seem to have been originally intended chiefly to light these passages, since they could only have been partly visible from the floor of the church, even at the east end of the building.

[1] I find, on further investigation, that distinct signs of arches do exist over the aisle windows in the western portion of the church, and over the great south door; it seems, therefore, necessary to admit that the aisles were vaulted.

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At some period in the thirteenth century, a violent quarrel took place between the monks and the townspeople, which resulted in the complete separation of the choir and transepts from the nave, by the erection of a solid stone wall across the lower portion of the western arch of the lantern; and, I presume, corresponding walls were continued across the archways at the eastern ends of the aisles. The original work remains across the east end of the nave, below the new end put in by Mr. Burges; and the two blocked-up doorways on each side of the altar may be seen on the outside. I believe I am right in stating, that this wall was the practical result of an understanding, which was arrived at between the contending parties, to the effect, that, from the period of its erection, the portion of the church to the west of the barrier should belong to the parish, while the eastern part should appertain exclusively to the monastery.

This division of the church may possibly account for the erection of the existing Lady Chapel in the somewhat peculiar position in which it stands. No doubt there existed an altar, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in the eastern portion of the church, from which after the division of the building, the parishioners would have been cut off; hence they would naturally desire to have a Lady Chapel of their own; and, presumably, the site chosen was the most convenient position for the noble building which they were anxious to erect.

It is tolerably certain that this chapel always had a flat ceiling; at all events, we know that the original pitch of the outer roof was very low, because the slope is still plainly marked on the eastern face of the square parapet wall above the west window. As it is rather an early example of such a low-pitched roof, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that, although the parishioners obtained leave to block up the lower window in the west wall of the transept, they were not allowed to interfere with the clerestory window; hence, in order to obtain a sufficiently imposing and lofty building, they adopted a practically flat roof. The existing high-pitched roof over this chapel probably dates from the time of Queen Mary.

In conclusion, please let me ask you to consider carefully that the theory which I have propounded to you this afternoon as to the dates of the earlier portions of this Church, is not merely the vain imagining of an archæologist, desirous of proving, even against appearances, that this building was erected before the Conquest; it is not even a plausible attempt to reconcile the existing architecture with the documentary evidence relating to the Abbey, although this point has naturally been touched upon in the course of the argument; what it is, is simply an attempt on the part of an architect to read the history of a building as it has been written on the building itself by the hand of time and by the men who raised it. The leading points in the argument are all based upon absolute facts, and I maintain that, unless these facts themselves can be disproved, it is impossible to escape from the conclusions to which my argument brings us. I took the matter up, in the first instance, with an entirely open mind as to the date of the building, although I shared with other people the idea that such work as this was unlikely to have been designed and carried out by Harold; but, as I proceeded with my study of the church, it gradually came to be forced upon me by the logic of facts, that the whole of the evidence was in favour of the opposite theory, namely, that Harold, and Harold alone, could have erected the five western bays of the building; and I have endeavoured to give you, as concisely as possible, a sketch of the process of reasoning by which I arrived at this conclusion.

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THE TWO CHAPELS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

BY

G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.[1]

I. The Chapel Royal of S. John the Evangelist within the White Tower.

This very interesting portion of the Keep, in which we meet to-day for the second time since our inauguration as a society, has already been described by me; but so many years have elapsed, and so many new members have joined our ranks, that it was thought advisable to come here again and see this the earliest existing ecclesiastical building in London, because the Confessor's work at Westminster now can only be seen in the cloisters of the Abbey, and forms no part of the Church proper. The ground that I shall take to-day is entirely new, for I have learnt much since my former paper was written. With this necessary preamble, and before passing to the architectural description, I propose saying a few words as to the history of this particular portion of the Tower. To attempt to read a paper on its history as a fortress would be too large a subject, nor does it properly come under the head of ecclesiology with which we have more particularly to deal; but here, in this grand and solemn portion, we are in our own province, and may be pardoned if we dwell however lightly on its historic associations.

It seems passing strange that a man who was a monk, and by the favour of his sovereign afterwards Bishop of Rochester, a man supposed to be of peace, should in this place and in others be found to be associated with a building certainly not erected for peaceful purposes. Gundulph, formerly an inmate of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, followed William, the first Norman King, to England; and from his superior skill in that mode of architecture practised in Normandy was extensively employed by William, and was ordered to erect this Keep of the White Tower after a fashion then prevalent in Normandy and France, of huge square enclosures, with walls of enormous thickness and of great height, with smaller towers and walls at their base, access to these central masses being only by one small door, and at a good height from the ground, so that in the case of the outer works being taken, the garrison could retire to this as a stronghold. These Keeps were generally kept well stored with provisions, and possessed a well within their own walls. London, Dover, Norwich, Rochester and Newcastle, soon possessed Keeps which for strength and size could rival those at Loches, Arques, Chauvigny Roche, Guyon, and Etampes. Gundulph, although he is credited with the erection of Rochester Keep, was not really the builder of it. It was later; but here in London he certainly was employed. Can we, then, attribute the size and importance given to this Chapel to the fact that his feelings as a churchman triumphed over those of the military architect, and that we find here a feature which we do not find anywhere else to anything like the same extent?

London having at once submitted to William, and having been peacefully confirmed in its rights and privileges by a special charter, offered no possible resistance; but the size and importance of the city made William reflect, that although he experienced no resistance then to his authority, it might develop at some future period, and that a stronger residence than the old palace at Westminster, which had contented the weak and feeble Edward, would be a fitting place for a monarch who might have to enforce his authority on subjects who had peacefully received him as the appointed successor of Edward, but who knew very little about him. He decided at once to build some sort of strong fortification, and probably added to the then existing Arx Palatina, which was of Roman origin, and defended the city and commanded the River to the East. These works were most likely deep ditches and palisades, for it was not until twelve or fourteen years later that this Keep was commenced, and was so large and massive and so enormously strong that it received the name of *the* Tower, and has retained it ever since. Gundulph lived to the age of eighty-four, and did not die until the year 1108, the ninth of Henry I., and a little more than thirty years after his death we find him mentioned in the Textus Roffensis, "Gundulfus ex præcepto regis Wilhelmi Magni præesset operi magnæ turris Londoniæ." This Tower then,

[1] Read in the Tower, May 17, 1890.

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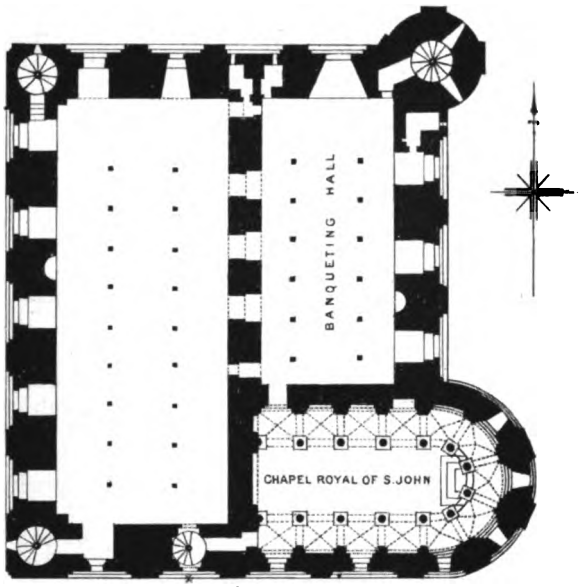
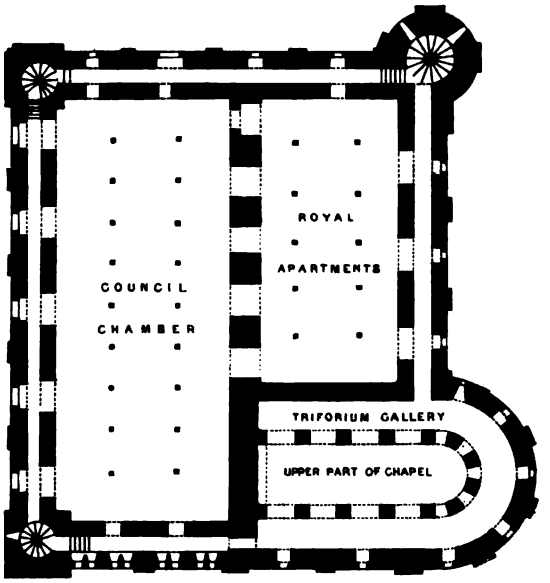


*stairs communicating with Palace at base

PLAN OF THIRD FLOOR

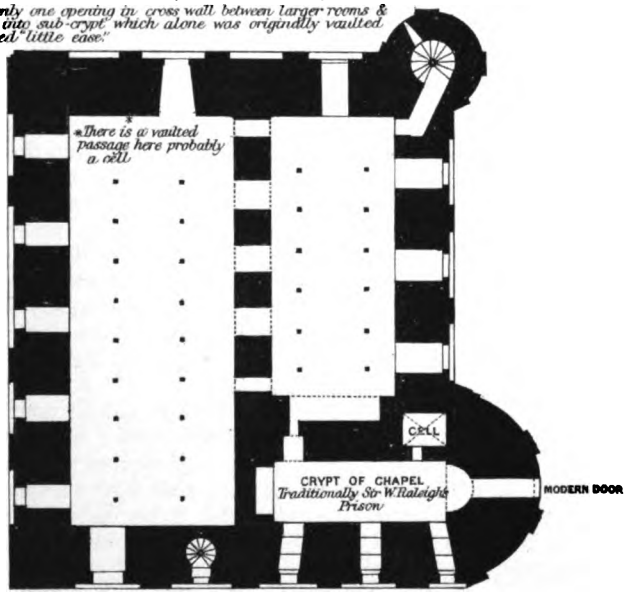


PLAN OF FOURTH FLOOR.

Scale of Feet for Plan

N.B. THE FIRST FLOOR IS SIMILAR, OUTSIDE WALLS ONE FOOT THICKER.

There is only one opening in cross wall between larger rooms & one again into sub-crypt which alone was originally vaulted & is called "little ease."



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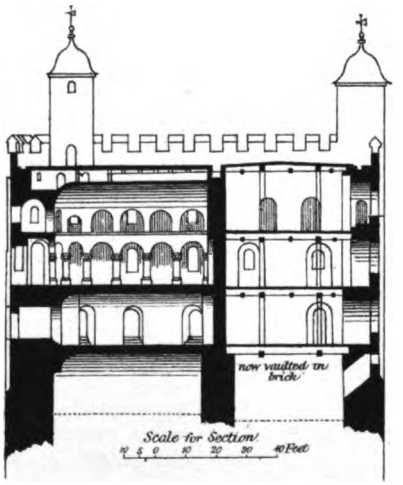

SECTION FROM EAST TO WEST.

THE WHITE TOWER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

C.F. Kell Lith. Furnival St. Holborn, E.C.

George H. Birch, F.S.A.

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and a few buildings at its base, surrounded by walls and towers, and a ditch enclosing the dwelling of the so-called Conqueror, was the first nucleus around which, in the reigns of succeeding monarchs of Norman and Plantagenet stock, sprung up other Towers, wider walls, and the present ditch. William Rufus, his son and successor, increased the strength and added to the fortifications, and it became a matter of discontent to the citizens, when they saw, little by little, the Tower and its defences assuming proportions that looked like a standing menace to them, which instead of defending them was likely to threaten and overawe them.

This enclosure of the White Tower is, roughly speaking, a square, shorter from north to south than from east to west, its dimensions are 107 feet from north to south; and 118 from east to west. The ground it stands upon slopes towards the south or river side, the ground on the north being 25 feet higher, so that the basement, which is level on the higher side, is considerably above the ground on the other. Its western angles are square, the south eastern projects in a semi-circular bow which forms the apse of the chapel 42 feet in diameter. It never seems to have possessed a lower building, as at Dover, Norwich and Newcastle, to protect the entrance and staircase; nor is it now perfectly certain, with the great changes which have taken place on the exterior, by modern facings, &c., where this original entrance was.

The height to the battlements is 90 feet, and the staircases at the angles are carried up as turrets, 16 feet higher. The principal staircase, which is at the north east corner, communicates with the principal floors, and descends to the basement. Internally this area is divided by a wall from north to south, the whole height, 10 feet thick, but in unequal proportions, the western being the widest. The eastern division is again subdivided by a transverse wall from east to west, so that every floor is divided into three chambers of unequal size. The exterior walls are 15 feet thick. The basement, which, as I have said, is some 25 feet above the ground on the south, and level on the north, consists of three chambers, the smallest of which, over where we are standing, is called the "Little Ease," and forms really the sub-crypt of the chapel, 15 feet wide by 47 feet; the east end is semi-circular, and very little light ever entered. It is vaulted with a rough barrel vault; the larger chamber on the west is 91 feet by 35 feet, and was used as a storehouse, and also the other chamber 67 feet by 28 feet. These last two have been subsequently vaulted in brick. The next floor, which we will call the ground floor, although considerably above that level, is divided in the same manner, but the dimensions are a little larger, in consequence of the external walls being only 13 feet thick. Under the chapel is the crypt proper, 39 feet long, circular ended and 13 feet 6 inches wide; it is traditionally called Raleigh's prison. Out of this, at the north-east angle, is a cell 10 feet by 8 feet, only entered by a low door, and with no external light. These gloomy vaults have all been used for prisons, and on the sides of the door leading to this cell are carved inscriptions. The windows of the crypt and the other windows have all been altered from the original narrow loops to wider modern openings, and the two larger rooms have been converted into armouries and wainscoted, so that all external marks of antiquity have been obliterated. The crypt is vaulted, but the other apartments have double rows of oak posts supporting the beams of the ceiling. The first floor in the proper division, really the third—the one we are now on—is similarly divided as those below; but here the chapel of S. John is subdivided into a centre and aisles, the arcade is supported by twelve cylindrical piers and two responds, six of which form the apse, the aisles being vaulted with a plain groined vault, the arches are plain without any mouldings and rest on singularly massive caps, which are not all similar. The abacus is simply moulded, and so are the bases, which rest on square plinths, with a plain chamfered sub-base. The windows have been modernized. Above the arcade is a triforium gallery, the arches of which correspond to the arches below, and are absolutely without any enrichment. The whole is covered with a barrel vault, the triforium stage being level with the uppermost floor, and communicating with it. This gallery is also barrel-vaulted, and lighted by windows on the southern and eastern sides. We now arrive at the floor over this, which has two large rooms—one called the council chamber—and it was this floor that was occupied by the monarch, and the smaller apartment probably subdivided. The king attended the services in the chapel in this triforium; the floor below was occupied by his retainers and household. The whole building of this chapel is excessively plain, and it is not until the reign of Henry III. that we hear of decoration, when he had it painted and stained-glass was inserted. Its severity has given rise to a widespread opinion that these early Norman buildings were, at first, utterly devoid of all ornament; but the nave at Waltham Abbey, earlier than this, and portions of the Confessor's original church, discovered at Westminster, prove that no analogy can be drawn between what was really a domestic chapel, built in a central keep of a strong castle, and built also in haste, and the architecture of wealthy foundations such as Waltham and Westminster, where time and money were of no object. In the upper floor the thickness of the walls is lightened by mural galleries for convenience of access to different parts, but the same arrangement of posts supporting the beams of what now becomes the roof existed and still exists.

I should mention that over the vaulting of the chapel, and under the leads, is an

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apartment, the whole length of the chapel, and about seven feet high, and lighted by windows. There seems to be only one fire-place, which is in the eastern side of the eastern room, communicating with the ground floor of the chapel, and which might have been the King's presence chamber.[1] There are three garde-robes on this floor. The coldness of this royal lodging, in winter, must have been intolerable, and no amount of hangings and charcoal brasiers could have surmounted it; therefore, it is not surprising that Henry III. considerably enlarged and extended the palace at the south side, and that these apartments were abandoned for more genial quarters below, but the chapel and council chamber were still frequently used. In 1240, Henry gave particular directions that the chapel should be repaired and ornamented, and among other decorations, he ordered that three stained glass windows were to be made, one towards the north, with a little Mary holding her child, and two others towards the south, representing the most Holy Trinity and S. John the Apostle and Evangelist. The Cross and the Rood were also to be painted well, and in good colours, and there were likewise to be made and painted, where they could be best seen and most properly done, two fair images, one of them of S. Edward holding a ring and presenting it to S. John the Evangelist, in accordance with the well-known legend. We also hear in his reign, *horribile dictu!* of a thing which we always thought belonged to the age of churchwardens only: he orders that the whole of the chapel of S. John should be WHITEWASHED! There are frequent allusions to the outside walls of the Keep being whitewashed, and it was to this circumstance it probably owed its name of the White Tower.

The chapel was dismantled in 1550, by an order in Council, Aug. 22nd, directing all such crosses, images, and plate of gold as remained, to be melted down. In 1553, the bootless recantation of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, took place in this chapel, on the day before his execution.

At the foot of the staircase leading to the passage into the South aisle, in Charles II.'s reign, were discovered the supposed bones of the two princes, Edward V., and the Duke of York, who were traditionally believed to have been murdered in the Bloody Tower, or Garden Tower, and secretly buried. These remains were removed to the East end of the North aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster.

I ask you before leaving this historic spot to look around, and try to realise the ancient splendour of this Royal Chapel within this grim fortress, and to remember that from yonder gallery looked down the ruthless William and his cousin-wife Matilda of Flanders; William the Red and his brother; the learned Henry and his Saxon bride, the heiress of the Saxon line, Maude; her daughter Maude, the Empress; Stephen; Henry II. and his richly dowered, but unloved and unloving wife, Eleanor of Guienne; Richard of the Lion Heart and Berengaria; the weak and corpulent John; the art-loving Henry III.; Edward and his devoted wife, Eleanor of Castille, and their royal successors; and here on the floor where we are assembled, the doughty Earls and Barons, who gained for us Magna Charta; and here in silent watch and prayer, feebly illumined by the twinkling altar tapers, knelt the knights of the Bath, previous to their installation; and here knelt Brakenbury at his prayers when he was bidden to go and murder the innocent; the meek and pious Henry VI., sighing as he turns his book of hours, and wondering how long it will be before he is again whirled along in tumult to a palace instead of a prison; and here laid out in pallid death, and surrounded by the glow of tapers in gorgeous state, Elizabeth of York, while prelates pray, and chaplains chant Dirige and Placebo. Shadows, all shadows, who have flitted across the floor of this Chapel Royal, and who have played their part in history, and have faded and died away like the echo of their own voices beneath this vaulted roof.

II. S. PETER "AD VINCULA" APUD TURRIM.

Although there may be nothing to particularly distinguish the architecture of this church, presenting as it does the appearance of an ordinary City church, such as existed before the great fire, it possesses a claim to our interest and attention far beyond any other, because it is a living page in our national history—a page also smeared with blood, much of it innocent, and dimmed also with tears of the captive.

Its exterior walls were the last thing on earth that their sorrowful eyes looked upon, and into its sacred precincts were borne their headless bodies, when tyranny had done its worst. At the western extremity of the City stands that noble fane, with its high embowered roof and storied windows richly dight, where in all the pride of heraldry and pomp of power, the mighty of this world sleep their last sleep, amid heroes and kings, and the pealing anthem swells the note of praise above their mouldering dust; but here shut in within the walls of a gloomy

[1] Another has since been discovered.

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fortress, discrowned, dishonoured, in nameless and unmarked graves, lay the bodies of royal and noble victims of tyranny, bigotry, and hate, sleeping their last sleep alike until judge, accuser, prisoner, and victim await a verdict from the Great Judge of all. Surely, in no church throughout the length and breadth of England can there be possibly attached more significance or meaning to that beautiful suffrage in the Litany, "That it may please Thee . . . to show Thy pity upon all prisoners and captives," than in this place and within these walls.

It is difficult to assign a date to its first foundation, it may not be quite so old as the royal chapel of S. John within the Norman Keep, but we know that it existed in King John's time, and was in all probability first erected by Henry I., when he considerably enlarged the area of the Tower, and it was deemed necessary for the convenience of a numerous garrison of men-at-arms, who could not well have been accommodated within the chapel of S. John, which, as we have seen, was in close communication with the royal apartments. If it had been parochial we might have perhaps learnt the date of its foundation, but at its first erection it was not parochial, and a serious contention about this lasted for several centuries.

I have alluded to its probable foundation by Henry I. His brother and predecessor, William Rufus, had increased the fortifications of the Tower, and Henry, soon after his accession, still further added to them, to the great discontent of the citizens, and finding the White Tower but a cold and cheerless place to live in, had begun the buildings to the south and east, afterwards enlarged and extended by his successors, and added also this chapel. It had been in existence for some time before Henry III.'s reign,[1] for in 1241 we find him giving directions for the decoration of both the chapels, and his instructions about S. Peter's were very minute. He orders the stalls in the chancel to be repaired, ornamented, and painted for the use of himself and Queen, and that the little Mary, with her tabernacle or shrine, and the figures of SS. Peter, Nicholas, and Katherine should be newly coloured, all with the best colours, the beam beyond the altar of S. Peter, and the little cross and images to be refreshed with good colours, another statue of the Blessed Virgin to be made beyond the altar of S. Peter on the north side, and a statue of S. Peter in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture on the south, all in the best manner; and there was also to be made and painted in the said church, when it could be better and more decently done, an image of S. Christopher holding and carrying Jesus. Two fair tables or pictures of the best colours, containing the legends of SS. Nicholas and Katherine were likewise to be painted before the two altars, and two fair cherubim, "with cheerful and pleasant countenances" (duos scherumbinos cum hyllari vultu et jocoso) were to be placed on the right hand and on the left of the great cross. A marble font was to be made with marble columns well and decently carved. The Latin original of these instructions is very quaint in its wording and spelling; and is important for the reason that it clearly establishes the existence of a church very similar in plan to the present one, as it speaks of the "cancellum Beatæ Mariæ in ecclesia Sancti Petri et cancellum Beatri Petri in eadem ecclesia," showing the existence of the two chancels. A few years afterwards we find him ordering two bells for it, and in 1272, the year of his decease, a chaplain was appointed for fifty shillings a year to pray for his soul.

In Edward I.'s reign, considerable alterations and reparations were again made, and it is reported that remains of this building are to be seen in the crypt, which extends beneath the north aisle. From the words of the original addressed to Ralph de Sandwich, Constable of our Tower of London, it seems to have been an entire rebuilding, because the said Ralph is to be reimbursed for the various sums expended in the construction of our chapel within the Tower. From these various documents still preserved, you can judge that the chapel in the White Tower was not the only one honoured by the royal presence, and that the King and Queen worshipped among the garrison and men at arms in the chapel of S. Peter, quite as often, if not more so, than in that beautiful Norman chapel we have lately visited.

During the succeeding reigns, various schemes were started, but never carried into execution, by various monarchs, notably by Edward III. and Edward IV., to make this church collegiate as in the other palaces of Westminster and Windsor, and endow it for a dean and canons; and the last monarch actually instituted a dean and three canons, but his death occurring before the grant could be completed, it once more fell through. Early in the reign of Henry VIII., in 1512, we hear of a fire which did much damage to it, so that in 1532 the same king ordered a general repair, and it is to this period we assign the present appearance of the chapel royal of S. Peter ad Vincula, which now consists of a nave and chancel under one continuous roof, the nave of three bays and the chancel of one bay, with a sanctuary beyond, and a north aisle. The arcade is well proportioned, but the arches rather depressed, the east window a plain mullioned window of five lights, with cusped heads. The east window of the aisle is similar, but of four lights, and the remainder of the church is lighted by three-light

[1] In 1210, Osmund, a knight, bound for Poictou, received a grant from King John in the eleventh year of his reign, ten marks and one hundred shillings, to buy a horse. The grant was given from the church of S. Peter at the Tower of London.

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windows. There is a small turret for the bells at the west end, the roofs now replaced with modern work were originally of very low pitch, almost flat with moulded centre ridge and principals and wall plate. The rafters before the "restoration" were concealed by a plastered ceiling. There is a hagioscope between the chancel of S. Mary and the chancel of S. Peter, now partly concealed by the Blount Monument, and a piscina.

About 1862, the first attempts were made towards improving the interior, the plaster ceiling was removed, the old moulded beams were exposed, a modern porch on the south side was removed, and the original west door which had been concealed by plaster and bricked up was opened, and the fragments of the west window which had been used for this purpose were reinstated in their former position, and the west window restored.[1] In 1876, Her Most Gracious Majesty decided that the whole interior should be reseated and repaved, and the gallery removed which had been inserted in George II.'s reign for the accommodation of the garrison, and completely blocked the north aisle and west end. Although the drawings for the restoration were shown to Salvin, the repairs were executed by the Office of Works, who under Mr. Taylor have since executed all the restorations within the Tower. In consequence of the many interments of residents in the neighbourhood, the paving and floor were in a very sunken and insanitary condition, for many were within two feet of the surface. It was therefore decided to repave the whole, and remove the coffins into the crypt. Eventually the chancel was ordered to be repaved, and as it was known that the more illustrious victims of Tudor and Stuart tyranny were interred beneath, a very careful examination took place, and various bones and skeletons, some of them terribly misplaced and scattered by subsequent interments, were collected and placed in small square leaden coffers, and external coverings of oak, and then reinterred. A very careful medical examination established the identity of these beyond dispute. The large admixture of lime among the earth around some of them proved that means had been taken to destroy the bodies after death, and the bones of Queen Catherine Howard had nearly all perished. The bodies were generally interred without coffins. Queen Anne Boleyn was thrust into an old chest in which arrows had been kept, so that no coffin plates which would have further identified the remains were anywhere discovered.

A register was kept of burials, and the locality is generally mentioned as in the chapel; and Stow, Weever, and Machyn give more minute accounts. The first-mentioned says, "Here lieth, before the high altar, in S. Peter's Church, two Dukes between two Queens"; so that there has never been any doubt as to their position. The so-called rebel lords—Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, Lord Balmerino, and the Earl of Kilmarnock, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, were all interred in the chapel: the three first at the west end under the gallery, but it is not known where the last was buried, except that it was in the chapel. Baron Wem, otherwise Lord Chancellor Jefferies, was first buried here, but afterwards removed to S. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Philip, Earl of Arundel, whose unmerited sufferings and long captivity will ever be accounted one of Elizabeth's greatest crimes, was, by permission of James I., removed to Arundel Church. Sir Thomas More was buried under the belfry, near to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and here, also, after a long imprisonment, were buried the two poor brothers—Arthur and Edmund Pole, nephews of Cardinal Pole, and grandsons of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and great grandsons of George, Duke of Clarence.

Of all these that I have mentioned there is, of course, no memorial whatever; their name was supposed to perish with them when their bodies were here buried in peace. But there are monuments here to others, perhaps, more fortunate in being the keepers and custodians of the Tower, than the poor wretches whose lives and liberties were committed to them. In the north-east corner of the aisle stands a very beautiful panelled altar-tomb, surmounted by two effigies of Sir Richard Cholmondeley and the Lady Elizabeth, his wife. It has twice been moved. It stood, originally, in the centre of the nave in front of the chancel; it was then moved to the west end of the north aisle, and again to where you see it. The effigies are in alabaster, and are in a fair state of preservation, and have been originally coloured and gilt. Sir Richard is in plate armour. Over a coat of mail his head rests on a helmet, and his feet on a lion. His hands are joined in prayer; around his neck he wears the collar of SS., with a pendent rose; the hair is worn long, and cut straight across the forehead, no beard; on the right side he wears a short dagger; the gauntlets are laid on the tomb, by the side of the right leg. His wife is on his left hand: she wears a sort of pointed coif on her head, and a long kirtle; her head rests on a cushion, and round the edge of the tomb runs a Latin inscription, in black letters: "Here lie the bodies of Richard Cholmondeley, knight, and of the Lady Elizabeth, his consort (date left blank), on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen." He was lieutenant in Henry VII.'s reign, and probably erected this tomb in his own life-time; he served under the Earl of Surrey at Flodden, and died about 1544, leaving no legitimate offspring, but he had a natural son, who became afterwards Sir Roger Cholmondeley, Lord Chief

[1] This window, as can be readily seen, dates from the restorations made by Edward I.

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Justice of England. When this tomb was taken down, in 1876, to move it where it now stands, fragments of the old font were found packed inside it.

The monument on the north side of the chancel commemorates Sir Richard Blount and Sir Michael, his son, both lieutenants of the Tower during the worst period of oppression. The monument really consists of two, Sir Michael's being of a similar design, and placed immediately next to it, so that the design represents four arched recesses divided by Corinthian columns carrying an entablature. The easternmost represent Sir Richard in one compartment, kneeling, with two sons behind him; and his wife in the other with two daughters. Sir Michael is in the next compartment with three sons, and his wife, and one daughter; the whole has been richly coloured and gilt.

On the south side of the chancel is a black marble tablet to Sir Allan Apsley (Lieutenant of the Tower), died May 24, 1630; next to this is a monument to George Taylor (Master Surveyor of the Ordnance) and Lady Maria Carey, his wife, and to their children. On the north wall is a tablet to Valentine Pine (Master Gunner), and others commemorating lieutenants. The brass tablet on the east wall of the chancel commemorates that grand old hero—Sir John Fox Burgoyne, who lies buried beneath; and the other tablet, Lord de Ros, the last of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Tower, the office now being abolished. During his lieutenancy the first attempts were made at treating the Tower more as an historic monument than as a building to be hacked and hewed about at anyone's will. Lord de Ros wrote the best of all the works on the Tower extant; and this book with Bayley's *Tower*, and my friend the late Doyne Bell's book on S. Peter's, give a complete history of the Tower; all three of which I have largely consulted in compiling this short notice.

PLAN OF INTERMENTS IN THE CHANCEL.

From Doyne Bell's *Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula*, 1877, p. 52.

Sir R. Blount, 1564. Mary Blount, 1592. Sir R. Blount. Lyster Blount, 1633.

ALTAR.

Duke of Monmouth.
1685.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Lord Rochford. 1536.	Queen Anne Boleyn. 1536.	Duke of Somerset. 1551.	Duke of Northumberland. 1555.	Queen Katherine Howard. 1542.	Lady Rochford. 1542.	Countess of Salisbury. 1541.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Lord Guildford Dudley. 1554.	Lady Jane Grey. 1554.	Duke of Suffolk. 1554.	Duke of Norfolk. 1572.	Earl of Arundel. 1595.	Earl of Essex. 1601.	Sir T. Overbury. 1613.

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